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THE HOLY CITY.

HISTORICAL, TOPOGRAPHICAL, AND ANTIQUARIAN
SKETCH OF

JERUSALEM,

BY

GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE
HOLY SEPULCHRE,

BY

THE REV. ROBERT WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.
CAMBRIDGE: JOHN DEIGHTON.
MDCCCXLV.

THE

HOLY CITY.

HISTORICAL, TOPOGRAPHICAL, AND ANTIQUARIAN NOTICES OF

JERUSALEM,

BY

GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D.,

FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS, INCLUDING

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BY

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JACKSONIAN PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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CAMBRIDGE: JOHN DEIGHTON.

M.DCCC.XLIX.

Cambridge:
Printed at the University Press.

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ERRATA TO VOL. II.

Chap.	Page		Line	Error.	Correction.
I.	13		9		
	31		7		
	—		14	Palm Street	Palmers' Street.
	33		15		
	34		4		
	43		6	Mekhemé	Mehkemeh.
II.	81		5	gold	silver.
	112		13	ought	aught.
	127	notes, col. 1.	12	pilgrims	pilgrim.
	—	— — 2.	5	directi	diruti.
III.	138	note [1]	8	Appendix (A.)	Note C, p. 157.
	155		5	(fig. 1.)	(fig. 12.)
	156		17	arch A	arch H.
	158	3	from bottom	South	East.
	—	2	- - -	North	South.
	—	1	- - -	East	North.
	159		10	northern	western.
	166	note [2],	last line	*after* below.	*insert* p. 58.
	194	note [2],	last line	*insert*, vide Holy City Vol. I. Supp. p. 60, where it appears that Felix Fabri in 1480 (namely 70 years before Bonifacius) likewise selected one of this group of tombs, as resembling the Holy Sepulchre.	
	196	note col. 2, 5 from bottom,		*after* Temple,	*insert* vide H.C. Vol. II. p. 341. and Vol. I. Supp. p. 95.
	211	note[6]	last line	Vide Appendix	Vide Note C. p. 157.
	222	text	5	North	South.
	223	—	5	*after* altar	*insert* (33.)
	226	note [1]	This note is more fully elucidated at p. 293, under the description of Fig. 5.		
	236	Sect. IX.	Compare the Plan, Fig. 1, with the corresponding sections in Fig. 11. Plate III.		
	250	text	14	(H L Fig. 1)	(H I Fig. 1 and Y Fig. 3.
IV.	307		6	or	and
	342		4	South-east	South-west.
	—	notes col. 1.	7 from bottom	S.E.	S.W.
	355	— — 1.	5	המישתלח	המשתלח.
	363	— — 2.	last line	436	336.
	364	— — 1.	3	שנ	שני.
	—	— — 2.	2	390	394.
	395	— — 2.	11	12	11.
	—	— — 2.	3 from bottom	p. 274	p. 42.
	411	— — 2.	2	acquiesces	agrees.
	426		24	18th	17th.
	428	notes col. 2.	7	40	41.
V.	508	notes col. 2.	9	Enchoridion	Enchiridion.
	521	— — 2.	4 from bottom	μνεμεῖον	μνημεῖον.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHÆOLOGY

OF

JERUSALEM.

"Dear sacred haunts of glory and of woe!"

"Even the lifeless stone is dear
For thoughts of HIM."

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY, AND THE SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

OF all the topographical questions relating to Jerusalem those connected with the site of the Holy Sepulchre are so incomparably the most important, that no further explanation will be asked for giving them precedence; and if any apology be required for attempting a defence of the tradition relating to this

site, it is offered in the consideration that the credit of the whole Church for fifteen hundred years is in some measure involved in its veracity.

The interest which every Christian must feel in the establishment of a fact, which was appealed to in former ages as an evidence of our Lord's Resurrection[1], might not unnaturally predispose us to believe it on insufficient grounds; and however we may pity or despise the credulity, we may well envy the simplicity of the devout pilgrim, who with real sincerity of heart gives himself up to the influence of those associations which these sacred localities are calculated to awaken, ignorant alike of arguments for or against their identity with the scenes of his Saviour's humiliation and glory, and undisturbed by any doubts. Granting it to be a delusion, it is to him at least a pleasing and a profitable delusion, implicating him in no guilt; and he might reasonably regard the wisdom, which would rob him of his gratification, as folly, and count his ignorance the greater bliss. But were nothing more serious than this involved, the question would be one of comparatively little importance, and we might be content to relinquish the point, with a feeling of regret for ourselves, and of surprise at those who had taken so much pains to perform the thankless office of shaking our confidence in a harmless opinion so long and so fondly cherished.

But when the moral character of one important branch of the Church, if not of the whole Church, is at stake, the question assumes a graver aspect, and we are bound in charity, if not in gratitude, to

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[1] St Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. x. 19. See Eusebius, Vita Constantini, cap. xviii.

weigh with the most suspicious jealousy the evidence which would convict of deliberate fraud and shameless hypocrisy, not only the Bishops and Clergy of the Church at Jerusalem, but the brightest lights of the universal Church at a period which we have been taught to regard as "uncorrupt," when Christianity was "most pure and indeed golden[2]." For the plea of ignorance can hardly be admitted in their behalf, and would scarcely be an extenuation of their fault if it could. They were impostors, and not dupes, or they had sufficient evidence to believe that they had really recovered the Sepulchre of our Lord. And it is remarkable that the strongest objection that has been urged against the authority of the tradition is such as it would have been most easy to obviate,—such as an impostor, if he had any of the art of his profession, would have been certain to foresee and most careful to anticipate.

Supposing Macarius to have failed in his endeavours to ascertain the true site, and his principles to have allowed him to commit "a pious fraud[3]" in the invention of a fictitious one, it is inconceivable that he should have presumed so much on the ignorance or credulity of Constantine and all his contemporaries, to say nothing of succeeding generations, as to fix upon a spot which common sense or common observation would shew them to have been within the ancient city. So that instead of arguing against the tradition, as its impugners are accustomed to do, from the probable

---

[2] Our Homilies invariably speak of the Church of the 4th century in these and such-like terms, and of its bishops, &c., as "godly learned men."

[3] In Vol. II. p. 80, of the Biblical Researches, the bishop Macarius and his clergy are charged with *ambition*, *fraud*, *falsehood* and *hypocrisy*, of the most aggravated character—and "no injustice done them"!

extent of the ancient city, it would be much more reasonable, in considering so very uncertain and difficult a question as the topography of ancient Jerusalem, to take into account the fact, that less than three centuries after our Lord's Ascension, the place now called Calvary was said to have been without the second wall; because, the more improbable the supposition, the better reason must then have existed for marking this as the spot; since the fact of the place of crucifixion and sepulture being "without the gate" is not a modern discovery; it is plainly so written in Holy Scripture, and all the ancient writers bear witness to it, and declare with one voice that the site then and now revered was formerly without the city, but brought within its bounds by a later disposition of the walls.

It must be considered in examining the question that the nature of the case does not admit of demonstrative proof; the most we can expect is a high degree of probability; and if we can divest our minds of an undue prejudice against traditionary evidence, we shall be ready to grant that there is a strong antecedent presumption on the side of a tradition which has antiquity and universality in its favour, and relates to a matter of such vast importance: and that it is fairly entitled to regard, and worthy of some degree of credit, until its veracity be clearly disproved. On subjects such as these it seems safer and more wise, and is certainly more pleasant, to endeavour to reconcile apparently conflicting testimonies, so as to believe as much as possible, rather than to set them in opposition one to another, as though they could by no possibility be brought to agreement. It is our duty to guard as far as possible against the opposite extremes of credulity and scepticism.

And I cannot but think that there is something very unreasonable in the excessive prejudice of Dr Robinson against ecclesiastical tradition, which led him as a principle "to avoid as far as possible all contact with the convents and the authority of the monks[1]" during his investigations in Palestine. I am satisfied that he would have done more justice to his subject, and have added much to the authority of his work in the eyes of most of his readers, if he had informed them of the opinion of the native Christians on the questions under discussion.

I will illustrate this by reference to a point of some little importance, though not immediately connected with the present subject.

In 1842 (October 7th and 8th) I visited Beit Jebrín with a friend[2] deeply interested, like myself, in the investigation of the antiquities of Palestine. We read and studied Dr Robinson's proofs of the identity of this village with the site of Eleutheropolis[3]. We were interested by his arguments, struck by his coincidences, carried away by the romance of his measurements, but not fully satisfied, not thoroughly convinced. Some time after, my friend, on his departure from Palestine, (January 10, 11, 1843) again visited this place, and again with

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[1] Vol. I. p. 377. We shall see that this is not always the case. "The native Arab population," to whom "solely he applied for information," are very apt to adopt, not merely the traditions of monks, but the suggestions of travellers, and to pass them off as authoritative. In 1843 I was pointed out, on the sea of Tiberias, the site of Bethsaida, where a friend and myself had endeavoured to fix it in the preceding year, by the very boatman who on my former visit had denied all knowledge of such a name! He was a *native* Mohammedan.

[2] The Reverend John Rowlands, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, to whom this Work is so much indebted.

[3] See Bib. Res. Vol. II. pp. 355—362, and 395—420, for a full description and for a discussion of the question.

the same result. He wrote me word, "I am not yet quite satisfied that Beit Jebrín is ancient Eleutheropolis. I hope you will find an opportunity at some future time to visit 'Es-Safieh' or 'Alba Specula[1],' and see whether that may not be Eleutheropolis." Meanwhile I had discovered, from a very intelligent Greek priest in the convent at Jerusalem, that the continued tradition of his Church, written and unwritten, had delivered that Beit Jebrín does represent the Betogabra of Ptolemy and the Eleutheropolis of Ecclesiastical history, and that they had no doubt of the fact. This placed the matter beyond all question in our minds, and I will venture to say that there are few persons who would not consider Dr Robinson's arguments very much confirmed by this agreement; while there may be some with whom this simple testimony of the Greek Church would have more weight than all his ingenious and learned arguments together; considering that the city to which the tradition refers was formerly an Episcopal See and a place of great importance in Palestine[2]. But since, on the other hand, no tradition, however venerable, has force to counterbalance the evidence of the senses and of existing phenomena, or the authority of history, much less of Holy Scripture, we are bound to examine objections which appear to be weighty, and are by many supposed to be decisive, especially if they come recommended to us by learning and diligent research, and seem to have prevailed against the prepossessions of the objector[3].

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[1] See Bib. Res. Vol. II. pp. 363—367.

[2] Witnessed not only by the character of the ruins still to be seen, (pp. 355, 6), but by history and by the fact of its being assumed as a terminus in the old Itineraries and descriptions, *e. g.* Antoninus, Eusebius, and St Jerome.

[3] This Dr Robinson states to have been the case with him, (Bib. Res.

It will be unnecessary to notice the arguments of Dr Clarke against the authority of the Holy Sepulchre[4], not only because it is evident that his indignation against what he calls "the farrago of absurdities," and his contempt for "the credulity for which no degree of preposterousness seemed too mighty," put it out of his power to consider the question calmly and dispassionately, and indisposed him for the investigation during his short visit to Jerusalem[5], but because Dr Robinson may now be considered the champion of the opinion which that great traveller first published in England, and he has brought much learning and much research to the question, and done ample justice to the cause which he advocates[6]. But in order to prepare the way

---

Vol. II. pp. 69, 80; Biblioth. Sac. p. 157.) This being so, he was singularly unfortunate, when all the received traditions relating to the passage of the Red Sea, the mountain of the Law at Sinai, the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the place of the Crucifixion and Burial, at Jerusalem, and of the Ascension on Mount Olivet, not to mention numberless others of less importance, failed to satisfy him.

[4] Indeed he grants that the identity of the Holy Sepulchre "has every evidence but that which should result from a view of the sepulchre itself." Vol. IV. p. 309, 8vo. ed. *i.e.* he is satisfied with the traditionary evidence, and sees no difficulty in the site.

[5] Really one cannot be sorry that a man who could write so indecently and irreverently as to call the pious Helena "an infatuated and superstitious old woman," and the saints and fathers of the 4th century "*ignorant* priests," should fall into the monstrous absurdity of placing Mount Sion south of the Valley of Hinnom! Objecting to the received sites, he has the presumption to assign others for the Crucifixion and Burial. See his plan of Jerusalem at the commencement of Vol. IV. and pp. 324, 5, 6. The spot assigned for the former must have been *within the ancient city!* But he does not seem to have read Josephus. He ran through Palestine, including Jerusalem, in fifteen days.

[6] Dr Robinson's views were first published in his Biblical Researches in Palestine, London, 1841, defended in the Bibliotheca Sacra, a periodical edited by him, New York and London, 1843, and again in Vol. III. of the second series of this same Quarterly, under another Editor, New York and London, 1846. To prevent confusion, I refer to this last volume under its second title, "Theological Review."

for the topographical investigations on which I am now to enter, it will be well to take such a survey of the general position of modern Jerusalem, as also of its more prominent features, as may serve to familiarise the reader with the ground which we shall have to traverse; and furnish such a vocabulary as may prevent the necessity of circumlocution in any future reference to the Quarters or Streets of the City[1].

That "the hills stand about Jerusalem," is a fact familiar to all; and the Mount "which is before Jerusalem, on the East," is likewise associated with our earliest and most sacred recollections. My description shall therefore commence from these known and familiar points.

The Eastern wall of the City, facing Mount Olivet, is the most direct of the four sides. Its length is 2790 feet, of which more than half (1525 feet) on the South is occupied by the Haram, or area of the Great Mosk. This wall overhangs the steep brow of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which continues its upward course to the North, some distance beyond the N. E. angle of the city, expanding gradually as it rises; then turning sharply to the West it runs up to the Tombs of the Kings. Below the S. E. angle of the wall, this valley inclines

[1] The authorities for the following description are, 1. Majors Aldrich and Symonds' beautiful Plan, 1841; 2. the old Norman French description of the City, at the time of its capture by Saladin, first edited by Beugnot in the Assises de Jérusalem, Tome II. p. 531, &c.: then given by Schultz in the Zusätze to his Jerusalem, Berlin, 1845, p. 107, &c., which will be found in full in the Appendix: as will also 3. Mejr-ed-dín's account, (A.D. 1495,) from the Mines d'Orient, Tome II. p. 125, &c. Vienne, 1811. The measures are taken chiefly from 4. Dr Robinson's Biblical Researches, checked and corrected by the Trigonometrical Survey, (No. 1, sup.) and from 5. the careful measurements (so far as they go) of Mr Tipping, the results of which are given in the notes to Traill's Josephus, London, 1847.

slightly to the West, narrowing into a deep gorge between the ridge of Ophel and the Mount of Offence, which is that continuation of Mount Olivet in whose rocky side is excavated the village of Siloam. South of this, the contracted valley again opens into a small plain, formed by the concurrence of two other valleys, which we must next trace up to their commencement. The more marked and better known of these is the Valley Ben-Hinnom, which following a serpentine course from this quarter, encircles the City on the South and West, where it expands into a plain around the Birket Mamilla. The third Valley between the two just described, (it must at present be anonymous) runs in a northerly direction through the City, and opens into a small plain without the Damascus Gate. In the mouth of this valley the Pool of Siloam is situated.

The southern part of the ridge between the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the intermediate valley, is universally allowed to be the Temple Mount, and the southern part of the broader ridge, between the latter valley and that of Hinnom, is generally conceded to be the Hill of Sion.

To proceed now with the walls. From the N. E. angle of the City, nearly to the Damascus Gate (2200 feet) the course of the northern wall is almost due West; then verging some points to the South, over a high rocky ridge, it reaches the brow of the Valley Ben-Hinnom, at the N.W. angle of the City, 1990 feet from the Damascus Gate. Hence, taking a south-easterly direction from the Valley Ben-Hinnom, 878 feet to the Jaffa Gate; then due South to the S.W. angle, (1400 feet) it bisects Mount Sion from West to East, and continues in an irregular line, with the same general

bearing to the S. E. angle; the measure of this side is 3720 feet: making the whole circuit of the modern walls 12,978 feet, or 4326 yards, nearly two miles and a half. The walls may be said broadly to face the four cardinal points; and the situation of the four gates towards the same quarters will much simplify the description of the City.

The western gate named of Jaffa, and the northern of Damascus, have been already mentioned. The southern gate, 600 feet from the S.W. angle of the wall, is appropriately named of Sion; the eastern, 200 feet north of the Haram wall, is called by the natives "the Gate of St Mary." They have all of them other designations, but with these we need not at present concern ourselves.

Two minute descriptions of the Holy City, the earlier by a French, the later by an Arabic writer, will furnish as complete a directory as can be desired, and will enable me to assign names to the principal Streets of the City, which will be extremely serviceable in the progress of the inquiry: the more so as the modern inhabitants have, for the most part, dispensed with this convenient practice[1].

From the Jaffa Gate a street leads due East to the Haram, cutting the three lines of bazaars at right angles, in their southern extremity. The whole of this is called "the Street of David," though the part East

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[1] Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. I. 394, note 1. "Châteaubriand, in his *Itinéraire*, professes to give the names of all the chief streets; but our friends, who had resided several years in the city, and made frequent inquiries, had never been able to hear of any, except in one or two instances." Châteaubriand's names do not agree with the French or Arabic author; but were, no doubt, those used in his time by the Latins.

of the bazaar is elsewhere designated by the distinct appellation of "the Street of the Temple:" a distinction which I shall find it convenient to adopt. Another street, commencing at the Damascus Gate, traverses the whole length of the City from North to South, passing through the bazaars, and terminating near the Sion Gate. It cuts the Street of David at the South end of the bazaars, North of which it is called "the Street of St Stephen," South, "the Street of Mount Sion."

These two main streets divide Jerusalem into four quarters, exclusive of the Haram. They are, first, the Christian quarter (Hâret en-Nasâra), on the N.W.; the Mohammedan quarter (Hâret el-Muslimîn), on the N.E.; the Armenian quarter (Hâret el-Armân), on the S.W.; and the Jews' quarter (Hâret el-Yehûd), on the S.E.: the two latter being situated on Mount Sion. The subdivisions of the streets and quarters are numerous, but unimportant, not needing separate notice. The Christian quarter will claim our first attention, when I have noticed one or two other features, and named a few more streets, in order to complete the vocabulary.

Immediately within the Jaffa Gate, on the right hand side at entering, in the North-West angle therefore of the Armenian quarter, is the Citadel (El-Kal'ah) commonly called by Christians the "Castle of David." The open space about it, on the North and East, was formerly "the Corn-Market." Leaving this on the right, and proceeding a short way down the Street of David, we arrive at the end of "the Street of the Patriarch," running through the Christian quarter from South to North, parallel to the Bazaars. Following this for nearly 800 feet, we find another street running at right-angles to it, parallel to the Street of David,

continued with one or two angles to the Gate of St Mary, Eastward; and Westward, past the Franciscan Convent, to the North-West corner of the City. The Western part of this, as far as St Stephen's Street, is "the Street of the Holy Sepulchre;" the Eastern is now "the Via Dolorosa[1]." From the Damascus Gate another main street diverges from St Stephen's Street, until it meets the Via Dolorosa at a large ruined Bath, then, running parallel to the Western wall of the Haram, traverses the whole length of the valley, which has been noticed as intersecting the City, as far as the Street of the Temple. It here meets with an obstruction, the cause of which will be presently explained, but is thence continued, in the same Southerly course, to the small closed gate, marked in modern plans as the Dung Gate[2]. This is "the Street of the Valley of the Mills;" but it will be more convenient to designate it "the Valley Street," and the Valley, "the Mill Valley."

With these data, we shall be in some measure prepared to enter upon the disquisition of the topography of the ancient City; but as I am first to address myself to that part of the subject which affects the authority of the Holy Sepulchre, a somewhat more minute description of its site, and of the Christian quarter in which it is situated, will be desirable.

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[1] It may be well to state that the Via Dolorosa is called by the French writer, *la rue de Josaphat*, and the Eastern gate *la porte de Josaphat*. This gate is commonly known to travellers as St Stephen's gate, but I call it by its native name, St Mary's Gate, to prevent confusion, as I have to speak of a street of St Stephen, which is in no way connected with *this* gate, but with the old St Stephen's, now the Damascus Gate.

[2] "La posterne de la Tanerie" of the French description. The Arabic alone names the street, but carries it only to the Street of the Temple: the French description reckons it all one street to the gate, as indeed it is.

J. Fairholt lith. from a drawing by W.F. Wills.

Royal Royal Hill to the Queen.

EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

From Mount Calvary, down Christian Street.

A line drawn along the course of the walls from the Jaffa to the Damascus Gate, down the Street of St Stephen to the South end of the Bazaar, and up the Street of David to the Jaffa Gate, would describe the Christian quarter[3]. The parallelogram formed by the Streets of the Patriarch and St Stephen, West and East, and the Streets of David and the Holy Sepulchre, South and North, is divided into almost equal parts by Palm Street, forming a communication between the two former. The Northern part is occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Southern by the ruins of the Hospital of the Knights of St John. This will be enough for our present purpose. The question is, Was this space included in the second wall of the City, as described by Josephus, or was it not? If it was, the tradition of the site of the Holy Sepulchre falls to the ground, for obvious reasons; if it was not, then the tradition must be allowed to stand until some valid objection be shewn against it.

Having thus broadly stated the question, I may refer to a former chapter for a description of Jerusalem[4], as it existed in our Saviour's time, before the erection of the third wall by King Agrippa. It will be sufficient here to state, that Acra was the hill sustaining the Lower City, separated from Sion, the much higher hill on which the Upper City was built, by the broad valley of the Tyropœon; that the Gate Gennath was a place in the North wall of Sion, near which the wall encompassing Acra had its beginning; and that

[3] William of Tyre, Hist. Orient. Lib. IX. XVIII. p. 773, of Bongar's ed. thus describes it.

[4] Vol. I. p. 146, &c.: the original is given in the Appendix to this Volume, so that I need not swell the foot-notes by citations.

this North wall of Sion commenced at the Hippic Tower, from whence it ran Eastward to the Temple area.

The points to be determined then, are, 1, the site of the Hippic Tower; 2, the position of the Gate Gennath, and the line of the Second Wall; 3, the situation of Acra; and 4, the course of the Tyropœon; for, at present, I must assume Mount Sion and the Temple Mount to occupy the positions which the almost universal consent of the learned has assigned them, as already described.

I. I do not assume that the site of the Hippic Tower corresponded with that of the Tower of David at the N. E. of the present citadel, because I much question whether this can be clearly established[1]. Not that I can for a moment admit the new and strange hypothesis[2] that would remove it to the N.W. corner of the present City, and find traces of it in the ruins of Tancred's Tower, called by the natives Kasr Jalûd—the Tower of Goliath. I hope to be able to adduce proof that it occupied a space on the platform of the modern citadel, only at its N.W. instead of its N. E. angle. That it is to be sought for in this part of Mount Sion, is clear from Josephus's description of Jerusalem just referred to; where the Hippicus is assumed as the starting point of two of the City walls, i. e. of the wall that encompassed the Upper City, and of Agrippa's wall, which enclosed the New City. It was a square tower, twenty-five cubits on a side, solid

[1] I assumed this from Dr Robinson (Bib. Res. Tome I. pp. 453—457) in my first edition. D'Anville held it to occupy the site of the Tower Psephinus. Châteaubriand's Itinéraire, Tome II. pp. 45 and 262.

[2] This is Mr Fergusson's hypothesis, which will be noticed elsewhere.

to the height of thirty cubits; and near it, on the same North wall, were the towers of Phasaëlus and Mariamne: the former a square of forty cubits, solid to the same height; the latter also a square of twenty cubits, and solid to that height. Their total altitude was eighty, ninety, and fifty-five cubits respectively; but this altitude was much increased, in appearance, by their position; for the part of the old wall which they occupied was built on a lofty hill, and a kind of loftier crest of this hill rose to a height of thirty cubits more[3], on which crest the towers were built, and so received much additional height.

Now the Northern wall of the modern citadel rises from a deep fosse, having towers at either angle, the bases of which are protected on the outside by massive masonry sloping upward from the fosse. The N.W. tower, divided only by the trench from the Jaffa Gate, is a square of forty-five feet: the N.E. or Tower of David is seventy feet three inches long, by fifty-six feet four inches broad. The sloping bulwark is forty feet high, from the bottom of the trench; but this is much choked up with rubbish. "To the lower part there is no known nor visible entrance, either from

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[3] Dr Robinson (Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 457) writes, "above the valley of the Tyropœon;" but without any warrant from Josephus, who says not a word of a valley, and never hints at the Tyropœon being near the Hippicus. His words are: "Τηλικοῦτοι δὲ ὄντες οἱ τρεῖς [πύργοι] τὸ μέγεθος, πολὺ μείζονες ἐφαίνοντο διὰ τὸν τόπον. αὐτό τε γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος, ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν, ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ δεδόμητο, καὶ τοῦ λόφου καθάπερ κορυφή τις ὑψηλοτέρα προάνειχεν εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὑπὲρ ἣν οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι πολὺ δή τι τοῦ μετεώρου προσελάμβανον." J. W. v. iv. 4. Dr Robinson, T. R. III. p. 442, n. 4, remarks, that "this thirty cubits is not assigned by Josephus as the elevation of the hill, but as the height of the wall above the hill." He was misled by Whiston's Translation.

above or below; and no one knows of any room or space in it." The reason of this I am now able to explain. The lower part of this platform is solid rock, merely cut into shape, and faced with solid masonry; and a section through the rampart, just North of the Tower of David, shews a basement of rock forty-two feet high, surmounted by a rampart of fifteen feet, including the battlement[1]. Who can doubt that this rock is part of the crest of the hill described by Josephus as thirty cubits, or forty-five feet high, still standing firm against the shock of time, which has brought down to the dust the proud towers of Herod, notwithstanding the forbearance of the Romans and Saracens[2]? And now, if we compare the dimensions of the two towers, Hippicus and Phasaëlus, with the modern towers in the North side of the citadel, I apprehend we shall have no difficulty in assigning the Hippic Tower to the N.W. angle; for the square of twenty-five cubits, assigned by Josephus to this tower, does so nearly correspond with the dimensions of the modern tower, as measured by our officers, that the sites must, I think, be identical; and this supposition is much confirmed by observing, that three sides of this corner-tower are determined by the form of the scarped rock on which it is based. I would further suggest, whether the Tower of David may not occupy the larger base of Phasaëlus? Its breadth, as determined by the cut rock, would nearly correspond with a side of its square, and the length may have been extended along the wall

[1] The plan and section of Majors Aldrich and Symonds, have revealed these important facts: the measures of the Tower of David are given by Dr Robinson, and agree with the officers' plan.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 189, 421, 423, 424, for the history of this Tower. B. R. I. 457, 459.

when the tower was rebuilt, and the citadel assumed its present form; at which time also the trench would be continued round the rampart, so detaching the third tower, Mariamne, whose base, with the continuation of the cliff, might probably be recovered to the East of the Tower of David, under the accumulation of soil,—the *débris* of former desolations.

This removal of the Hippic Tower to the N.W. angle of the citadel from the N.E., where it was fixed by Dr Robinson, will not materially affect the questions at issue between us, as we should agree in drawing the North wall of Sion from this last Tower Eastward to the Haram, along a line South of the Street of David, and almost parallel to it[3]. The next question is, Where, in this line, was the Gate Gennath?

II. Dr Robinson, assuming the Street of David to follow the bed of the ancient Tyropœon, and the Christian quarter to occupy the hill Acra, consistently places the Gate Gennath near the Hippic Tower[4]. "It must have been to the East of Hippicus," as he justly remarks, "for the third wall began at that tower[5];" and I agree with him in thinking that "it was probably not included within the second wall, in order to allow a direct passage between the Upper City and the country." But I cannot appreciate the only argument adduced in proof

[3] See B. R. Vol. I. 457, 459.

[4] I must except to the process of argumentation adopted in proof of this: He says first (Vol. I. p. 411), "The second wall began at the gate of Gennath (*apparently* near Hippicus)." Then p. 453, Josephus, it is said, "assumed the ancient tower Hippicus as the starting point in his description of *all the city-walls*." Then p. 461, "This gate of Gennath in the first wall *doubtless* was near the tower Hippicus." And then (Vol. II. p. 67), "The second wall, *as we have seen*, began at the gate of Gennath, *near the tower of Hippicus*," &c.

[5] B. R. I. p. 462, n. 1, and Josephus, J. W. v. iv. 4.

that it could not be far distant from Hippicus, to wit, "because that part of Sion was then high and steep." Indeed, it seems to me to disprove the very point which it is adduced to prove; for how a city-gate could have an exit where the wall was carried along a rocky eminence thirty cubits high, I cannot comprehend; and such we have just heard from Josephus was the case with this North wall of Sion, on which stood those three imposing towers of Hippicus, Phasaëlus, and Mariamne.

Connected with these within was the royal castle or palace of the first Herod, which was enclosed by the said wall on the North; so that the Gate of Gennath must have been East, not of the Hippic Tower only, but of both the others, and of the whole space on the North wall of Sion, occupied within by the palace of Herod, which was very extensive, comprehending not only "two immense chambers, so large and splendid that the temple itself could not be compared with them[1]," "large bed-chambers, each of which would contain beds for one hundred guests," and a vast number of other apartments, but "many porticoes one beyond another, round about; and green courts, and groves of trees and long walks through them, with fountains supplied by deep canals and cisterns[2];" and abundant space for the encampment of soldiers[3]. The absurdity of supposing an exit for a city-gate through such a royal palace, and down a precipice of thirty cubits, is obvious, and need not be insisted on.

Again. After the taking of the outer and second wall, which gave possession of the New and Lower City,

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[1] Ibid. I. xxi. 1. [2] Ibid. V. iv. 4. [3] Ibid. II. xv. 5, and xvii. 7, 8.

Titus made his advances towards the fortress Antonia in one quarter, and towards the Upper City in another. We have only now to do with the latter. A bank was raised against the Northern wall of Sion by the tenth legion, "at the pool called Amygdalon, as was done by the fifteenth legion about thirty cubits from it, at the high priest's monument[4]." Now the former of these two banks must have been somewhere East of the three towers, which "the Romans could not assail with their machines and towers[5]" on account of their great strength, aided as it was by the steep cliff[6], which would probably continue some distance eastward, and present an obstacle to the erection of the engines; while the latter was also West of the second wall; for not only would the existence of a sepulchral monument within the old city be unaccountable, whereas it would be quite natural within that which had been lately enclosed; but while the crowded buildings of the old city would have obstructed the operations of the soldiers, had the bank been raised within that wall, there would be no such impediment in this part, where the new city was thinly inhabited, and the outer wall once taken, "afforded an easy passage to the third or inner wall, through which Titus had hoped to take the Upper City[7]."

And this statement is very remarkable, as proving the fallacy of the oft-repeated assertion of "the existence

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[4] Ibid. v. xi. 4.

[5] Bib. Res. I. 412; but Dr Robinson confounds these two banks, which were destroyed by the Jews, (J. W. v. xi. 6), with those raised by four legions against the *west* wall, much later in the siege. Ibid. VI. viii. 2. Theol. Rev. p. 447.

[6] J. W. v. iv. 1, VI. viii. 4, and ix. 1.

[7] Josephus says: ταύτῃ γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρυμα χθαμαλώτερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν, ἀμελησάντων καθ' ἃ μὴ λίαν ἡ καινὴ πόλις συνῳκιστο τειχίζειν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἦν εὐπέτεια, κ. τ. λ. J. W. v. vi. 2.

of populous suburbs in this part, which must already have existed before the time of our Lord[1];" for this part is expressly excepted by Josephus, directly here, as elsewhere incidentally: here directly, in that he states that the first or outer wall was lower in this quarter, owing to the scanty population—(for the enemy's missiles from without would fall harmless in a space void of buildings); incidentally, in the passage where he relates how Cestius encamped his army within the outer wall, opposite to the royal palace[2]. From both which remarks it is moreover clear that there was a considerable space between the outer and second wall. But if the Gate Gennath was near the Hippic Tower, this could not well be the case; since the second and the outer walls, (running Northward from these points respectively,) must have continued almost parallel for some considerable distance, within a few yards one of another[3]. The divergence must have been very gradual, if the *second* wall passed West of the Pool of the Bath, "across the higher and more level part of the broad ridge or swell of land between the Jaffa and Damascus Gates," which rises somewhat higher than the N.W. part of the modern city[4]; and the *outer* wall "perhaps a little within the line of the present wall, along the brow of the upper part of the Valley of Hinnom[5]." And if such had been the disposition of the walls, I cannot imagine that Josephus would have mentioned

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[1] B. R. II. 69. B. S. p. 195, note 4. The populous part of the New City was on the north, not on the west, as is elsewhere admitted by Dr Robinson. B. S. p. 193. See Josephus, J. W. v. iv. 2.

[2] J. W. II. xix. 5. comp. Vol. I. p. 166.

[3] This I conceive Dr R. would admit, to judge at least by his descriptions; for he has never yet aided the description with a plan of the ancient city-walls.

[4] See B. R. I. 462, 351, 391.

[5] Theol. Rev. p. 447.

it as a peculiarity of the second wall, that it was not joined to the inner wall at this part, for it evidently was; nor that Titus would have chosen for his first assault this particular part of the *outer* wall, where he would be within easy reach of the missiles discharged from the *second* wall also; and, the breach effected, would have to march his soldiers through it, in face of a fire from the same rampart[6].

But to this it is answered, that on the building of the wall of Agrippa, the second wall had been allowed to fall to decay in this part[7]: and the proof is, that when Titus had taken the outer wall, the Jews forthwith commenced repairing the second. But then it is very strange that Titus not only did not at once avail himself of this breach to take the second rampart, but that he allowed the Jews to proceed with their building undisturbed. It would have been much more to his purpose to prevent the erection of this new work, than to de-

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[6] Dr Robinson, ibid., supposes the place of Titus's first attack 200 or 300 feet south of the present N.W. corner of the city-wall: my deductions are obvious.

[7] Theol. Rev. p. 446. This view is supported by the assertion of Josephus, that on the capture of the outer wall, one party of the Jews ἐφράξαντο τὴν ἐμβολήν, "fortified the rampart." I may adopt the words of Schweighauser on Herodotus, IX. 70. (ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἠδυνέατο ἄριστον τὸ τεῖχος·) "Mihi hoc loco φράξασθαι τὸ τεῖχος significare videtur *protegere, defendere murum;* nempe ut *ipsi propugnatores quasi φραγμὸς essent, quo murus defenderetur.*" Lex. sub voc. φράσσειν. Conf. Æsch. Sept. Cont. Theb. v. 63. φράξαι πόλισμα. This argument, if valid, would not be consistently urged by one who objects to remove the gate Gennath eastward, because thus we should uncover 800 feet of the north wall of Sion; seeing that this broken wall would expose the whole of that front of Sion, and all the Lower City. Having found "strong and almost conclusive evidence (on p. 446) that the second wall protected the whole northern side of Sion," one is astonished to find directly opposite, on p. 447, that this portion of the second line of fortification "was in a state of neglect or dilapidation," but, "Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis"! See Bell. Jud. v. vii. 3, and Vol. I. p. 179.

molish the wall which he had taken. But the truth is, the second wall was not in this state of decay; and the objections to the proximity of the two walls are therefore valid.

Indeed, if the words of Josephus are to be allowed any intelligible signification, they must be taken to declare that for which I am contending, viz. that there was a considerable interval between the outer and second rampart, and a large piece of the Sion wall unmasked by the second, within the line first assailed by Titus, between the Hippic and Psephine Towers. "The second wall," he says, "did not join, but there was a clear passage to the third or inner wall." It is admitted by Dr Robinson, that "the want of junction spoken of in the second wall seems necessarily to refer to its junction with the first, or old wall on Sion;" for "the phrase cannot, of course, refer to any junction of the second with the outer wall, since the outer wall began at Hippicus, and the second at the gate Gennath, on the East of that tower[1]:" and as the assumption of dilapidation cannot be admitted without, or rather against authority[2], I conclude that the reason why "there was in this quarter an easy approach[3] .... to the inner wall of Sion," is, that this same inner wall was not here covered by the second wall[4].

I come to the last and most remarkable proof of all, that the Gate Gennath was near the Hippic Tower. On the taking of the outer wall, "the party of Simon,

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[1] Theol. Rev. p. 446.

[2] J. W. II. xx. Vol. I. p. 167.

[3] The unauthorised insertion of Dr Robinson, "to the Lower City and" shows exactly how Josephus would have expressed himself, had he known of a gap in the second wall.

[4] So Dr Schultz understands and translates the phrase *τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν*. Jerusalem, p. 68.

we are told, manned the wall from the monument of John quite to the gate by which water was brought into the tower Hippicus[5]." The position of the monument is not determined; but "the gate must of course have been quite near to Hippicus." "It follows decisively and conclusively, that there was a gate in the first wall adjacent to Hippicus:" but does it follow that "the second wall had its junction with the first or old wall on Sion *at that gate*"? and must we necessarily admit the sequence of the "direct corollary, that this gate, by which water was brought into Hippicus, was the gate Gennath"? Let us consider the circumstances.

Simon held the Upper and Lower City[6]; and would no doubt man so much of the second and first wall as was now exposed to the attack of the Romans. I see no reason why his line of defence may not have extended along the Sion Wall, from the Hippic Tower to the junction of the second wall,—however far to the East; and then along the second wall to the monument in question, whence the party of John would continue the line; for it is certain that, at this stage of the siege, his faction was in possession of the part of the second wall opposite the monuments of King Alexander, wherever they were. Besides, as the Gate Gennath had a distinguishing name, it needed no periphrasis to describe it; and there is no necessary connexion between a water-gate and a garden-gate. It happens also that we do know of another anonymous gate, hard by the Hippic Tower; and I could much rather believe the identity of the water-gate with that obscure gate through which the Jews made a sally upon the Romans while

[5] J. W. v. vii. 3. Dr Robinson, T. R. p. 447—449.

[6] J. W. v. vii. 2, 3, and see the account in Vol. I. p. 179.

attacking the outer wall[1]; (a gate, therefore, on the South of Hippicus, in the West wall of Sion, conducting probably to the aqueduct or pool in the Valley of Hinnom ;) and that from this point Simon's line of defence was continued along the North wall of Sion to the part over against the monument of John, which I cannot hesitate to assign to a position thirty cubits East of the Almond Pool, identical with the modern Pool of the Bath[2].

That Josephus "assumed the tower Hippicus as the starting point in his description of all the city-walls," is not a correct assertion; for he says expressly that the second wall "had its beginning near the gate Gennath," the position of which he leaves undetermined; yet the assumption that it was "doubtless near the tower of Hippicus," so far from being supported by any evidence from this author, is negatived by those incidental passages which have been now adduced; and had it been near he would probably have said so, as it is quite true that this is "assumed as the starting point of all the walls except the second."

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[1] J. W. v. vi. 6.

[2] This identity is acknowledged by Dr Robinson, T. R. p. 448, and by Dr Schultz, p. 30. It would be a matter of great importance to determine the position of John's monument. The arguments and deductions of Dr Robinson, (T. R. p. 448) appear to me equally unsound. He places it west of the Pool, not more than 200 or 250 feet distant from it. But the tower of David (the Hippicus of Dr Robinson) is somewhat less than 200 feet distant from this same Pool, and the Water-gate, (according to his theory, identical with the gate Gennath), was between the two: so that the gate must have been very close both to John's monument and the tower. I do not then see what space there was for Simon to build—much less to defend; nor how the gate Gennath could have been east of the Hippic tower, as is admitted. The position assigned to John's monument by Dr Schultz, is free from these objections, but does not entirely fall in with the statement of Josephus, referred to in the text. Dr Schultz would place it near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. p. 68.

III. To proceed now to Acra, and the Lower City. The simplest plan will be to compare the language of Josephus with the topographical notices of Dr Robinson, and see how far they are consistent.

In the language of Josephus, the ancient city "lay upon two hills, over against each other, separated by an intervening valley, at which the houses terminated[3]." And his language throughout plainly implies that the city comprehended the whole of the two hills, Acra as well as Sion—that Acra was in fact a distinct hill. But Dr Robinson's Acra is "the continuation, or rather the termination of the broad ridge or swell of land which lies North of the basin at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, and extends down into the city, forming its N.W. part. Indeed the N.W. corner of the city-wall is directly on this ridge; from which spot the wall descends immediately towards the N.E., and also, though less rapidly, towards the S.E. To the whole ridge, both without and within the city, a comparatively modern tradition has given the name of Mount Gihon[4]." The principal part of this high rocky ridge is without the city, on the right of the Jaffa road, which traverses its Southern edge, so that Dr Robinson's Acra is not a distinct and isolated hill, as Josephus has ever been understood to declare, but the termination or declivity of a swell of land[5].

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[3] Joseph. J. W. v. vi. 1, quoted by Dr Robinson, B. R. Vol. I. pp. 409, 10.

[4] B. R. I. p. 391. In a note here he says: "The name of Gihon, as applied to this ridge, seems to be first mentioned by Brocardus about A.D. 1283" (cap. ix. in p. 391). In p. 351, he had thus spoken of this same ridge: "The whole interval between this gate [the Damascus] and Gihon, [called by him more correctly Hinnom, in the passage quoted above], is occupied by a broad hill or swell of land rising somewhat higher than the N.W. part of the city itself."

[5] "Instead of being isolated, Acra is merely the South-Eastern end, or

Again, Josephus asserts that the two hills on which the City stood, "were everywhere enclosed from without by deep valleys[1];" but the wall enclosing Dr Robinson's Acra "ran from near Hippicus northwards, across the higher and more level part of Acra[2]," leaving without towards the north-west, not a deep valley, but a broad ridge or swell of land, which is continued to a considerable distance[3].

Further, Josephus invariably speaks of Sion as higher than Acra[4]. "Of these two hills that which contains the Upper City is much higher. It was called the citadel by king David; by us, the Upper Market-place. But the other hill, which was called Acra, sustained the Lower City," and occupied "the lower hill[5]." But Dr Robinson's Acra is considerably higher than Sion[6]. The Jaffa Gate, it will be remembered, is at that Tower which was proved to occupy the site of Hippicus, and its situation at the north-west angle of Mount Sion is as high as any on this hill; but "when one enters the Jaffa Gate, and takes the first street leading North"

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point of the long swell, which forms the high ground on the North-west of Jerusalem, and sinks down gradually towards the Temple as it enters the city." Bib. Sac. p. 189, note 1.

[1] J. W. v. iv. 1. "The only topographical notice of Josephus," says Dr Robinson, "as to which I have doubts," the language of which "is not literally exact." B. R. p. 414.

[2] Yet in another passage he seems to bring it lower down; p. 392, note 1, and so lays his second wall open to the same objection that he urges against mine, in the Th. Rev. p. 450.

[3] See Dr Robinson's Plan of Jerusalem, Vol. II., and Bib. Res. as above.

[4] Dr Robinson cavils at the word "invariably," and says Josephus mentions the fact once. I ask, do not the terms of constant occurrence ἡ ἀνω πόλις, or ἀγορά, and ἡ κατω πόλις, κ. λ. imply the same?

[5] J. W. v. iv. 1, &c.

[6] This is now universally admitted. Dr Robinson, B. R. I. p. 458, says: that "the highest part of this ridge is higher than Sion." Mr Wolcott, Bib. Sac. p. 30, "the site [of Tancred's tower in the N.W. angle] is perhaps, the highest in the city." Bartlett's Walks, p. 13, "the highest part of the city;" and Krafft, p. 6.

(*i. e.* to the supposed Acra,) "immediately from the adjacent open place, he has before him a considerable ascent, though afterwards the way is more level quite to the Latin Convent[7]." Indeed, this north-west angle of the modern city-wall is considerably higher than the highest point of Mount Sion; insomuch that the ground here will be found nearly on a level with the top of the Armenian Convent on Mount Sion, which is by far the loftiest building in Jerusalem, and as the native rock is here visible above the surface of the ground, the theory of rubbish can have no place.

Lastly. The broad valley which had once parted Acra from Moriah was filled up by the Asmoneans, and these two hills became one; whereas the valley between Dr Robinson's Acra and Moriah has not been at all filled up, except by the accumulation of *débris*, but remains most distinctly to this day, as he himself constantly testifies.

Josephus writes[8]: "Over against this (Acra) was a third hill, naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad valley. However, in those times when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, with the view of joining the City to the Temple." But according to Dr Robinson the valley between Acra and Moriah, though "greatly filled up with the rubbish accumulated from the repeated desolations of nearly eighteen centuries," is "still distinctly to be traced;" still "Moriah is separated from Acra by the

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[7] B. R. i. p. 391. This is not quite correct; from being more level at first, it becomes steeper as you approach the Casa Nuova and Latin convent, and still more so beyond, towards the north-west angle of the modern wall, without which is the large terebinth-tree. p. 345.

[8] J. W. v. iv. 1. See the Greek at the end.

valley which runs from the Damascus Gate;" so that "all the western entrances of the Mosk are reached by an ascent, and some of them at least by steps[1]." Now I cannot think that a valley filled with earth by the Asmoneans, and greatly filled up with the rubbish of so many centuries, would still exist as one of the principal features of the City; especially while another valley, more distinctly marked in olden time, and never designedly filled, has been obliterated for at least six centuries, which we shall presently see Dr Robinson conceives has been the case with the Tyropœon. At least the traces of the valley between Sion and Acra might be expected to be more distinctly marked, than of the valley be-

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[1] Bib. Res. I. pp. 414, 393, 394. To avoid the obvious difficulty, Dr Robinson omits the word "formerly," and inserts the word "partly," p. 413, i.e. Josephus says, that the valley had *formerly separated* the two hills, but was *filled up;* Dr Robinson, that it *still* separated in the time of Josephus, and had been only *partly* filled up. Again, p. 410, professing to follow Josephus, he says, "they threw earth into this valley, intending to connect, &c.," and again omits the word *formerly* separated. After this, it is somewhat hard to charge me with a *petitio principii*, because I follow Josephus implicitly, in the sense in which he has been understood by all writers who had no theory to support. Theol. Rev. p. 427. Or if it be a question of interpretation, I submit that we are not competent expositors, swayed as we must needs be by private partialities; and I appeal to two eminent scholars, deeply read in this question, and quite impartial, to decide, first, Whether Acra was a distinct hill; and secondly, whether or no it was joined to the Temple-mount by the filling up of the intermediate valley. See Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, cap. i. Works, Vol. IX. p. 214, "the valley between well raised and filled up with earth;" and Chorog. Cent. cap. xxii. iv. Vol. X. p. 47 and 52, 8vo edition. Compare Reland's Palestina, p. 846, 852, "valle repletâ ut urbem Templo conjungeret," and p. 853: "Erat etiam Templum conjunctum urbi a parte Acræ: nam vallem inter Acram et Moriam repleverunt Chasmonæi eum in finem imminutâ Acræ altitudine." Jos. de Bell. VI. 6. [al. v. 5.] They evidently understood Josephus's language of the τρίτος λόφος (διειργόμενος ἄλλῃ προτερον, and τὴν φάραγγα ἔχωσαν) to imply that they were no longer separated: but Dr Robinson says, "There is not a word about a valley obliterated, and two hills made one." Th. R. l. c.

tween Acra and Moriah; which is far from being the case if the topography of Dr Robinson is correct.

IV. For I never could find any traces of the valley which Dr Robinson calls the Tyropœon; that which separated between Sion and Acra. He did not himself at first discover it, as he had expected. He examined the high ground between the Pool of Mamilla and the Damascus Gate, to see "whether perhaps the valley of the Tyropœon extended up at all beyond the City in that direction. There is, however, no trace of any valley, or of any depression in this quarter, before reaching the declivity stretching down to the Damascus Gate[2]." He afterwards satisfied himself that he had discovered it in a "depression or shallow Wady, still easily to be traced, coming down from near the Jaffa Gate." in an easterly direction until it joins the Mill Valley, and "then continues obliquely down the slope, but with a deeper bed, in a southern direction, quite to the Pool of Siloam, and the Valley of Jehoshaphat[3]." In other words, the Mill Valley, i. e. "the broad valley running down from the Damascus Gate to the Pool of Siloam[4]," is supposed to receive another valley from the West, just South of the Street of the Temple. And this latter valley, with the continuation of the former, represents the Tyropœon.

But here, as elsewhere, it is difficult, unaided by a plan, to comprehend exactly where Dr Robinson would draw the line of the Tyropœon, though it is a matter of some moment to ascertain. When writing in his own person, he carries "the street which leads down directly East from the Jaffa Gate, (i.e. David's Street) along the

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[2] Bib. Res. I. p. 353. [3] Ibid. p. 383. [4] Bib. Res. I. p. 393.

bed of the ancient Tyropœon[1]:" and elsewhere this street "now occupies the lowest line of depression between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Sion[2]:" but then the testimony adduced to support this view, gives much wider latitude to this valley, and allows us to find it anywhere between the north brow of Sion and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. I have confidence in the accurate observation, in the correct memory, and the fair statement, of Mr Eli Smith, and am content to adopt his account, which I am able to confirm by actual survey. "Draw a line along the ridge from the north-west corner of the city-wall, so as to pass just upon the north side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and another along the northern brow of Mount Sion from the citadel; and there would be a decided depression between them, into which water would run from both. This is according to the best of my recollection[3]."

The accuracy of this statement may be seen by an extract from a letter of my friend Dr Schultz, now residing at Jerusalem, in reply to a communication of mine, enquiring how the waters of Patriarch Street, and the streets to the North of this, flow off in rainy weather? These streets running into Patriarch Street steeply from the North, I named Copt Street and Greek Street, from the great convents of those two Communities situated in them respectively. "I have examined the question about the water running down Patriarch Street, Copt Street, and Greek Street. The receptacle

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[1] Ibid. p. 388.

[2] Th. Rev. p. 419.

[3] Ibid. p. 434, being an extract from a MS. letter of Mr E. Smith. I must express my surprise that Dr Robinson did not see, or seeing did not acknowledge, how very discordant this testimony is with his theory.

of the rain-water of all these streets is a large cistern belonging to the tannery opposite the palace of the Knights of St John. Its mouth, I mean the mouth to receive the water, is on the eastern side of the outer court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, near the entrance of a small Greek Convent there. In rainy days, the water is rushing down that small street, [Palm Street] which leads from Patriarch Street (ruga balnei Patriarchæ of the Crusaders) to the open Court Yard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre[4]."

Now from these notices it appears that the lowest line of depression between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Sion, is not the Street of David, but Palm Street, immediately to the South of the Church; so that we have here no evidence for the Tyropœon of Dr Robinson, but decidedly against it. Indeed it is admitted that "this ravine has become gradually and wholly filled up with the ruins and rubbish of eighteen centuries[5]"—which Brocardus will reduce to thirteen, for "the valley was completely filled up" in his day, though "vestiges of its former concavity still remained[6]." And I find another argument against this ravine in the course of a large and very ancient sewer[7] which traverses Mount Sion from South to North, makes a sharp angle to the East, near the Castle of David, and runs past the premises of the Jews' Society on Mount Sion to the bazaars. For surely had there been

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[4] MS. letter dated Jerusalem, May 8, 1847.

[5] Th. Rev. p. 419.

[6] Brocardus, cap. viii. "Nunc vorago ipsa tota repleta est, relictis tamen vestigiis prioris concavitatis." Cited by Dr Robinson, ibid.

[7] I shall again fall in with this drain below; it is fully described (as an aqueduct) by Mr Johns, in a paper in Mr Bartlett's Walks, with a section and Plan. pp. 87—90. 1st Ed.

"a narrow ravine, immediately under the northern brow of Sion, serving as a drain for the waters falling on the adjacent part of Sion, and also for those on the southern declivity of the ridge[1];" this *cloaca maxima* would have followed that natural course, to the saving of considerable labour and expense.

And with respect to the evidence of Brocardus, and those who follow him, I may in passing, express my regret that the first attempt to identify the topographical features of ancient Jerusalem, as described by Josephus, should have failed so decidedly; and still more that the failure should have been perpetuated through so many centuries, owing to the repute in which the tract of Brocardus was held in the Convents[2]. It may be laid down as a rule, that notwithstanding his "most diligent investigation of its ancient disposition," he is invariably wrong where he follows his own judgment; as the plans which have been framed on his notions abundantly prove. It is only as a witness to the existing traditions of his day that he can be allowed

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[1] Th. Rev. p. 419.

[2] See the notice of this writer in the first Appendix A. to the Biblical Researches, p. 9, Vol. III. I did not intend to represent the theory of the Tyropœon adopted by Dr Robinson as new or singular, but I did not think that he would care for the support to be derived from Brocardus, (Theol. Rev. p. 434) who is followed by Adrichomius and Villalpandus, and they again by Lightfoot and other writers; whose plans, presently referred to, I for one should be very sorry to adopt. But the important difference between Brocardus with his followers, and Dr Robinson, is this: that although they drew the Tyropœon from the Jaffa gate, they did not place the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on Acra, but on Gihon, and saw no inconsistency between the tradition and the topographical notices of Josephus. See Brocardus, as quoted B. R. I. p. 391, on which I would remark, that the assignation of the valley is worth no more than the "modern tradition" of Gihon. Both own the same author. Both are equally wrong. Dr Robinson mentions another "supposed but fabulous valley," of this untrustworthy antiquary. Th. Rev. p. 435.

any authority: and it is only by comparing his tract with earlier notices that it can be ascertained whether he is a faithful witness, for he occasionally altered existing traditions to support his own theories—a most evil example, and of very mischievous consequence.

The testimony then of Mr Eli Smith, and of Dr Schultz above adduced, go to prove that the supposed valley along the Street of David (acknowledged by all to have been long since filled up) has no real existence[3]; and I shall presently have occasion to shew that much earlier writers than Brocardus were so profoundly ignorant of any valley running in that direction, that they regarded the site of the Holy Sepulchre as a declivity of Mount Sion.

For the depression along Palm Street is extremely small, enough to carry off the rain-water, but no more. The ground occupied by the Christian quarter is not unaptly called "a rocky projection or promontory setting in from the West[4]:" "being the south-eastern end or point of the long swell, which forms the high ground on the north-west of Jerusalem, and sinks down gradually towards the Temple as it enters the City; this lower extremity being more steep and rocky than the higher portions[5]." The effect of this is, that the whole ground North of Sion declines equally to the East, so that Patriarch Street, the three lines of bazaars,

[3] With regard to the drawings appealed to by Dr Robinson, (T. R. p. 433), I remark: that as Mr Bartlett had been led to expect the valley, and drew it in his very pretty fancy sketches, so Dr Robinson, wishing to find it in Mr Roberts' drawing, saw it. I quote no friendly author. "It certainly is impossible in any representation of the City, not drawn by a Tyropœonist, to discover this valley....We look for it in vain in the unsuspected drawings of Roberts." Dublin Univ. Mag. Sept. 1845, p. 269.

[4] Schultz, Jerusalem, p. 96. comp. pp. 30, 53, cited in Theol. Rev. p. 428.

[5] Bibl. Sac. p. 189, n. 1.

and St Stephen Street running from South to North, are completely level; David Street, the Street of the Holy Sepulchre, and those between them, to wit, Greek Street, Copt Street, and Palm Street, passing from West to East, deep declivities[1]. The brow or crown of the ridge so often mentioned, may, as Mr Smith intimates, follow a line drawn from the N.W. angle of the city-wall North of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and this would form the water-shed[2]; or there may be, as Dr Schultz suggests, a bay running in from the Mill Valley, between Sion and the Church[3], forming a crevasse in the rocky promontory, along the line indicated by the drain; but there is certainly no distinct valley, nor is it now pretended that there is. But when it is remembered that the Tyropœon was a marked feature in the topography of ancient Jerusalem; in the first instance dividing, as it would seem, two cities one from the other, and ever afterwards presenting a distinct line of separation between the two hills of the incorporated city, it seems scarcely credible that the accumulation of rubbish and such like accidental causes should so far have obliterated it, as to leave no distinct traces behind, but permit us to doubt where, between Sion and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the bed of this

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[1] This is admitted, Bartlett's Walks, 2nd Ed. App. p. 247, (cited in T. R. p. 433). Dr Robinson himself, p. 429, says only, "this strong averment must be taken with some grains of qualification;" but his qualifications do not affect my argument: and in p. 431 he writes, "now although these two streets [Patriarch street, and St Stephen's] for some distance North of Sion, may be apparently nearly level, yet after rain, the water (I think) would be found flowing off quite rapidly towards the South; certainly never towards the North." Dr Schultz has corrected this.

[2] See the extract from his letter above, p. 30, and compare Th. Rev. 429, 432, where note 2, see Mr Wolcott's letter.

[3] Dr Schultz, p. 54, as quoted in Th. Rev. p. 428, note 1.

valley lay; a doubt resolved by the flow of the rain-water against the course assigned it by Dr Robinson.

Lastly, I find a strong objection in the very language of Josephus to taking such a valley, supposing it to exist, for the Tyropœon. He is by no means a loose writer: indeed his expressions, so far as I have been able to test them, are remarkably close and accurate: and if he had been speaking of this imaginary rectangular valley, made up indeed of two valleys, I am persuaded that he would not have described it as one *extending* (καθήκει) down to Siloam; because it was, and still is, the Mill Valley that extended down through the City in a most unmistakable line of continuity, as Dr Robinson, in common with all other writers, abundantly testifies.

On these grounds then—that the gate Gennath must have been some distance East of Hippicus; that the Acra of Josephus is a complete contrast in altitude and character with the ridge North of Sion; that no distinct valley now exists, nor can be proved ever to have existed, between this ridge and Sion, I am obliged to reject the topographical identifications of Dr Robinson, and to propose a theory more consistent with the representations of the Jewish historian.

But nothing has yet been said of the Pool of Hezekiah, which, if rightly placed by Professor Robinson, would bring that part of the modern city, and so the Holy Sepulchre, within the ancient walls, which could scarcely have passed between the Pool and the Sepulchre.

The following is the Professor's notice of the Pool of Hezekiah; "The Reservoir, now usually so called, lies some distance north-eastward of the Jaffa Gate,

just west of the street that leads north to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre[1]." It lies, in fact, in the angle which David Street makes with Patriarch Street, and Copt Street winds round it on the West and North. With regard to its name, and the authority of the tradition which assigns it to Hezekiah, it is admitted that "the native name is Birket el-Hûmmâm, the Pool of the Bath[2];" and that "no tradition exists, or ever has existed, in respect of this Pool, except on the lips of the monks." In confimation of which I may remark, that I inquired diligently of the most learned Jews, of the most intelligent Greeks, of native Christians and Mahommedans, and never in one instance did I receive the name which Frank travellers now give it. The Pool of the Bath, or the Pool of the Holy Sepulchre, are the only names by which they know it.

On what authority then do the name and the tradition rest? It is singular that with so strong a prejudice against "monkish traditions," especially if they happen to be "comparatively recent," Dr Robinson should here follow a tradition which, above all others in Jerusalem, is "monkish" and "comparatively recent." Quaresmius, a monk and superior of the Frank Convent at Jerusalem at the beginning of the seventeenth century, appears to be the first writer who dignified this Pool with the name which he has adopted; and he speaks with great hesitation. It was commonly known as the "Pool of the Holy Sepulchre;" *he thinks* that this is the pool spoken of in Isaiah xxii. 9, and *believes*

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[1] Bib. Res. I. p. 487.

[2] Bib. Res. ibid. and Bibl. Sac. p. 196: "from the circumstance that its waters are used to supply a bath in that vicinity."

that allusion is made to it in 2 Chron. xxxii. 30[3]. With such an origin this tradition was handed down by the Latin monks, and received from them by English travellers, until it found its way at last into a modern plan of the city, though in a somewhat corrupted form[4]. It was not so much as mentioned by the writers of the middle ages; and but for a passage in Josephus, I should conclude it to be of later date, for I could discover nothing in its structure to denote any great antiquity[5].

The Chronicles of the Crusades are very explicit in their account of the fountains and pools on which the inhabitants of Jerusalem were dependent for their supply of water in that thirsty land. They severally enumerate those most celebrated, but one undertakes to give an account of *all*. He mentions the position of four very clearly, three of which still exist, the fourth has disappeared; but this of the Bath has no place in his list; indeed, he virtually denies all knowledge of its existence, for he says, "besides these four there is no mention of any other pools in or about the city[6]." Yet

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[3] His words are: "...intra civitatem esse alteram piscinam celebrem, præter Probaticam, quæ est a latere occidentali (Orientali?) castelli, parumque ad Aquilonem inclinans, ab eoque distat centum gressus, et a glorioso Christi Sepulchro *ducentos* circiter, et ab eo *communiter* piscina S. Sepulchri dicitur .....De hoc piscina *arbitror* loqui Dominum (Esa. xxii. 9) illis verbis, Et congregâstis aquas piscinæ inferioris.....Ad eamdam *credo* fieri allusionem illis verbis 2 Paral. xxxii. 30, Ipse est Hezechias," &c. Elucid. Terræ Sanctæ, Lib. VI. cap. viii. p. 4.

[4] It is marked in Mr Catherwood's truly monkish plan, as "the pool of *Ezekiel*."

[5] The large stones which Dr Robinson *heard of* may have belonged to any other building.

[6] "In Jerusalem autem vel circa, piscinæ aliæ non leguntur." Mar. Sanutus, Lib. III. Pt. 14, cap. x. He had mentioned Siloam; one *above* that; one by the Temple called by him the Sheep-pool, and now Bethesda; and one by the Church of St Ann, of which see the text forward.

its situation agrees so well with the Amygdalon or Almond-pool mentioned by Josephus[1], which I have shewn reason to believe was without the second wall, that I am disposed to conclude that it is noticed by that writer. It probably owed its origin to Herod the Great, and may have been designed for the supply of his palace, from which it would not be far distant; and if this be so, the silence of the writer in question must be accounted for either by its being disused in those times, or not improbably filled with rubbish.

Some of the writers above referred to, do indeed speak of the Pool of Hezekiah; and however clear it may be that they were mistaken, yet I think it would have been well if Dr Robinson had informed his readers that his Pool had a rival, which certainly could shew a much earlier title to this dignity,—especially as he does refer to the passages—rather than leave them to conclude that his monkish tradition was as ancient and undisputed as they would argue it to be, from the fact of its being so confidently received by one who objects to traditions of the 13th century as comparatively recent, and is so very suspicious of those which date as far back at least as the commencement of the fourth.

There existed formerly near the church of St Ann, within the St Mary's Gate, on the Eastern side of the city, a large pool celebrated by all the writers of the age of the Crusades[2], and supposed at least by the latter to be the "Inner Pool" made by Hezekiah, and cele-

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[1] See above, pp. 19. 24.

[2] Gesta Dei, p. 573; Will. Tyr. viii. 4, fin.; Jac. de Vit. c. 63. Marinus Sanutus (1321), Lib. III. Pt. 14, cap. x.; Brocardus (1283), c. 10. These passages are referred to by Dr Robinson, note 1, on p. 490, but not a word about Hezekiah. He merely says, "it was called *piscina interior*, and is now apparently destroyed."

brated in Scripture history. There seem to be insuperable objections to this tradition, which will be stated in a subsequent chapter; nor does it appear to be of sufficient antiquity to demand much respect; but it has been mentioned here to shew what very slender authority there is for the claims of this Pool, when so late as the 14th century it was not so much as mentioned, and the name which he assigns it given to another.

Not that it is on this authority that Dr Robinson builds; "for thus connecting the Reservoir with Hezekiah, he was guided solely by its correspondence, in position and character, to the scriptural accounts of the Pool constructed by that monarch[4]." Whether this correspondence is so very obvious, will be seen in a subsequent chapter, when I come to speak of the waters of Jerusalem.

Having now endeavoured to dispose of all the arguments which have been adduced by Dr Robinson in support of his theory of Acra, the Lower City, and the Tyropœon, and stated what appear to me insuperable objections to its reception, it will be incumbent on me to state, and to attempt to prove my own.

If the course of the valley of the Tyropœon can be ascertained, the position of Acra will be easily determined; so that I shall invert the order of my argument.

I. There is then one and *only one* remarkable and well-defined valley passing entirely through the city, to which there is frequent allusion in the Professor's topographical notices[5], as commencing near the Damascus

[4] Bibl. Sac. p. 196.

[5] See p. 345: from the Jaffa gate he "*descended to the Damascus gate.*" Again, p. 353, looking for the Tyropœon, he finds no valley or depression "before reaching the declivity stretch-

Gate, and running in a Southern direction to the Pool of Siloam. He indeed places "the ancient hills of Sion and Acra on the West of this broad valley, and on the East the lower ones of Bezetha and Moriah;" but this position will be found untenable, if it has not been proved so already. The fact is, what he calls Bezetha is the Acra of Josephus, and this "broad valley running down from the Damascus Gate to the Pool of Siloam" is the Tyropœon. I proceed to the proof of these most important points in the topography of ancient Jerusalem.

That the character of this broad valley, so conspicuous a feature in the topography of the present City as to force itself upon the notice of all travellers, answers to the description of the Tyropœon of Josephus, will already have appeared, not more from my own notices than from the citations which have been made from no friendly writers[1], and from the impartial testimony of the Arabic historian who names the street that traverses the whole length of this valley, the "Street of the Mill-Valley[2]." It extends from the Damascus Gate on the North, to the Pool of Siloam on the South of the City; it divides the modern city in two parts, as the Tyropœon did the ancient, having on the West the high hill of Sion, and the declivity of a still higher ridge; and on the East a lower hill which I call Acra,

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ing down to the Damascus gate." But see pp. 12. 27, 28. above, and B. R. pp. 383. 392, 3. 433, note 1.

[1] I again quote the Dublin University Magazine: "There really can be no doubt of an evident well-defined valley extending northward from the back (i. e. West) of the Mosk of Omar to the Damascus Gate. It is strikingly distinguished in Mr Roberts' large picture of Jerusalem, &c." p. 269. But all writers notice it.

[2] Dr Robinson reckons it all one street. Bib. Res. I. p. 393, and Bib. Sac. p. 33, note 1. See above, p. 12, note 2.

joined at the South to the Temple Mount. But was such the relative situation of Sion and Acra, of Acra and Moriah?

Now I think it will be clear from the following considerations that the hill Acra lay North-west of the Temple Mount, and not due West.

It must never be forgotten that Jerusalem was originally two distinct cities united together by David. The intermediate space, or the Valley of the Tyropœon, inclosed with walls to effect this union, is called in Scripture Millo, and elsewhere both in Scripture and in Josephus "the suburb[3]," as belonging strictly to neither part of the City, but usually comprehended by the Jewish historian with Acra under the common name of the Lower City.

In his description of the Temple we have the following full and very clear account of the gates of the outer court on the western side:—"In the western quarter of this outmost bound there were four gates: the first leading to the king's palace, the valley being filled up for the passage; two others led into the

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[3] For Millo, see Vol. I. p. 24, note 1. It is identified with the Tyropœon by Brocardus, who is followed by Adrichomius and others. Lightfoot ("vir de geographia sacra optime meritus," as Reland calls him,) in a comment on a passage of Josephus, which will be presently quoted, says, "*These suburbs* that he meaneth were indeed that part of the city which is in Scripture called Millo, which was the valley at the west end of Mount Moriah in which Jerusalem [i. e. Acra] and Sion met and saluted each other; replenished with buildings by David and Solomon in their times, (2 Sam. v. 9, and 1 Kings xi. 27), and taken in as part and suburbs of Sion, and so named always in after times." And again: "Millo, which was an outer place and the suburbs of Sion, distinguished and parted from Sion by a wall, yet a member of it, and belonging to it." Josephus rather makes it belong to Acra; though it is true that in the passage in question "he maketh Acra as another city from the suburbs." In Scripture, Millo appears to be called once "the city of David." See 2 Chron. xxxii. 5, וַיְחַזֵּק אֶת הַמִּלּוֹא עִיר דָּוִיד

suburbs; and the other into the other city, having many steps down into the valley, and many up again to the pitch or coming up[1]."

Now if we can determine the situation of the first-mentioned of these four gates it will throw considerable light upon the question under discussion; for that the suburbs lay between the first and fourth gate, is sufficiently evident from Holy Scripture. Nor can any reason be assigned for their being taken by Josephus in any other than the order in which they stood.

In the account of the placing of the porters under the first Temple, we read that "To Shuppim and Hozah the lot came forth westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causeway of the going up;" and again, "at Parbar westward four at the causeway, and two at Parbar[2]." Now this causeway, without all doubt, could be none other than that mentioned among the great works of Solomon, as "the ascent by which he went up unto the house of the Lord[3]."

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[1] Ant. xv. xi. 5. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσπερίοις μέρεσι τοῦ περιβόλου πύλαι τέσσαρες ἐφέστασαν. ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης, αἱ δὲ δύο εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. κ.τ.λ. I follow Lightfoot's translation. Is Dr Robinson serious when he charges me with "seeking to change the relative position of these western gates"? Theol. Rev. p. 424.

[2] 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, 18.

[3] 1 Kings x. 5, and 2 Chron. ix. 4. Again I appeal from Dr Robinson to scholars who wrote before controversy, and had no theory to support, for the interpretation of the words פַּרְבַּר מְסִלָּה יְלָה, שַׁלֶּכֶת in the Bible, and προαστεῖον in Josephus. A full investigation of the various passages elucidating the subject will be given in the Appendix. Lightfoot says: "The word 'Shallecheth,' by which name this gate was first called in the time of Solomon, doth signify 'a casting up.'.....Now this gate is said, in 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, to have been by 'the causeway going up,' which *going up* is that renowned ascent that Solomon made for his own passage up to the temple. And the causeway is that that Josephus meaneth, when

Such a causeway, connecting the N. E. brow of Sion with the Temple Mount, is distinctly to be seen at this day[4], and is traversed by the Street of the Temple, leading down from the bazaars to the principal gate of the western wall of the Mosk, immediately without which is the Cadi's office, or Mekhemé; and it is a singular fact, that the very street, which Dr Robinson represents as following the bed of the valley of the Tyropœon[5], is carried along the ridge of an artificial mound; for the mound is clearly artificial, and not accidental, as he imagines[6]. About half-way between the bazaar and the Haram there is a path southward, by a very steep *descent* to the bed of the valley, *down* which it leads between prickly pears, to a small gate in the city-wall seldom opened[7], and so to the Pool of Siloam; while nearer to the Mosk there is an equally steep *descent* to the North, into a street which follows the same valley *up* to the Damascus Gate.

By this causeway the aqueduct from the pools of Solomon, after skirting the eastern brow of Sion, crosses the bed of the Tyropœon to the Mosk[8]; while deeper

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he saith, 'a gate led to the king's house from the temple, the valley betwixt being filled up for the passage,' which was a very great work, for the valley was large and deep." Vol. I. p. 1055, fol. ed.

[4] See above, Vol. I. p. 24.

[5] See above, pp. 29, 30.

[6] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 393. The existence of a valley running into Mill Valley from the west, just south of the causeway, is purely imaginary. The west extremity of the causeway joins the North-east angle of Sion, which is a rock. Besides, how could the aqueduct cross such a valley here, so as to reach the causeway? But in Bib. Sac. p. 33, note 1, he acknowledges that he "had only imperfect notes of an imperfect observation" of this mound.

[7] Towards the latter end of the long summer of 1842 it was opened, and a guard stationed there; but merely for the purpose of facilitating the introduction of water to the city from the Bîr Eyûb. When the rains came it was again built up. It is marked in many plans as the Dung-gate.

[8] How then can Dr Robinson call it a low mound? and say that it "runs

still is a large sewer which traverses the whole of Sion, and discharges itself into an immense chamber beneath the bed of the valley, near the covered arcade which conducts to the baths[1]. The upper part of this sewer was discovered near the Castle of David by Mr Johns, architect of the Jews' Society, in digging for the foundations of their Church[2]. It was 40 feet below the surface of the ground, (rubbish intervening,) partly cut through the rock and partly built, broken in in several places. In its course it is joined by several branches, and from the bazaars it is still used as a sewer. It is mentioned by Mejr-ed-dîn as a gallery solidly vaulted, which he ascribes to David, and which gave its name to the street above. An exaggerated tradition of the passage as "a large street" is still current among the Moslem inhabitants, and parts of it are still occasionally uncovered.

The Palace of Solomon may have occupied the same site on the north-east angle of Mount Sion, where stood

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to the gate of the Haram merely from the *base* of Sion as it there exists, and never had a connexion with the brow or summit of that hill." Theol. Rev. p. 611, 612. From Mr Wolcott's account of the aqueduct, it is clear that it passes under the foundations of the houses built on the N.W. brow of Sion, and there reaches the causeway. Bib. Sac. pp. 32, 33, and notes.

[1] I am indebted for these interesting discoveries to the worthy consul-general of Prussia, Herr Von Wildenbruch, who, during his visit to Jerusalem in 1842, was attended by a very intelligent kawass of the Pasha, who communicated to him the fact about the aqueduct, and shewed him its course down the causeway: I afterwards engaged the services of the same man to conduct me about the city, and give me further information on these points. A full account of the aqueduct from the pools will be given when I come to speak of the waters.

[2] See his account in Bartlett's Walks, p. 87, &c. He takes it for an aqueduct; and Dr Robinson is angry with me for calling it a sewer. Th. Rev. p. 637, n. 1. I can only say that I inspected it when it was open, and that inspection and its present use convince me that I am right, as I hope to prove when I return to it below.

the palace erected by the Asmoneans, and afterwards occupied by Agrippa[3]; and the causeway conducted from this palace to that gate of the Temple known by the name of "Shallecheth," "the gate of the casting up, or embankment[4]."

And now having fixed this gate, as Dr Robinson himself also does[5], opposite to Sion, we must look for the other three North of this, two leading "to the suburb," and one "into the other city." Dr Robinson's first gloss on this remarkable passage, is this: "two conducting to the suburb (or new city), on the North, and the remaining one leading to the other city. By this 'other city' can be meant only the Lower City, or Acra[6]." Now, not to insist upon the facts that the historian places the two gates leading into the suburbs next to that by the causeway, and that he never in a single passage calls Bezetha the suburb, but always "the new city[7]," and that it had no existence when the Temple was built; it is obvious to remark, that as Bezetha lay upon the North side of the Temple, it could by no possibility be approached from its western gates, which are here in mention: and it was so far from being

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[3] Joseph. Ant. xx. viii. 11.

[4] "So, saith Kimchi (Michol in שלך), it is rendered by the Chaldee Paraphrast in the sense of השלכה." Lightfoot, Vol. I. p. 1055. He further says, that in the time of Herod's temple it was called the Gate of Coponius, probably from Coponius, general of the horse and ruler of Judea under Cyrenius governor of Syria, who arrived about the time of the finishing of Herod's temple.

[5] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 412. Theol. Rev. 424. He suggests that this passage was by the bridge, the remains of which he fancied he had discovered: but the language of Josephus implies an embankment, such as that of Solomon clearly was.

[6] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 412. Bib. Res. II. p. 69.

[7] J. W. Lib. v. 4. 2. It *was* properly a suburb before Agrippa enclosed it, although I am not aware that it is ever so called by the historian.

united to the Temple, or having gates leading into it from the Temple, that it was separated from it, as is universally allowed, at least by a deep trench[1]. Besides; the Tower of Antonia, which lay at the north-west angle of the temple-court, and certainly gave its name to Acra, was without doubt comprehended in the Lower City. Now if "by this other city," in this passage of Josephus, can be meant only the Lower City or Acra, as Dr Robinson himself grants, is it not plain that the northernmost of these western gates must have led into that city, as the order of the historian would lead us to conclude?

Neither does the latest interpretation of this passage proposed by Dr Robinson appear more satisfactory than the first. According to this, the two suburban gates "led probably by a street along or near the valley to the ancient gate now known as that of Damascus; and so conducted to the suburb beyond, or also to Bezetha on the right," while "the fourth was South of these, and led down into the same valley, and so up the ascent to 'the other city,' which can only mean the Lower City or Acra[2]." The objections to this, are that, 1st, the order of Josephus is reversed, who mentions the suburban gates between the other two; 2dly, that in this case none of the western gates led into the suburbs, but only into a street leading to the suburbs; as 3dly, the fourth gate (and indeed all the temple-gates) would

[1] Dr Robinson, (B. Res. 1. p. 432), says that Antonia, (which he places between Bezetha and the temple,) was "separated from the hill Bezetha on the north by a deep artificial trench, lest it should be approachable from that hill." Yet here he makes it to be approached by two gates from the western side of the temple. So again, p. 433, he joins Bezetha to Moriah, and separates Acra from it, contrary to Josephus.

[2] Theol. Rev. p. 424.

ultimately do; and 4thly, if Acra lay wholly West of the Temple, so that its western gates were opposite to Acra, then it would be equally true of all the three gates that they led into "the other;" i. e. "the Lower City."

If then we adopt this, his third hypothesis, never formally withdrawn, (which it is no part of my duty to reconcile with the others,) and assume that the three gates led into the Lower City[3], then it will be necessary to suppose that the historian here calls some part of that Lower City by the distinct name of "the suburb," which is the very point which I am maintaining; and it is then clear that the part so distinguished must have been next to Sion, on the North, not only from the order in which the gates are mentioned, but for the foregoing consideration, that the fortress Acra, identical with Antonia[4], which lay Northward of the Temple, was undoubtedly included in the other city which it designated[5]. We must then look for "the suburb" West of the Temple, and for the two gates leading to the suburb, in the intermediate space between the fortress Antonia and the causeway.

And in this conclusion we are again confirmed by the language of Holy Scripture, with reference to the porters. The gate next Shallecheth is the Parbar gate, i. e. "the gate of an outer place," or "the gate of the suburb[6];" and there is an incidental allusion to this

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[3] So Bib. Res. II. p. 69. and Bib. Sac. p. 188.

[4] This identity will be proved below, cap. iv. when I speak of Antonia.

[5] I would suggest whether the division between Acra proper and Millo, or the suburbs, may not have been marked by the wall built by the Asmoneans to cut off the garrison in the fortress Acra from the market. Ant. XIII. v. 11.

[6] "The word Parbar admitteth of a

same gate in the book of Kings, where the suburbs are again mentioned. It is said of Josiah that "he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of the Lord, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the suburbs[1]." The other gate into the suburb, and that into the Lower City, would appear to have a common name in Scripture, derived from the "house of Asuppim," or treasure-houses of the temple, which extended between them, and united them; and therefore although that next to Parbar "did lead also into the suburbs as well as this, as is apparent from Josephus, yet is it not called by the same name Parbar: the reason of this may be given, because it bare a name peculiar and proper, suitable to that singular use to which it was designed, or to that place where it was set, rather than suitable to that place whither it gave passage[2]."

But the observation, that the street which led to the "other city" descended by a flight of stairs from the gate of the temple, and then ascended to the other city, may suggest the objection that the valley that separated

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double construction: for it either signifies כלפי בר, *an outward place*, as many of the Jews do construe it; or it concurs with the signification of the word 'parvar,' (which differs but one letter from it, and that very near and of an easy change) which betokeneth 'suburbs,' both in the Hebrew text, 2 Kings xxii. 11, and in the Chaldee tongue, as David Kimchi averreth there." Lightfoot, Vol. I. p. 1056, where he shews it to have been next to Shallecheth. This learned author places Sion north of Acra, which is a source of endless confusion with him. This is the more to be regretted, as with accurate data his learning and laborious research might have led to important results. He was misled, like the Rabbies, by a misunderstanding of Psalm xlviii. 2, which the Chronicles of the Crusades, Sandys, Quaresmius, &c., ought to have corrected: but he prefers the error of the Rabbies to the truth of the Christians.

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 11. See Lightfoot, Vol. I. p. 1056.

[2] See Lightfoot, Vol. I. pp. 1056–7.

Acra from the Temple had been filled up[3]. I answer, it was the *hill* of Acra that had been united to the Mount of the Temple, and not the part of the Lower City opposite to the Northernmost gate on the Western side of the area; for that side was bounded, as it still is, by a deep valley, except at the North-West angle, where I presume that the junction was effected. And when to all this it is added, that in the passage in question Josephus is describing the Temple as it stood in Herod's time, when the New City did not exist, (as certainly it did not in the time of the kings, though the gate Parbar did,) I think it will be clear that the conclusion above arrived at is correct: viz. that the hill Acra was not the ridge immediately West of Moriah[4]; for that here lay "the suburbs," sometimes indeed comprehended with Acra under the common appellation of the Lower City, but sometimes distinguished from it by a peculiar name[5]. The real point at issue is, whether the *hill* Acra were to the West or to the North-West of Moriah; for, as in the parallel case of Bezetha or the New City, the town about the hill Acra—in short all the space included in its wall—was reckoned to the hill.

Now, that the high ground of Acra lay North of the Temple, appears from the language of Josephus, in his account of the New City[6]. "This third wall," he writes,

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[3] See above, p. 42, and notes. The words of Josephus are, *βαθμῖσι πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν φάραγγα διειλεμμένη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν.* Who can doubt that this is the same *φάραγξ* mentioned in the earlier part of the same passage, which see at p. 42, note 1; i. e. the Tyropœon?

[4] As maintained by Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 393. Theol. Rev. p. 417, et seq.

[5] Jewish War, VI. vi. 3, compared with VII. 2, presents a remarkable example of this: in the former passage Acra is distinguished from *ἀρχεῖον*, the *βουλευτήριον*, and *Ὀφλᾶ*; but in the latter, the Lower City is reckoned as far as Siloam.

[6] Bell. Jud. V. iv. 2.

"Agrippa drew round the superadded city, which was all exposed; for [the city], overflowing with inhabitants, gradually crept beyond its bounds; and the people joining to the city the region which lay to the North of the Temple close to the hill (of Acra), advanced considerably; so that even a fourth eminence was surrounded with habitations, that which is called Bezetha, situated opposite to the Antonia, but separated from it by a deep-dug trench, that the foundations of the Antonia might not, by joining the eminence, be easy of approach and of inferior height."

And this last observation is alone sufficient to prove that the hill to the North-West of the Haram cannot in any case be Bezetha; because, so far from being separated by a trench from the Temple-Mount, (on which the tower Antonia was situated,) it is actually joined to it; and this junction, while it is decisive against its being Bezetha, is a confirmation of the evidence for its being Acra, which was artificially connected with the Temple, as has been fully shewn. The filling up of this valley, by which the junction was effected, would seem to have been part of the same work as the demolition of the fortress and the lowering of the height of Acra; and it was a work of immense labour, and occupied a long space of time[1]. I think that the traces of it remain to this day plainly visible, in a ridge which slopes down from the traditionary site of the house of Herod to the outer inclosure of the Mosk, and which is crossed by the "Via Dolorosa," as it approaches the Seraîyá, or House of Pilate[2]: the

[1] Ant. Lib. XIII. cap. vi. sect. 7.

[2] As Dr Robinson complains (Th. Rev. p. 420) of this slight allusion to these operations, I will be more explicit when I come to speak of Antonia. See also above, pp. 27, 28.

Arch of the "Ecce Homo" stands directly on this ridge. I presume then that the rock thrown down from Acra is the substratum of this sloping ridge, which is certainly a remarkable feature, and that it is here that "the broad valley which formerly separated between Acra and Moriah was filled up by the Asmoneans, with a view to join the Temple to the city."

Further, the description of this hill, as given by Dr Robinson himself, exactly answers in other respects to the account of the hill Acra given by Josephus; for it is still surrounded on all sides by deep valleys, though they are, of course, greatly filled up with rubbish. "Its Western side, near the gate of Damascus, is very steep; as are also the Northern and Southern sides in this quarter[3]." But more of this, when I come to describe this part of the second wall.

The last consideration that I shall urge against Dr Robinson's theory, and in favour of my own, is this, that if my hill Acra were the true Bezetha[4], as he holds, then was Josephus greatly mistaken in his account of the City; for, while great part of Acra was excluded from the second wall, about half Bezetha must have been included in it, as may thus be proved. The second wall, which "encircled the Northern quarter of the City, reached as far as Antonia[5]:" but Antonia was on the North of Moriah[6], and the second city-wall joined the East wall of the fort; for it was not until he had taken the second wall that Titus could bring his engines against the tower itself[7]. That the second wall

[3] Bib. Res. I. p. 392.

[4] B. R. ibid. This position is defended, Theol. Rev. p. 438.

[5] Bell. Jud. v. iv. 2.

[6] Ant. xv. xi. 3. Bell. Jud. I. iii. 3; v. 4. and v. v. 8.

[7] Bell. Jud. v. xi.

followed the course of the Mill Valley, down to the corner of Antonia[1], is to me an incredible supposition, for so the wall would be commanded from the steep hill without. Besides which, as Antonia lay on a hill, not in a valley, the only way in which the wall could reach it, was "across the high ground of Bezetha," in Dr Robinson's acceptation. So that, in fact, the ancient City, according to this writer, instead of consisting of two hills separated by an intermediate valley, would comprehend only one entire hill (Mount Sion), divided from Acra (not a hill, but "the continuation or rather termination of a broad ridge or swell of land") by a Tyropœon, of which no traces remain; and then another broad valley, and great part of the hill Bezetha, which Josephus tells us was not enclosed until the time of Agrippa.

Where then, it will be asked, is Bezetha, or rather the hill included in Bezetha? for the New City was very extensive, and encompassed the Lower City on three sides. I answer, exactly where Josephus places it—North of the Temple, and answering to his description in every respect. There is a hill distinct from Acra, not mentioned by Dr Robinson[2], lying between it and the valley of the Kedron, covered to this day with ruins and cisterns, and bearing evident traces of having been thickly peopled. The highest point of this hill, nearly North-East of the summit of Acra, is now without the city-walls, and planted with olives; while the South,

[1] Dr Robinson throws out both these suggestions. Bib. Res. 1. p. 462.

[2] He even implies a doubt of its existence, Theol. Rev. p. 440. I would therefore beg to refer to the very faithful sketch of my friend who has been so good as to illustrate this work, made before he had studied the topography of Jerusalem: it is also distinctly marked on the Officers' contoured Plan.

or lower part, is within the walls, and reaches down to the trench now known as the "Pool of Bethesda." For the hill of Acra does not slope down to the valley of the Kedron; the skirt of Bezetha, on which stands the church of St Ann, being interposed[3]; and the valley between the two ridges may still be traced down from the Gate of Herod to the Western extremity of the above-named pool[4]. The steep brow of Acra rises abruptly on the West of this valley, and the traditionary house of Simon the Pharisee overhangs the declivity.

In approaching the city from the North by the Damascus road the two hills are so distinctly marked, that it is impossible to mistake them, and the correctness of the Jewish historian's language is most clearly proved; for the hill Bezetha does most completely "overshadow" Moriah from this quarter[5], and when covered with buildings must have entirely obscured the view of the Temple from the North, which the other hill neither does nor could ever have done, being as it is to the North-West of the Haram[6].

There is however one objection to this hypothesis, the only one that I am aware of, and it shall be honestly stated; viz. that this Acra is higher than Moriah, whereas Josephus says that the height of Acra was reduced by the Asmoneans so as to become lower than the Temple[7]. But first, in addition to all other difficulties,

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[3] Could Dr R. suppose that I intend the same by the summit and the skirt of this hill? and that I meant to imply that its skirt and not the summit overshadows the Temple? or is he merely cavilling in note 2, p. 439, of the Theol. Rev.?

[4] See Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 32.

[5] Bell. Jud. Lib. IV. cap. v. sect. 8. Another feature unmarked by Dr Robinson, and therefore, as usual, denied. l. c. p. 440.

[6] As Dr Robinson also perpetually writes, Th. Rev. p. 438—441.

[7] J. W. v. iv. 1.

this same objection applies to Dr Robinson's Acra in a much greater degree[1]; and next, I am not at all sure that the language of Josephus requires this construction. The object of the Asmoneans was to remove the annoyance of the fortress, the original *Acra*, which stood in a commanding position at the North-West of the Temple; and the result of their labours was, that the Temple outtopped all the buildings in its neighbourhood, but not necessarily the whole hill and all the buildings upon it[2]. The fact is, that unless Josephus is allowed some latitude, and we are permitted to resolve this difficulty in some such manner as this, we are reduced to the alternative of supposing that Moriah is not correctly placed; for there is not a hill in the neighbourhood which is not higher than that now occupied by the Great Mosk: and then we have to seek new axioms before we can advance a single step in the topography of Jerusalem; for this point is commonly assumed, and allowed by general consent, as one of the very few data on which we may build.

We may now return to the point from which we set out, and endeavour to trace the course of the second wall. Let us then place the gate Gennath in the Northern wall of Sion, somewhere near the entrance to the bazaars from the West: The second wall, commencing here will run in a Northerly direction parallel

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[1] For it is the highest part of the city. See above, p. 26, n. 6, and compare with those authorities, Bib. Res. I. p. 392, n. 1.

[2] Rubbish does wonders in Jerusalem, and it will do something, but I fear not enough, here. The ruined church, said to occupy the site of the house of Simon the Pharisee, stands near the top of this hill, and is now below ground, and surrounded on all sides with heaps. Heads of gateways are level with the present street, &c. More will be said of this levelling of the hill, when I come to speak of Antonia, in a subsequent chapter.

to the three arcades of the bazaar, and to the Street of St Stephen,—but a little to the West of this line. It will be carried along a sloping ground, which is a disadvantage; but the Tyropœon must be crossed; and since Acra is North of Sion, the wall must run in that direction along the declivity to the upper and more shallow part of the valley, near the Damascus Gate. The disadvantage would be obviated in some measure by artificial defences. The "Valley Gate" and "the corner Gate," and "the turning of the wall," fortified with towers by Uzziah[3], and "the broad wall[4]," were probably found in this part of the wall. And it is not unlikely that those two chambers constructed of large stones, still to be seen near the Damascus Gate, may have belonged to one of these fortified gates, and have aided to strengthen the wall in this its weakest and most assailable part: it here reached *the hill* Acra, round which it was carried until it met the wall of the fortress Antonia.

It is singular that the language of Josephus alone, apart from all other considerations, induced a friend, who has been before mentioned, to draw the wall within a few feet of this line, which we afterwards found evidence to prove it had taken. In that part of Mount Sion where I have placed the gate Gennath, there is a dip in the hill, so marked, that in passing from South to North, by the Street of Mount Sion, commencing near the Sion Gate, you have little or no descent at all to the bazaars[5]: while from any other

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[3] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

[4] Nehem. iii. 8; xii. 38.

[5] Dr Robinson ought not to deny the existence of this depression, which

point West of this there is a steep declivity,—the higher brow of Mount Sion described by Josephus. Near the bazaars then is a favourable position for the gate Gennath, and for the commencement of the Second Wall; and near this there is a tradition of a Gate leading into Sion, marked still by two columns, reverenced by pilgrims as that through which St Peter passed to the house of St Mark[1]. I would not attach much importance to this fact taken alone; but, as a link in a chain of evidence, it is worth something.

Again, immediately without the bazaar, on the West, is a sudden rise to Sion, near the top of which is to be seen the head of an old gateway, so much choked up with rubbish that the key-stone is nearly on a level with the street; it bears marks of antiquity in its structure, and in the size of the stones, which are much worn by exposure. It appears to have formed a round arch, and might probably be excavated with success, if permission could be obtained: I attempted to get behind it in a dyer's shop, but it is all blocked up. If this were a city gate at all, it belonged to the second wall, not to the first, and must have been very near the angle. Its present state most clearly indicates that the natural surface of the ground in this quarter must be much

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is also plainly to be seen without the city, running in, a little east of the tomb of David. Dr Schultz, in his accurate description of this part of Mount Sion, has remarked it, without any hint from me, (Jerusalem, p. 9,) and it is clearly marked in the Officers' contoured Plan, both without and within the city. He is too much in the habit of denying what escaped his own observation, or of saying, as here, that the descriptions of others are exaggerated. Theol. Rev. p. 443, note 4.

[1] Does Dr Robinson mean to insinuate that I attach any importance to this story? or does my language imply that I value the tradition, except for the simple fact of the gate? l. c. notes 4 and 5.

below the present level[2]. Let us proceed further towards the North.

On the 18th of December, 1842, I was walking over the ruins of the Hospital of the Knights of St John, when, on looking down from the top of one of the chambers, among some prickly pears on the South side of the building, I discovered a solid and compact mass of masonry of a totally different character from any I had before seen in Jerusalem. The workmanship was much better, and the stones much whiter and harder than those used in the hospital or in any modern building. On a closer examination I found it to be the pier of a gateway, with the spring-course of the arch still entire. The mass had never been disturbed on the inside, i. e. on the North; whereas on the South side there was every appearance of a wall having been removed—the mass being now supported by stones of another character, very clumsily inserted. The pier may be eight or nine feet deep, and fourteen or sixteen high from its present base: but its present base is level with the *roof of the bazaar*, which is about the same height from the ground. Corresponding with this pier, about ten feet to the North, is a wall of much later date, and a spring-course of an arch answering to the other, but constructed of much smaller stones, of an entirely different character. I should judge from this that the ancient mass had been turned to account in a later building, now ruined, and had formed one side of a vaulted room. The stones are not large, varying from

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[2] See Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 61, 2, and Lord Nugent, Lands Classical and Sacred, Vol. II. pp. 54, 5, where is a very faithful drawing of the stones. They take it for the gate Gennath; but I agree with Dr R. in placing the gate Gennath in the first wall. See also Krafft, p. 29.

two to three feet long, but the construction is very solid. An attempt was afterwards made to effect an entrance from the bazaar to examine the lower part, but, as usual, without success. A frequent inspection of this singular and venerable pier left little doubt on my mind that it belonged to a gateway of the second wall, although I can scarcely hope that this meagre account will be sufficient to bring the reader to the same conclusion. Following the line still towards the North, at the "Via Dolorosa" we come to another traditionary gateway, marked in the plans as the "Porta Judicii;" and then at the Damascus Gate, where the wall would bend to cross the Tyropœon, we have the two chambers of Cyclopean architecture noticed by Dr Robinson.

Now without venturing to hope that this cumulative evidence will work the same conviction in the minds of others that it has in my own, I think I may safely affirm, without fear of contradiction, that no other course for this part of the second wall can be shewn, which has so much to be said in its favour, and so little against it; and it has above all this advantage, that it satisfies every demand of the wall of Josephus. It has a northern and a southern part[1], it has, as we shall afterwards see, for some distance a circular course[2], and it starts from a point in the ancient wall of Sion some distance East of the Hippic Tower.

And now where does it leave the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? In the angle formed by the first and second wall, "nigh unto the City," and "without the gate," probably in a "place where there were gardens[3]"

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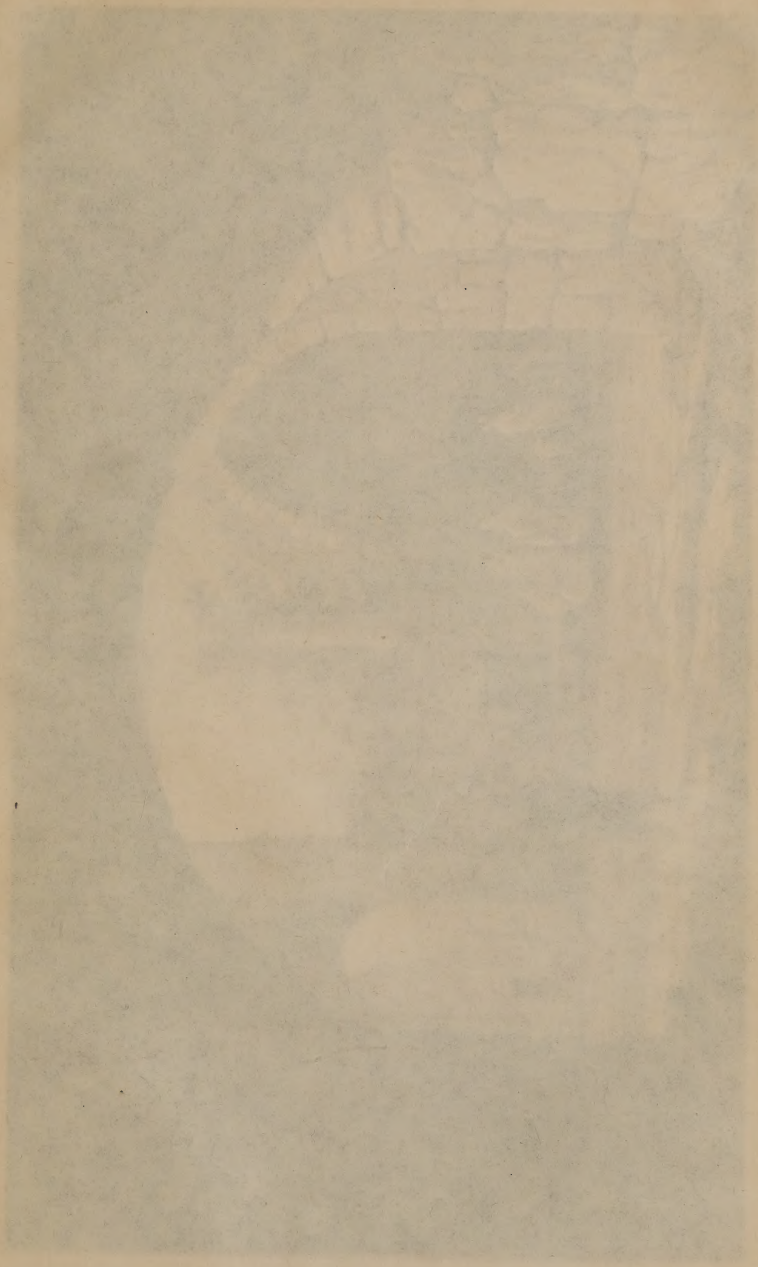
[1] J. W. v. viii. 2.

[2] Ibid. v. iv. 2: κυκλούμενον τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα.

[3] John xix. 20, 41; Heb. xiii. 2.



G & N. Tcheruitzoff, del. T. Picken, lith.

THE GATE OF JUDGMENT.

(On the Via Dolorosa.)

Day & Son, lith.rs to the Queen.

for the gate Gennath (i. e. "*the gate of the gardens*[4]") led into this quarter; and where *we know* there were tombs; for the monument of John the high priest was in the angle which was described by that fact[5]: and it is surely a wonderful confirmation of the Christian tradition, that these circumstances, incidentally recorded by a Jewish writer with a totally different view, should all concur in shewing, not merely the possibility, but even a probability, of its truth. If "undesigned coincidences" are worth anything in such arguments, the Holy Sepulchre is justly entitled to the full benefit of these, which it is impossible for scepticism itself to suspect.

And it is a great satisfaction to me to find that this evidence for the course of the Second Wall has proved satisfactory to travellers who have examined the ground since it was first adduced[6]; and that although they may not admit the antiquity of some of the monuments which I have indicated, they still find sufficient warrant for the main fact, while Dr Schultz has perhaps

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[4] So Milman takes it to mean: I think with great probability. Hist. of the Jews, III. 16. See Buxtorf's Rabbin. Lex. voce גנת.

[5] This most important fact is proved by the following passages in the fifth book of the Jewish War, vi. 2; vii. 3; ix. 2; xi. 4. "The monument mentioned was no doubt *a tomb*, (as Herod's monument, Helena's monument, the Fuller's monument, were all tombs). This shews that there were tombs in this part—that they were the tombs of some distinguished persons, such as that of the high priest, and of Joseph of Arimathea, which were handsome monuments, and probably enclosed in gardens. The few houses that stood in this part were probably private *villas* of such great individuals, with which their gardens were connected, and in which they had their private monuments." J. R. It is perhaps worth remarking, that there were many such gardens, outside the new wall, on the North, when Titus commenced his attack. J. W. v. iii. 2.

[6] I may mention among those who have published since my first edition, Dr Schultz, Tischendorf, Krafft, Strauss, and Lord Nugent.

discovered other vestiges of the ancient wall along the same line[1]. And these traces of the old wall of Jerusalem, though only lately recovered after an oblivion of two or three centuries, are no doubt the same that were formerly appealed to as witnesses of the fact that Calvary was without the ancient city[2]: While the Gate of Judgment, standing throughout as an isolated fact, has greatly perplexed antiquaries; but now, viewed in connection with the other links in the chain of evidence, it assumes an importance which alone it could not command; and I am disposed to believe that a careful survey of the ground between this and the Damascus Gate, immediately West of St Stephen's Street, might lead to the recovery of more links in that direction, along a line indicated by a steep bank which skirts the street on that side.

I can answer nothing to the objection taken to the extreme narrowness to which the ancient city is thus reduced at this quarter, except that the superficial width of the area is somewhat increased by the inequality of the ground; that the same objection applies equally to the other hypothesis; and that such objections can have no force against this array of facts and deductions, unless passages can be adduced from any ancient authority in proof that the complement of the Upper and Lower City was wider than this theory allows. But the only passages bearing on the subject

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[1] I speak doubtingly, because I think that Professor Willis has a theory which will better dispose of the great portal, the ruins of which Dr Schultz describes as other vestiges of the second wall: their situation will be indicated below. See Schultz, p. 60; Krafft, p. 30.

[2] Hierosol. Perig. a F. J. Dublivlio, Nervio. A.D. 1599. p. 13. "Inter hunc autem Calvariæ montem et veterem oppidi murum, cujus adhuc vestigia demonstrantur, erat vallis cadaverum," &c.

tend rather to confirm the view which I have taken. The most natural interpretation of a much controverted passage in Josephus represents the direct line of Sion facing the curved line of Acra, as is actually the case with the two hills as I have arranged them[3]: and Tacitus describes the walls as "oblique by art, and curved inwardly, that the flanks of the besiegers might be exposed to the missiles of the besieged[4]." It is observed, moreover, by a writer of the 12th century, who ascribes to Hadrian the extension of the City to the Tower of David, that the former course of the Western wall might still be seen from the Mount of Olives, and the subsequent augmentation of the City in that direction[5]. And I think it is a strong confirmation of my view that this writer, and others who wrote before the study of Josephus' topography had been revived[6], are so entirely

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[3] See Bell. Jud. v. iv. in Appendix. He describes Acra as ἀμφίκυρτος; an expression as to the exact meaning of which the learned are not agreed in this connection. It is used to describe the form of the moon in the middle of its second or third quarter, commonly called "gibbous," greater than half, less than full. See Suidas ad voc. quoted by Reland, Palæstina, p. 853. Dr Robinson (Bib. Res. I. 410) gives it quite a new sense: he supposes it may mean nothing more than that Acra was "sloping on both sides," i.e. "was a ridge running down into the city"! Is this repeated or contradicted in Bib. Sac. p. 189, note 1, and Theol. Rev. p. 417, n. 5?

[4] See his description in Appendix to Vol. I. Hist. v. 10, 11, &c.

[5] Sæwulf, A.D. 1103. "Adrianus imperator qui Ælius vocabatur, redificavit civitatem Jerosolimam, et Templum Domini, et adauxit civitatem usque ad turrem David, quæ prius multum remota erat a civitate, sicut quislibet a Monte Oliveti videre potest ubi ultimi occidentales muri civitatis prius fuerunt, et quantum postea adauctus est." Recueil de Voyages, Tome IV. p. 840.

[6] "Ista Ecclesia (s. Stⁱ Sepulchri) sita est in declivio Montis Syon sicut civitas." Sæwulf, l. c. p. 839. "In eodem quoque [s. Monte Syon] sed in devexo quod ad orientem respicit, sita est. Sanctæ Resurrectionis Ecclesia, formâ quidem rotunda: quæ quoniam in declivo dicti montis sita est, ut clivus eidem eminens, et contiguus, ecclesiæ pene superat altitudinem, et eam reddit obscuram." Will. Tyren. VIII. iii. p. 747.

ignorant of any valley between Sion and the termination of the ridge which forms the Acra of Dr Robinson, that they view it all as one hill, and regard the declivity occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the North-Eastern declivity of Mount Sion: consistently with the description of Eusebius and St Jerome[1]. And if captious criticism should object that the effect of this would be to place Golgotha within the Upper City, I answer, that I am not contending for the strict propriety of the description of the writers in question[2], but merely adduce their testimony to prove that neither those who had studied Josephus in earlier times, nor those who had not in later, could see any points of agreement between his topographical descriptions and the notices of Dr Robinson.

But there is a remarkable coincidence of expression between Eusebius in his account of the New Jerusalem, as he calls the Church of the Resurrection, and Josephus in his description of the Old City, which may be thought both to justify the language of the writers just cited, and to furnish an additional argument for the conclusions already arrived at. Eusebius describes the New Jerusalem as facing (or opposite to) the Old, which had been brought to desolation[3]. If it be admitted, as I think it must, that as the New Jerusalem in this description is identical with the Christian Church of the Resurrection, so the Jewish Temple was taken as

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[1] Onomast. sub voce Golgotha; *ὃν καὶ δείκνυται ἐν Αἰλίᾳ πρὸς τοῖς βορίοις τοῦ Σιὼν ὄρους*, "ad plagam septentrionalem Montis Sion."

[2] Yet what could be more natural, when the ruins of the old wall had sloped off the steep ridge of Sion, and so shaded off the line between it and the northern declivity?

[3] Vita Constantini III. xxxiii. *τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον ἡ νέα κατεσκευάζετο Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ πάλαι βοωμένῃ, κ. λ....ταύτῃ δ' οὖν ἄντικρυς, κ. λ.*

the representative of the Old, the description is perfectly accordant with fact; the Church of the Holy Sepulchre actually faces the site of the Temple. Now the Old City, according to Josephus, was so arranged on its two hills that its two parts faced each other[4]. But if the hill Sion faced the hill Acra—to which the Temple Mount was united—and if the Church of the Holy Sepulchre also faced the Temple, that Church cannot certainly "stand directly on the ridge of Acra[5]:" the declivity which it occupies must, in the view of the Jewish and Christian historian, have been more nearly connected with Sion than with Acra, as the Onomasticon of the latter, followed by St Jerome, and confirmed by the mediæval authors, so plainly implies.

One other observation shall conclude these remarks. Both ancient and modern writers describe the city as occupying two eminences. It is so with Josephus[6], although, when he comes to define and specify, some subsidiary hills appear. So again with Tacitus[7], then with William of Tyre[8]. Can any one doubt that they intend the two ridges divided by the Mill Valley? and would it not then be preposterous to place the Upper and Lower City on one ridge, and on the same side of that Valley? Even Dr Robinson's own language makes it clear that this Mill Valley is the grand division be-

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[4] Bell. Jud. v. iv. 1. *αὐτὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ δύο λόφων ἀντιπρόσωπος ἔκτιστο*, κ. λ. Conf. Ant. xv. xi. 5.

[5] Where Dr Robinson's theory places it. Bib. Res. Vol. i. p. 391.

[6] See Bell. Jud. v. iv. 1, so often referred to.

[7] Tacitus Hist. v. 10. Duos colles, immensum editos, claudebant muri, &c.

[8] Hist. lib. VIII. cap. iii. "Sita est in montibus duobus...quorum fastigia infra muri ambitum ex parte plurima continet, modicâ valle distincta, quæ etiam urbem per medium dividit. Horum alter qui ab Occidente est Syon appellatur;...Alter vero qui ab Oriente est, mons Moria dicitur," &c.

tween the two parts of the modern City, as I maintain it was also in the ancient[1]; and I trust that abundant reason has now been shown for such an arrangement of the hills and valleys, the gates and walls of the Old City, as saves the site of the Holy Sepulchre from the most formidable objection that has yet been brought against it. The results of the investigation may be thus stated: 1. The Hippic Tower occupied the site of the N.W. tower of the modern citadel. 2. The place of the Gate Gennath was some distance East of that Tower near the South extremity of the present Bazaars, from which point the Second Wall ran to the Damascus Gate, just West of the line of St Stephen's Street. 3. Acra is the hill to the N.W. of the Temple-Mount; and, 4. The Tyropœon is the Mill Valley, extending from the Damascus Gate to the Pool of Siloam.

The continuation of the second wall from the Damascus Gate to Antonia is a matter of perfect indifference as regards the Holy Sepulchre; the consideration of which may be deferred until I come to consider the exact position of that fortress at which it terminated.

Still the present site of the Holy Sepulchre may—or as I maintain must—have been without the circuit of the ancient City, and yet wrongly determined: or the site having been rightly determined in the first instance, may have been transferred at a later period to this place. The evidence therefore for the truth and for the continuity of the tradition shall be adduced in the following Chapter. But as the necessity of discussing the former of these questions would be obviated if a

[1] Bib. Res. I. p. 383 and 393; "the part of Jerusalem lying between the valley of Jehoshaphat and the valley running down from the Damascus Gate to the Pool of Siloam may be regarded as one ridge."

new and ingenious argument, lately advanced, could be established — tending to prove that Constantine could by no possibility have mistaken the spot, nor have been deceived by Macarius—I may be permitted here to notice Mr Finlay's hypothesis[2], which would indeed meet all topographical difficulties, and so have saved me this discussion.

His argument is this[3]. The statistical information collected and preserved in the archives under the Roman Empire was so minute and perfect, that "every private estate was surveyed. Maps were constructed indicating not only every locality possessing a name, but so detailed that every field was measured. And in the register connected with the map, even the number of the fruit-trees in the gardens, the olive-trees in the groves, and the vines in the vineyards, was set down." The provinces, colonies, and municipalities were surveyed with the same accuracy. Plans, engraven on brass, were deposited in the imperial Register Office, and copies on linen were placed in the hands of the local administrators, and in the provincial archives. St Luke is witness that the census was applied to Judea by Augustus, who is known to have paid particular attention to these surveys, which were further improved by his successors, and repeated at intervals of fifteen years.

Constantine would therefore find in the Imperial archives all the materials necessary for determining with exactitude the site of any public building in Jeru-

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[2] On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre, by George Finlay, K.R.G. London, 1847.

[3] The argument is contained in pp. 35—43 of the pamphlet referred to, with references to the authorities, which I need not repeat.

salem; and the examination of comparative maps and registers would enable him to discover the garden of Joseph and the Sepulchre, to trace the property through the hands of successive holders, and to identify its position with the Temple of Venus, which must have been inserted in the registers. Eusebius makes no mention of tradition, because he knew that documentary evidence alone could determine this question; and he makes no mention of the documentary evidence, because its consultation was the natural and ordinary course to pursue. Such is the argument.

Now I will not fall into the error of Mr Finlay, who depreciates all other evidence, historical, traditionary, and topographical, in order to make way for his own demonstration; for I should really be too happy to dispense with the necessity for other proof, if I could be satisfied with that which he offers; or if I thought that objections would be silenced by his argument. But I am quite sure that I only anticipate the exceptions of others, when I state against this hypothesis those which occur to myself.

If it were even certain that this minute survey of property was extended beyond the limits of Italy, and was actually applied to Jerusalem and its environs by Augustus and his successors, we should still require proof that the documents survived until the time of Constantine, before we could allow the force of demonstration to the argument above stated. That the œcumenical census, mentioned by St Luke, had reference to persons, not to property, is evident from the journey of St Joseph and the Blessed Virgin to Bethlehem, the city of his family, whereas such property as they possessed would have been at Nazareth, their

ordinary place of residence[1]. A property-tax was however levied in the country, for the first time[2], a few years later, under the presidency of Quirinius, in the tenth year of Archelaus; and then, if ever, the survey of Jerusalem and its suburbs was taken. But whatever may have been the training of the Corps of Civil Engineers under the Roman Empire, I cannot believe that their maps and plans would exhibit anything like the precision and accuracy of one of our Ordnance Surveys, or that they would comprehend the suburban villas and gardens of the Jewish aristocracy: nor do the Peutinger tables, and other specimens of Roman engineering, warrant the belief of such minute fidelity.

Again, the disturbances occasioned in Palestine by the taxing of Quirinius would probably deter the government from a repetition of so very unpopular a measure among a people so inflammable; and the fact of "the taxing" being mentioned by Gamaliel as an era, after an interval of twenty years[3], indicates that from this cause, or some other, it had actually not been repeated. But the taxing of Quirinius took place at least twenty years before the time when we find Joseph of Arimathea in possession of the garden[4], and we must not take it for granted that he had then held it so many years, nor that he retained possession until another survey was made. It is therefore far from certain that his name ever actually appeared in the plans and registers. But let us grant this, and concede all that Mr Finlay asks;

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[1] Luke ii. 1—5. See Greswell's Dissertations on the Harmony, Vol. I. p. 541, 2. Second Edition.

[2] Josephus Ant. XVIII. i. 1; Greswell, l. c. p. 543, 4.

[3] Acts v. 37. Compare Josephus l. c.

[4] i. e. in the 10th year of Archelaus, A.D. 14.

—that linen copies of those surveys were deposited at Jerusalem and Cæsarea, besides the original on brasen tables at Rome. One copy was unquestionably burnt in the sedition that preceded the siege of Titus, or in the sack of the City by the Romans, for these conflagrations are expressly said to have consumed the repository of the archives[1]; as for the other copy, it is very unlikely that the Jews would spare the state-records in the capital of the province, (when it was in their hands in the revolt under Hadrian,) being, as they were, so many monuments of their hated servitude; and the original tables, if laid up either in the Temple of Concord, or in the Imperial palace at Rome, probably perished by fire in the twelfth year of Commodus[2].

On the whole then, while admitting the bare possibility of Mr Finlay's hypothesis as an additional argument in favour of the received site, and rejoicing if he or others, not satisfied with the historical evidence, are led to a right conclusion by another line of reasoning, I am glad for myself to have the traditionary argument to fall back upon, and to be able to prove that topographical facts make nothing against it. I cannot think that the necessity of my defence is superseded by Mr Finlay's discovery, and I shall therefore proceed to examine the site of the Holy Sepulchre, having, as I trust, proved in this Chapter that the site itself was without the range of the Old City.

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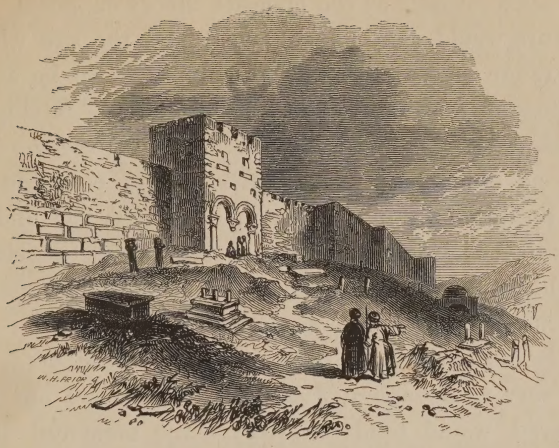
[1] Bell. Jud. II. xvi. 1. and VI. vii. 2. See Vol. I. pp. 163 and 185.

[2] A. D. 191. See Clinton's Fasti Romani in anno, cited above in Vol. I. p. 190.



CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

If the attempt that has now been made to determine the position of Acra and the course of the Second Wall has been successful, we are justified in the conclusion, that the tradition relating to the Holy Sepulchre, so far from being invalidated by the consideration of its locality, is much confirmed; since the probability is great that a fictitious site would have been fixed far enough away from the ruins of the ancient city, to obviate those apparently strong objections which only a diligent examination of the Jewish historian proves to be insufficient: for the ruins in the time of Constantine would plainly mark the extent of the old city[3], and prevent

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[3] Eusebius, writing about A.D. 320, says: "To this very time indeed the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city are obvious to their sight who travel thither." Theophania, p. 242. See further testimonies in Vol. I. p. 243, note 3.

any such mistake as the opposite theory supposes. Imposture would most likely have found the site without the range of the third wall also, in order to be as safe as possible; while, on the other hand, the intelligence which determined that its situation within the third wall was no objection to its identity, would conclude that its position within the second wall was so; and the historical knowledge implied in the former conclusion, would form a strong presumption in favour of accurate information with reference to the Sepulchre.

Besides which, it deserves to be considered, that the very name assigned to the place where our Lord suffered would tend to preserve the memorial of the site among the natives; and to suppose that the site was lost, is to suppose nothing less than that the very name of a peculiar feature in the topography of Jerusalem had irrecoverably perished; which does not appear to have been the case with any other hill, or with any valley in the neighbourhood. It is inconceivable that, while Mount Sion, the Mount of Olives, and the valley of the Kedron, retained their distinctive appellations, that hill which the Christian population would not fail to regard with the deepest interest at least, if we may not say reverence, should have lost its name—a name, be it remembered, universally received in our Saviour's time, and the memorial of which was preserved in the writings of the Evangelists[1]. The Christian Church, as we have seen, had

[1] Dr Robinson speaks of "*the preservation of the ancient names of places among the common people*" as the most satisfactory kind of tradition, but does not apply it here. "*The Hebrew names of places continued current in their Aramean form* long after the times of the New Testament, and maintained themselves in the mouths of the common people," &c. &c. Vol. I. pp.

never been absent from Jerusalem for more than a few years at the utmost, probably not more than two[2]; and would any Christian who had once known the place Golgotha fail to identify it after ever so long a period, however accident or design might have altered its character? It must be remembered too, that the effect of this part of the New City being thinly inhabited[3], would be that its features would undergo little or no alteration by the overthrow of Jerusalem[4].

Subsequently, the very attempt to obliterate the memorial of our Lord's Resurrection, would serve to perpetuate the tradition of the site. For it matters little whether the temple of Venus, erected over the spot with this design, was the work of Hadrian or no, if the tradition of the design was authentic. It avails nothing to urge that Eusebius merely ascribes it to impious men, while later writers specify the founder of Ælia[5]; because even if it were demonstrable that Hadrian had no hand in it, the fact itself would not be affected, that the idol fane was set up to desecrate and to obliterate the site. Yet it is very far from improbable that this was done by the direction, or at least with the sanction of Hadrian, especially if the renegade Aquila retained any influence in his councils after his apostacy from the Christian faith[6]; for while we have

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375, 6. Strange that the most interesting and important place in all Jerusalem should form an exception to this rule! That Golgotha or Calvary should be no more known in the beginning of the fourth century!

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 202, 3.

[3] See above, p. 20.

[4] St Cyril of Jerusalem says of the place, "Though it now be adorned, and that most excellently, with royal gifts, yet it was before a garden, *and the tokens and traces thereof remain.*" Cat. XIV. 5.

[5] Yet Dr Robinson insists on this as if it were a matter of the last consequence. See Vol. II. pp. 73, 74.

[6] See Vol. I. p. 206.

the testimony of a writer contemporary with Eusebius to a similar pollution of the Mount of the Lord's House under the same Emperor[1], we have a much earlier record of a shrine dedicated to Venus at Jerusalem, in a continuous series of coins, commencing with his immediate successor Antoninus Pius[2], nor have we any intimation of its existence at an earlier period: and since in the time of this Emperor "the crucifixion and burial of our Saviour was almost in the memory of man," we may conclude, with Dr Clarke, that "this powerful record of the means used by the pagans to obliterate the rites of Christianity, seems to afford decisive evidence concerning the locality of the tomb, and to place its situation beyond the reach of doubt[3]."

And it is worthy of remark, that neither Eusebius, nor any of the writers of that century, imply any difficulty in ascertaining the locality. They all speak as if it had been a well-known fact that the fane of Venus covered the Holy Sepulchre. The only difficulty was to clear it from the heaps which had been raised over it[4]; and the expressions of astonishment which the

[1] The author of the Jerusalem Itinerary (A.D. 333), speaking of the temple-area, says, "Sunt ibi et statuæ Hadriani. Est et non longe de statuis," &c. Itin. Hieros., p. 598. ed. Wesseling, A.D. 1735. See more fully, Vol. I. p. 239—242, and Dio Cassius, LXIX. 12.

[2] See a fuller notice of this coin (a copy of which is given at the close of this Chapter) in Vol. I. p. 240, and the references.

[3] Clarke's Travels, Vol. II. p. 310.

[4] So far is it from being true that "the balance of evidence would seem to be decidedly against the probable existence of any previous tradition," that I am persuaded an impartial reader would find it impossible to avoid the conclusion, from the language of Eusebius and others, that such a tradition did exist. It is taken for granted throughout. And this explains why St Helena is nowhere *said* to have acted in consequence of any known tradition. "Divine suggestion" is never said by the earlier writers to have *guided her to the spot*, as is implied,

success of the undertaking called forth would be amply justified by the state of complete preservation in which it was found after so long an interval, especially as they might not unreasonably have feared that the concealment of the spot had been preceded or attended by an attempt at the destruction or defacement of the Sacred Cave. Whether it be a reasonable argument against the existence of such a tradition that "no pilgrimages were made to it" before, *covered as it was by an idol temple,* is for the consideration of those who urge it[5]; but can any devout believer bring himself to suppose that the "many Christians who came up to Jerusalem from all parts of the earth before the age of Constantine, to behold the accomplishment of prophecy in the desolations of the city, and to pay their adorations on the summit of the Mount of Olives[6]," would be indifferent to the scene of the Crucifixion and Resurrection? They would, without doubt, enquire for this sacred spot, and be pointed to the idol-temple which had been erected to pollute it; while the continued opposition of the civil magistrate, breaking out in frequent persecutions, would make them despair of all attempts to recover it, until the conversion of Constantine and the pious zeal of his venerable mother brought about this happy consummation. The Holy Sepulchre was recovered as soon as circumstances allowed of it.

And should any be disposed to question the pro-

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but simply to have disposed her or her son to recover it, while the diligent enquiry among the ancient inhabitants, is only mentioned by later writers. Neither Eusebius, nor St Cyril, nor St Jerome, who would be best informed, say a word about it. B. R. Vol. II. pp. 76, and 14, 15.

[5] Bib. Res. II. 78.

[6] Ibid. p. 77, from Eusebius.

bability of the Holy Sepulchre being regarded with reverence before the time of Hadrian, considering such veneration as a symptom of later superstition and corruption, it must be remembered that, right or wrong, the Christians of the apostolic times were certainly in the habit of treasuring up the relics of the saints and martyrs[1]; and the same fond feeling would lead them much more to preserve the memorials of our Saviour's Passion and Resurrection, as they did, we know, of His miraculous Nativity[2]. So that if the erection of the idol-shrine was later than Hadrian[3], the greater chance there would be of a correct tradition of these sites, as mere tradition would have less to do with the preservation of them—religious veneration more.

With this strong presumption in favour of a right conclusion, we find the Holy Sepulchre placed exactly where the impugners of the tradition, in accordance with the sacred writers, fix its situation, with reference to the ancient city-walls, as far as their course can now be ascertained[4]. Under these circumstances the

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[1] See *e. g.* Martyrium Sti Ignatii, sect. vi. p. 254, ap. Pat. Apost. Op. Ed. 3a Hefele, A.D. 1847; (Conf. S. Chrysostomi Serm. Paneg. in S. Ignatium. Tom. v. pp. 504, 5. Edit. Eton. A.D. 1612;) and Martyrium Sti Polycarpi sectt. xvii. xviii. Ibid. p. 292, 4.

[2] Justin Martyr, (A.D. 150,) Dial. sect. 78, Op. p. 175, speaks of the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, in a manner which implies that it was well known; and Origen, (A.D. 230,) cont. Celsum, I. 51, p. 39, ed. Cantab. Spenceri, states that pilgrimages were then made to it.

[3] As Dr Robinson wishes to make it. II. 9.

[4] So Clarke writes,—that Golgotha was without the city, and very near to one of its gates, (Vol. II. p. 552), and the tomb of Joseph "in a garden" in the place where our Saviour was crucified; and then, with strange inconsistency, he removes them far apart, marking the place of Crucifixion on Mount Sion, outside the modern gate, and the place of burial in the deep Valley of Hinnom, and on the opposite side! Dr Robinson writes: "We know nothing more from the Scriptures than that they (Golgotha and the Sepulchre) were *near each other, without*

tradition would require the very strongest arguments to disprove its veracity—such arguments as certainly never have been, and I am persuaded never will be, adduced; unless indeed, as has been anticipated[5], the demolition of the Holy Sepulchre itself should prove that the supposed cave is nothing more than a mass of masonry; and even then it would prove nothing against the authenticity of the site; since Dr Robinson asserts that "the monks themselves do not pretend that the present Sepulchre is anything more than an imitation of the original[6]." I should be curious to know his authority for this assertion, which I believe to be erroneous; but it is fair that the monks should have the benefit of their candour. At present the native rock is so entirely incrusted within and without with marble as to be wholly invisible; and thus the appearance of the Sepulchre itself furnishes another objection to its identity with the place of our Lord's sepulture: nor shall I be ashamed to avow my sympathy with those who have felt regret at the transformation[7]; a feeling which I hope is not inconsistent

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the gate, and *nigh to the city, in a frequented spot.*" Vol. II. p. 80.

[5] Dr Clarke, some years after his visit, learnt with peculiar satisfaction of the total destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by fire; expecting that thus the imposture would be unmasked. He was however disappointed, as the Holy Sepulchre alone escaped. See below, p. 88.

[6] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 331.

[7] I cannot forbear adopting the elegant and touching language of Lord Ellesmere to the same effect:

Oh! for that garden in its simpler guise,
Where she the earliest of His mourners came,—
Came ere the stars of Syria's cloudless skies
Grew pale before their morning burst of flame.
. . . . . .
Oh! if the lichen now were free to twine
O'er the dark entrance of that rock-hewn cell,
Say, should we miss the gold-encrusted shrine
Or incense fumes' intoxicating spell?
Would not the whispering breeze, as evening fell,
Make deeper music in the palm-trees' shade
Than choral prayer or chanted ritual's swell?
Can the proud shafts of Helena's colonnade
Match thy time-hallowed stems, Gethsemane's holy glade?

Pilgrimage. Stanzas 21, 23.

Sandys, p. 125, applies the lines of

with admiration for those who "did what they could" to honour the spot so consecrated, and refused "to offer to God of that which cost them nothing."

But granting that the adornment was in bad taste, and that the marble case of the cave would be better away, it were rash to deny the existence of the rock within the case, because we cannot see it[1]. The great thickness of the walls, and the form of the interior, which does not at all correspond with the ground-plan of the exterior building, would form a presumption in favour of an irregular cave within; while nothing short of infatuation could have led an impostor, contrary to the plain letter of Scripture, to assign the Sepulchre to a building of his own erection, when so many caves in the neighbourhood of the city offered themselves to his choice. It has been urged as a general objection to the sacred localities in Palestine, that "nothing is done without grottoes[2];" so that fictitious sites were always affixed to caves: it would be strange indeed if the Holy Sepulchre, which is so plainly declared to be a cave, should prove an exception to this rule! For myself, I not only believe that there was originally a rock grave on the spot now shewn, but am prepared to maintain, even against the incredulous monks, that the rock still exists beneath the

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Juvenal with reference to the fountain of Ægeria:

> Quanto præstantius esset
> Numen aquæ, &c.
> Sat. iii. v.

[1] Yet this is the sum of Dr Clarke's argument. Vol. II. p. 544. Dr Robinson is so satisfied with the conclusiveness of his arguments against the site, that he thinks it superfluous to examine the Sepulchre. See Vol. II. p. 80, n. 1. He only "looked in for a few moments" upon the church, once on Easter-day, when he "could not enter the Sepulchre." Vol. I. p. 330.

[2] See Maundrell, under April 19, and quoted in Bib. Res. II. p. 79, note 1.

casing; and I shall adduce a chain of witnesses to this fact, when I have first briefly described the present Sepulchre, according to my notion, leaving it, as I am permitted to do, to Professor Willis to trace its history through its various changes, as he best can.

The Sepulchre then may be described as a "grotto above ground," consisting of two chambers, whereof the outer one, constructed of solid masonry, is called the Chapel of the Angel; while the inner one, entered by a low door, is the very cave hewn out of the rock, where was the tomb of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The spot where the Sacred Body lay is "on the right side" of the cave at entering[3], now covered with marble to protect it from injury; the removal of which would probably show a ledge or couch, such as are seen in other ancient tombs, cut in the native rock, and only large enough to admit the body. The tomb was designed by Joseph for his own burial, so that it had but one receptacle, as is the case with many other rock graves in the vicinity of the city[4]; and as it had

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[3] Mark xvi. 5; comp. John xx. 12.

[4] St Matthew calls it "his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock," xxvii. 60. Dr Clarke might be describing the Holy Sepulchre itself where he writes of that which he would substitute for it, as "the identical tomb of Jesus Christ." Vol. II. p. 554: "The large stone which once closed its mouth had been, perhaps for ages, rolled away. *Stooping down to look into it*, we observed *within a fair sepulchre, containing a repository upon one side only, for a single body:* whereas, in most of the others, there were two, and in many of them more than two." He could not have described more clearly the received Sepulchre to which he objects! So before, he describes the subterranean chambers in the same neighbourhood, as "hewn with marvellous art, each *containing one*, or many repositories for the dead, *like cisterns carved in the rock upon the sides of those chambers.* The *doors were so low, that to look into any one of them it was necessary to stoop*, and in some instances to creep upon hands and knees," pp. 349, 50. Nothing can be more exact, only that now the Holy Sepulchre is not subterranean. These graves are in the valley of Hinnom.

known no occupant before, so we may be well assured that it knew none after it had been so honoured, but was preserved inviolate by its believing owner, who would provide himself another resting-place, probably in the same sacred garden. Indeed, there are still shewn at a small distance from the Holy Sepulchre two tombs in the rock[1], called the tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus; which certainly bear the marks of antiquity, and serve further to prove that sepulchral excavations existed here in ancient times.

The Greeks believe that the Holy Sepulchre was formerly a rock grave, excavated in a mountain-side, as is the case with those e. g. in the Valley of Hinnom, but that the whole space about it was, by order of the Empress Helena, reduced to the level of the base of the cave, so that the cave stood erect in the middle of an even ground; that she further cased its four sides externally with marble, so as to give it the appearance of a building, and that the roof of the monolith was then pierced in several places to allow a vent to the smoke of the many lamps which continually burned within[2].

This is probably the correct account, for the testimony of Eusebius is conclusive as to the existence of a cave, and such a cave as that which is now shewn; for it can hardly be supposed that a writer of that date would speak so confidently as he does in the following passage, unless the fact on which he was insisting had been generally known and universally received. His description is as follows: "The grave itself *was*

[1] They are accurately delineated by Lord Nugent, Lands Classical and Sacred, Vol. II. p. 34.

[2] Dositheus Hist. Pat. βιβ. Β'. κεφ. Α'. παρ. ιε'. Compare Shaw's Travels, Vol. I. p. 264, 2nd Ed. 1757.

a cave which had *evidently been hewn out;* a *cave that had now been cut out in the rock,* and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even *this rock, standing out erect, and alone on a level land,* and having only *one cavern within it;* lest had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame death should have been obscured[3]." Such is the testimony of a bishop of Palestine who lived at the time when the Sepulchre was recovered, and who is regarded as a credible witness of facts, and not over credulous; it is, moreover, an incidental reference of the most unsuspicious character, and such as would generally be considered most satisfactory; for he is speaking on another subject, and introduces mention of this quite incidentally, not at all with a view to establish the identity of the spot, but as an argument for the truth of the Resurrection.

Coeval with Eusebius was the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, who visited Jerusalem while the Martyry of the Resurrection was in the course of erection, and he describes the Sepulchre as *a crypt,* distant a stone's-throw from the little hill Golgotha[4].

Very little later than Eusebius was St Cyril, who furnishes fuller details of the adornment, while he distinctly attests the existence of a rocky cave. In forcing a Christian interpretation on the language of the Canticles, after the fashion of those times, though it will appear strained and fanciful to our notions, he thus

[3] Theophania, p. 199.

[4] Itin. Hierosol. ed. Wesseling, pp. 593, 4. The Church was commenced in A.D. 326, and dedicated A.D. 335, and the writer was at Jerusalem A.D. 333.

speaks: "'The cleft of the rock,' he calls the cleft which was then at the door of the salutary Sepulchre, and was hewn out of the rock itself, as it is customary here in the front of Sepulchres, for now it appears not, the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; for before the Sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal there was a cave in the face of the rock[1]."

Then, after an interval of two centuries, a western pilgrim tells us that the very monument is cut out of the native rock. The rock is described as "like a millstone, and infinitely ornamented: so that the monument itself is in fashion as a Church covered with silver, and an altar is placed before the monument[2]."

Very much more distinct is the testimony of Arculfus, towards the close of the same century; but as it will be adduced by Professor Willis, I shall only cite so much as refers to the fact of such a Sepulchre as at present exists, and such as had been described by preceding authors: and this testimony is the more important because in the interval between this and the last-cited author, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been desolated by the Persians and Jews[3], and it is necessary to prove that the Sacred Cave was not destroyed. He distinguishes between the *Monument* and the *Sepulchre;* extending the former name to the whole cave, and confining the latter to that ex-

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[1] S. Cyrilli Catech. XIV. ix. p. 208. Ed. Bened. This writer was certainly an eye-witness of the changes which he describes, for he was born at or near Jerusalem, in A.D. 315, ordained Deacon by Macarius A.D. 334, Priest by Maximus A.D. 345, and delivered his Lectures in Lent, A.D. 347 or 348. Vid. Dissert. Op. præfix. col. xci.

[2] Antonini Placentini Itin. XVIII. p. 356, 7. ap. Præfatt. ad Bollandum. Tom. I. He wrote cir. A.D. 600.

[3] A.D. 614. See Vol. I. p. 300, &c.

cavation where the body was deposited. The Monument he aptly terms a round hut (tegurium) cut out in one and the same rock, cased externally with choice marble, having a gilded roof, on which stood a large Cross of gold. The door was on the East; the chamber was a foot and a half higher than the ordinary stature of a man; the Sepulchre was on the North side of the chamber, excavated in the same rock, raised three palms above the floor of the hut. It was a single, not a double grave; not cut in shape to fit the body, but a simple couch for one corpse, opening on the South, with a low overhanging roof skilfully wrought[4].

The interior of the cave was not at that time overlaid with any kind of adornment, but exhibited the native rock in its original state, and still bore throughout the traces of the tools used for its excavation; the colour of the rock appeared to be a mixture of white and red. The existence of the cave was appealed to as a fulfilment of Scripture Prophecy; for the prophet, speaking concerning the Lord Jesus buried in it, says, "He dwelt in the lofty cave of an exceeding strong rock:" and its adornment is thought to be foretold by the same prophet, where he writes, "and His resting-place shall be glorious[5]."

Entirely consistent with the account of the French bishop is that of the English Saint, Willibald, in the following century[6]. Again we have the Sepulchre cut

[4] Adamnan wrote cir. A.D. 697. See his tract (compared with Bede) in Gretseri Op. Tom. iv. pars 2, p. 255, &c. and for the author, see above, Vol. I. pp. 320, 21.

[5] Is. xxxiii. 16; xi. 10 in LXX. and Vulg. In this last passage the word מְנֻחָתוֹ is rendered ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ and *sepulchrum ejus*.

[6] Sti Willibaldi Hodœporicon. ap. Canisii Thes. ed. Basnage, Tom. II. p. 111, 12.

in the rock; the rock standing erect on the ground, square below, contracted above, surmounted by a Cross; with the door at the East; the couch for the body cut in the rock of the Sepulchre, on the North side and on the right of the entrance.

And here it will be well to introduce the description of the Sepulchre by Paschasius Radbertus in his Commentary on St Matthew[1], which he professes to have taken from the accounts of many travellers of that time[1]. It will shew the then commonly received opinion of the plan and structure of the Sepulchre, which the Commentator considered necessary for the right understanding of the Evangelic narration of the Sepulture and Resurrection. Citing the words, "and he rolled a great stone to the door of the Sepulchre, and departed," he remarks, "Whence we may understand that the Monument of Christ was not so cut as are monuments in this land, because it is said to have had a door. Hence we believe that to be true which many who have seen it have delivered, that there was a round house beyond the door of the Monument within, cut in a very spacious rock, of such altitude that a man standing within could scarcely touch the roof with his out-stretched arm, and that door is on the East, to which that very great stone was rolled. Concerning which Monument," he proceeds, "since we have begun to describe its form and character for the understanding of the visions, it is necessary that we enlarge. For its entrance was, as I said, on the East; and to those who entered from thence, the place specially

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[1] Lib. XII. ap. Magna Biblioth. Vet. Pat. Tom. IX. pars 2; p. 1229. Coloniæ, 1618. The date of this writer is A.D. 848.

prepared for the reception of our Lord's body was to the right, on the North side, seven feet in length, and higher than the rest of the pavement by three palms. Which place did not open from above, after the manner of common sepulchres, but on the south side, along the whole of which the corpse could be inserted. Whence that of St Mark may be more clearly understood, that 'the women entering in, saw a young man sitting on the right:' for the place of the Lord's body, where the angel sat, was on the right; neither was it divided, but continued throughout, as being all cut in one and the same rock."

The passages heretofore cited prove incontestably, first, that the Monument in question was a rocky cave, and next, that the Sepulchre invented or recovered by Macarius is that which continued to be an object of Christian veneration up to the end of the ninth century.

But in the earlier half of the eleventh century an event occurred, which is sometimes supposed to have materially affected the site. The theory of the entire transference of the tradition at this period from another locality to that which is now venerated, will be noticed in detail hereafter; I shall only here deal with that of Dr Schultz[2], who imagines that the rocky cave of the Sepulchre was wholly destroyed, by order of the Khalif Hakem, and that a close imitation of it was subsequently erected on the exact spot; an imitation so close as to exhibit the very peculiarities which marked the original to be a new and unfinished grave.

I am not aware what authority my friend has for his

[2] Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 99.

hypothesis, for he cites none ; and none that I have consulted afford it any countenance, except perhaps William of Baldensel, who however does not venture to fix the time of the destruction of the original monument[1]. It is true, indeed, that an attempt was made to destroy the cave by fire, though the Church only was included in the Khalif's sentence; but it should be remembered that the writer to whom we owe this fact, himself informs us of the failure of the attempt, the circumstances of which were detailed in Europe by a French Ecclesiastic, who was present at what he described: and since we have the narrative from a contemporary chronicler, a compatriot of the traveller, who had opportunities of personal intercourse with him, (for they resided not more than twenty miles apart,) I can no more doubt the main particulars than if we had them from the tongue or pen of an eye-witness; and I apprehend that few historical facts rest upon surer evidence[2]. But the question still remains, whether we find any traces of the rock at a later period, and whether we have any reason to believe that it still exists beneath the marble wainscoting with which the Sepulchre is cased within and with-

[1] This writer (A. D. 1336) is the earliest I have met with who called in question the existence of the actual Rock-tomb. He calls the Sepulchre, "parvula domicula," and says of it: "Illud vero advertendum est, quod monumentum illi sanctissimo loco superpositum, non est illud in quo corpus Christi sacratissimum examine primitus est immissum; quia sacro attestante eloquio, monumentum Christi erat excisum in petrâ vivâ. Illud vero ex petris pluribus est compositum de novo conglutinato cæmento, minus artificialiter, et minus quam deceat, ordinate." He argues that the Christians would not have left any part of the true monument to be insulted by the infidels; but adds "Veruntamen, quicquid sit de hoc, ipse locus Sepulchri Christi formaliter moveri non potest, sed remansit et remanebit immobilis in æternum." Guilielmi de Baldensel, Hodœporicon ad Terram Sanctam, Ap. Canisii Thesaurum, Tom. IV. p. 349.

[2] See the particulars in detail in Vol. I. p. 346, &c., and the passages in note 3, p. 349.

out. Numberless writers might be cited to prove the current belief in the existence of the rock within the casing, but as they might all have been mere dupes, I confine myself to those who declare that they have seen it. They are, from the nature of the case, comparatively few; for implicit faith needed not, nor sought for ocular demonstration, and it were very illogical to argue against the existence of the rock, because the unquestioning belief of pilgrims has prevented express notices of the sight; for the incrustation of marble, which concealed it from view, seems never to have been removed until the 16th century.

The Russian pilgrim Daniel visited Jerusalem during the reign of King Baldwin II., and as he is the first to describe the tomb after its adornment by the Franks, his account is important and interesting[3]. "Under this same open Roof (of the Rotunda) is the Lord's Sepulchre, after the following fashion:—as it were a small cave cut out in the rock, having small doors. One can creep in by bending down on the knees. The height is that of a short man, and all beautiful; four cubits in length and in breadth. But when you have crept into that cave by those small doors, on the right-hand side there is a ledge cut out in the very rock of the cave. On that ledge lay the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that ledge is now covered with a marble casing: and there are made on the front three circular apertures[4], and by those apertures you may see that sacred rock; and there all Christians kiss. The sacred ledge where

[3] This writer was present at the ceremony of the Holy Fire on Easter Eve A.D. 1130, and repeated his visit at a more quiet time.

[4] These three apertures are noticed again by other writers, as e.g. Willibrand de Oldenberg (A.D. 1211) ap. Leonis Allatii Opuscula, p. 147.

the body of Christ lay is in length four cubits, and in breadth two cubits, and in height a cubit and a half." Then, after some further account of its adornment, he concludes: "Such is the Lord's Sepulchre; this cave such as I have described it, after having diligently inquired from those who have been on the spot from of old, and have thoroughly known the holy places." This may be said to represent only the popular belief of the time; but he had ingratiated himself with the Latin guardian of the Sepulchre; "and he, having seen my love for the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord, and for himself, and having moved the slab which was on the top of the Holy Sepulchre, broke off a small piece of the sacred Rock for a blessing for me, and charged me with adjuration to tell it to no one in Jerusalem."

I think that this passage alone, coupled with the fact that many pilgrims from this period downwards adopt the very language of Adamnan or Bede in describing the Holy Sepulchre, might suffice to establish the identity of the Sepulchre of the 12th century with that of earlier times, as regarded its outward features; and it would be equally tedious and unnecessary to accumulate proof of what has not even yet been questioned, viz. that the Sepulchre of the Crusaders is the same as that which is now shown. But one witness, who had ocular proof of the existence of the rock in the 16th century, must be cited for the very curious particulars which his narrative contains.

Father Boniface of Ragusa was Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre from A.D. 1550 to 1559; and again from A.D. 1563 to 1565. During his former presidency, in A.D. 1555, he superintended considerable repairs about the Sepulchre, of which he afterwards wrote a full account,

when Bishop of Ragusa, in A.D. 1570. From this I extract the following particulars[1].

The fabric of St Helena, which enclosed the Sepulchre of our Lord, was threatening to fall, when Pope Julius III., at the instigation of the Emperor Charles V. and his son Philip, ordered Boniface, then Superior of the Franciscan Convent, to undertake its restoration. The necessary funds were supplied by the Emperor, a firman was obtained from the Sultan Sulimán, and the work commenced. "In order that the new structure might prove firmer and more durable, it was judged expedient to level the ancient one with the ground; on the demolition whereof, the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, cut in the rock, offered itself plainly to our eyes; whereon two angels were seen depicted, one of whom said, in writing, 'He has risen, He is not here;' the other, pointing with his finger to the Sepulchre, 'Behold the place where they laid Him;' which pictures, when first they felt the influence of the air, in great part vanished. But when it became necessary to move one of the slabs of alabaster with which the Sepulchre was covered, there clearly appeared to us that ineffable place whereon the Son of Man rested for three days." The discovery of relics, and other circumstances, are not to my purpose; but the remark that "many Christians, both of the West and of the East, were present on this occasion," is important as a guarantee for the truth of the narration.

The rock was then again concealed from sight, both to prevent, it is said, the superstitious devotion of the

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[1] This curious document, first edited by Gretser, is cited by Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 512.

Orientals, and the injury which it would otherwise have sustained from mutilation[1]; but some favoured pilgrims were occasionally gratified with small fragments, on the same condition as the Monk Daniel in the 12th century.

The last evidence that I shall adduce for the existence of the native rock within the marble casing, is that furnished by the fire of 1808; which is the more satisfactory, because the writers from whom I quote had themselves no doubt of its existence, and consequently never thought of the bearing of their statements on this question[2]. I need not enter into the details of that fire. It will be sufficient for my purpose to state, that the heat was so excessive that the marble columns which surrounded the circular building, in the centre of which stood the sacred grotto, were completely pulverized. The lamps and chandeliers, with the other vessels of the Church,—brass, and silver, and gold,—were melted like wax; the molten lead from the immense dome which covers the Holy Sepulchre poured down in torrents; the Chapel erected by the Crusaders on the top of the monolith was entirely consumed; half the ornamental hangings in the ante-chapel of the Angel were scorched; but the Cave itself, though deluged with a shower of lead, and buried in a mountain of fire, received not the

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[1] So Sir John Maundevile, cir. A. D. 1350. "And it is not longe sithen the Sepulcre was alle open, that Men myghte kisse it and touche it. But for Pilgrymes, that comen thidre, peyned hem to breke the Ston in peces or in poudre, therfore the Soudan hathe do make a Walle about the Sepulcre, that no man may towche it." Voiage, &c. p. 91. Lond. 1727.

[2] The Latin account of this fire written by an eye-witness, is given by Géramb, Pélerinage à Jérusalem, &c. Tome I. p. 125, &c. The Greek account is contained in Mouravieff's History of Jerusalem, Chap. xlv. Vol. II. p. 366, &c. The agreement is complete.

slightest injury internally; the silk hangings and the painting of the Resurrection remaining, in the midst of the volcanic eruption[3], unscathed by the flame, the smell of fire not having passed upon them[4].

Thus were disappointed the expectations of Dr Clarke, who some years after his visit heard of this accident with peculiar satisfaction, expecting that the imposture would be thereby unmasked. Neither was it considered superstitious, at that time, to regard the escape of the Holy Sepulchre as an indication of the existence of the rocky cave within the marble casing impervious to the eye[5]; and there are modern travellers

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[3] I borrow the expressions of the Latin's account, p. 129: "L'église ressemble à une fournaise...le saint Sépulcre est inondé d'une pluie de plomb ...se trouve enseveli sous une montagne de feu qui semble devoir l'anéantir à jamais; l'église offre le spectacle d'un volcan en fureur," &c., &c.

[4] Mr Wilde, however, declares that the marble slab which covers the proper sepulchre, was cracked by the heat at this time, Travels, Vol. II. p. 201, 2; and I am charged with obstinate stupidity or wilful dishonesty, for not knowing, or suppressing this fact. Dublin Univ. Mag. Vol. XXVI. p. 277. I can only say, that never having elsewhere heard this story, I cannot believe it without authority; and Mr Wilde, who travelled in A.D. 1838, gives none. Quaresmius (A.D. 1639) declares it to be only the semblance of a fracture, made purposely, to save the marble from the rapacity of the infidels. Elucid. T. S. Tom. II. p. 510.

[5] As I have been much misunderstood on this subject, it is right to say, that I never intended to convey the impression that the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre was prevented by miraculous intervention. I adduced the fact in proof of a rocky cave, as I do in the text, and considered this natural cause sufficient to explain its preservation, which others, perhaps, have ascribed to miracle. I quote from the Gentleman's Magazine of November, 1809, p. 1000: "Of the identity of the Sepulchre, no doubt is entertained; and surely a spot so remarkable may be contemplated with religious awe, without the imputation of enthusiasm. Amid the conflagration of the Church, which happened Oct. 12, 1808, the Sepulchre, though under its roof, was perfectly preserved; which indeed from its nature, as being hewn out of a rock, might have been expected. But may we not innocently indulge the idea, that it is under especial protection from on high?"

who assert, that in some places "the solid grey limestone rock is distinctly to be seen[1]."

Against the testimonies that have now been adduced, we are to set the suspicions of William of Baldensel, of Korte, Dr Clarke, and others; the assertion of Hottinger (for he cites no proof) that Cyril Lucar and the then Patriarch Theophanes discovered and acknowledged the imposture[2]; and the equally astounding and unsupported declaration of Dr Robinson, concerning the incredulity of the modern monks.

I must now endeavour to do justice to Mr Fergusson's elaborate argument, in support of an hypothesis entirely subversive of all received theories of the topography of Jerusalem[3], which may certainly claim the merit of originality, and of boldness amounting to temerity. I will first state the points which he endeavours to establish, so far as they bear on the subject before us. Nothing doubting that the veritable Sepulchre was recovered by Constantine, he is disposed rather to aid the arguments advanced in support of this fact. He thinks that sufficient weight has not been attached to the "intellectual philosophy," which in the age of Constantine "still existed among the educated classes, when men reasoned on events with almost as close an induction as we now use." He distinguishes between the "historical criticism" of the first three centuries of the Christian era, and the legendary in-

[1] So Wilde, p. 203, "the sides of the door, as well as the part above it, are hewn out of the solid, &c." M. Noroff told me the same.

[2] Analecta Historico-theologica, Append. ad Dissert. VIII^am. p. 555, cited in Le Quien's Oriens Chris. Tom. III. col. 513.

[3] An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem, &c., by James Fergusson, F.R.A.S. London, 1847.

vention of a subsequent period[4]. He extends such a charitable judgment to Eusebius, as to rank him "last of the historians," though "not quite first of the fabulists;" and is anxious to "vindicate Constantine and his friends from the obloquy" which the invention of the cross and the miracles attending it "necessarily entail;" and is, consequently, inclined to give more credence to the fact that they knew where the Sepulchre really stood. He is even disposed to allow some weight to Mr Finlay's argument[5] for this conclusion; indeed, he desires no better support for his assumption than that furnished by this pamphlet. And what is that assumption? In his own words, it is "neither more nor less than that the building so well known among Christians as the Mosk of Omar, is the identical Church of the Holy Sepulchre erected by Constantine[6]."

Bold theories require bold arguments for their support; and a geometrician who undertakes to construct "an equilateral right-angled triangle[7]" (which is impossible) is not likely to be staggered by ordinary difficulties. Accordingly, whatever can be done to sustain

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[4] Essay, p. 82—84.

[5] Which see above, p. 65. One thing is very amusing. Mr Finlay dedicates his *brochure* "to his brother, Jas. Mac Gregor, Esq.:" for this he is taken to task by Mr Fergusson, who says: "perhaps the best description of Mr Finlay's argument is contained in his dedication.....That Geo. Finlay should be the brother of Jas. Mac Gregor, is a conclusion I should not have arrived at, nor would any one else, I believe; and though he ought to know best, I must confess my inability to comprehend it." p. 87, note 1. This may serve as an indication of Mr Fergusson's qualifications for estimating and clearing up such difficulties as surround the questions which he has undertaken to elucidate. I adduce it on this account; for as he has the modesty in his preface (p. xvi.) to promise some "sterling reasoning," it is a matter of interest to see how this engagement is fulfilled.

[6] Essay, p. 76.

[7] See this phænomenon in Mr Fergusson's Essay, p. 122.

his views,—by suggesting the corruption of MSS., in the way of mutilation, interpolation, or omission,—by variations in the original, or alterations in translating,—is resorted to without scruple, sometimes without notice, always without authority: of all which we shall find abundant, and sufficiently palpable examples, as we follow him through his catena of testimonies, the examination of which is no longer "a mere work of supererogation," since Mr Fergusson has answered the question—"Who has ever doubted the identity of the present site with that selected under Constantine?[1]"

But first I must mention some other notions of Mr Fergusson, as connected with this question; though their complete refutation must be deferred to a subsequent chapter. The Jewish Temple, according to his view, occupied a square of 600 feet at the South-West angle of the present Haram. About 150 yards from the North-East angle of the Temple was the place of crucifixion[2], over which was built the Church of Golgotha. The present Golden Gateway is the propylæum to the Atrium of Constantine's Basilica. Mount Sion was a small knoll about the middle of the level area of the Haram, nearly corresponding in situation with the platform now occupied by the Mosk of Omar, which Mosk is the Martyry of the Resurrection,—the hollowed Sakhrah, or Sacred Rock of the Moslems, being the very Sepulchre itself.

Now the main argument adduced in support of this new and startling theory, is the architecture of the Dome of the Rock, which, it is said, can only belong to the date of Constantine. This argument belongs to the

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[1] Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. Vol. II. p. 71.

[2] Essay, p. 78.

Temple-area, and when we come to examine it, we shall find that it halts throughout, and fairly breaks down at the last. But I am here prepared to maintain that, if the architectural argument were without a flaw—if the Mosk were as perfect a specimen of Constantinian architecture as could be devised, still, if historical evidence is worth anything, Mr Fergusson's theory cannot hold. I am convinced that it would be quite as easy to prove that the present St Paul's was a pagan temple, or that Westminster Abbey is the identical St Paul's that was burnt down in the fire of London; in short, there is nothing so extravagant that might not be proved by such a process of historical criticism and architectural reasoning as that adopted by Mr Fergusson, who himself allows, that "it is *rather* a startling fact, to find in a building so often burned down,—according to the chroniclers,—the very original ceiling with which it was erected fifteen centuries ago[3]."

The "scriptural narrative," and "the testimony of subsequent writers, both Christian and Mohammedan," are appealed to with almost as much confidence as the architecture; and to these I must advert. With regard to the former, it is admitted that "the indications of the New Testament are so slight, that nothing positive can be concluded from them directly in favour of any system[4]." The topographical argument, when considered in laying out the ancient Temple, will be found to be directly opposed to this new theory, and it is difficult to notice the scriptural objection to the received Sepulchre, because I know not what idea Mr Fergusson—who, it should be remembered, has never been at Jeru-

[3] Essay, p. 107.

[4] p. 78.

salem—has formed of it; I know only that it must be an erroneous idea[1]. He says, the Evangelists all agree that those who came to look for the body, "*looked down* into the Sepulchre." The statement is not correct, though the words are marked as a citation. The disciples are said to have *stooped down*, in order to look in[2]; and this description is entirely consistent with the present tomb, with its very low door—still low, though probably somewhat heightened for the accommodation of the pilgrims; nor can I imagine any period when it would have been possible to look in without stooping nearly to the ground; much less when it would have been necessary "to stand on tip-toes to have looked in."

We will proceed to Eusebius, who witnessed the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and assisted at the dedication of the Church of Constantine. His description of the site, of the Sepulchre, and of the buildings about it, are wholly irreconcilable with Mr Fergusson's hypothesis, as they are consistent with the established tradition. It has been already shewn, by an incidental agreement with the language of Josephus, how correctly the New Jerusalem is placed by Eusebius opposite to the Old; the other notice that "the Sepulchre is situated in the northern parts of Sion," has been also explained[3]; and a glance at the plan will shew that it is true as regards the received Sion and the actual Sepulchre. But this relative position of the Sepulchre and Sion does not suit Mr Fergusson's hypothesis;

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[1] Mr Fergusson places the tomb "*several feet above the level of the Church*," and speaks of a "pavement *and filling-up*," of which no previous writer had any idea, and for which he cites no authority, p. 88.

[2] παρακύψας βλέπει, Luke xxiv. 12; John xx. 5. παρέκυψεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον, John xx. 11.

[3] Above, pp. 62, 3.

so the difficulty is disposed of by a very summary process. The Greek of the Onomasticon, supported as it is by the literal translation of the Latin of St Jerome, is pronounced "at best a mere assertion—[as all the statements in the Onomasticon necessarily are]—without any detail or circumstantial evidence by which to test its credibility, and just such an expression as any meddling monk or commentator, copying the book after the first Crusade, might easily alter, supposing it to be a mistake, if he found it so completely at variance with the known locality of the place as it then stood[4]." In other words, the notice of Eusebius and St Jerome agrees entirely with the present sites, but not at all with Mr Fergusson's theory of Mount Sion and the Sepulchre; therefore, without the authority of a single MS., and in defiance of all rules of historical criticism, the passage is to be set aside as an interpolation. It is enough to state—I cannot be expected to refute—such an argument. Thus much for the site.

Then for the Sepulchre itself. It was, according to Eusebius, a "rock standing out erect and alone upon a level ground[5]," as the present Monument does, but as the Sakhrah neither does nor ever did; and it was dressed up with columns and other adornments, (according to the received custom of the Romans[6]), which could not have been applied to the rough unshapen rock in the Mosk of Omar, sunk as it is in the very pavement.

But the historian's notice of the buildings about the

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[4] Essay, p. 90.

[5] See Theophania as cited above, pp. 78, 79.

[6] Abundant examples of the style of ornament employed in Roman Sepulchres, will be cited by Professor Willis. For the adornment of the Sepulchre, see Eusebius, Vita Constantini, Lib. III. cap. xxxiv.

Sacred Cave, does not less strongly militate against Mr Fergusson's views. We need not go beyond the propylæum, which he places at the Golden Gate[1]. How could he fail to see that Eusebius, in the very same short chapter in which he describes that gateway, remarks that it opened upon the very middle of the wide market-place[2],—as must have been the case with the propylæum of the ancient Basilica, (supposing it to have stood East of the present Sepulchre, and the modern bazaars to occupy the position of the ancient market) —while the Golden Gate opens upon a narrow ridge above the deep Valley of Jehoshaphat?

And when to all this it is added, that we have no evidence whatever that Constantine built any Church over the Holy Sepulchre, but rather the express testimony of Eusebius to the contrary, it will be granted that Mr Fergusson has slender support indeed from the pages of Eusebius. Besides the adornment of the Cave, already mentioned, nothing more was then done to the Sepulchre, except that the *open court* in which it stood was paved with marble and a peridrome of columns carried round it on three sides[3]. On the fourth side, i. e. on the East, was the Basilica. When then we are told that the Church of the Anastasis, with its very ceiling, as erected by Constantine fifteen centuries ago,

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[1] Essay, p. 99.

[2] Vita Constantini, Lib. III. cap. xxxix. *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ αὔλειοι πύλαι· μεθ' ἃς ἐπ' αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς τὰ τοῦ παντὸς προπύλαια.* The passage in the Laudes Constantini is not irreconcilable with this; *τῆς Ἑβραίων βασιλικῆς ἑστίας ἐν μέσῳ, κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον οἶκον πλουσίως κατεκόσμει.* cap. ix. p. 630.

[3] Vita Con. cap. xxxv. After describing the adornment of the Sepulchre itself, he proceeds: *Διέβαινε δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ παμμεγέθη χῶρον, εἰς καθαρὸν αἴθριον ἀναπεπταμένον· ὃν δὴ λίθος λαμπρὸς κατεστρωμένος ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐκόσμει μακροῖς περιδρόμοις στοῶν ἐκ τριπλέυρου περιεχόμενον.*

is standing to this hour, it is not surely unreasonable to require some evidence that this Emperor did erect a Church over or around the Sepulchre; and if no such evidence can be adduced, however admirably the architecture may suit that period, the "startling fact" becomes pure fiction.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim, coeval with Eusebius, meets with no better treatment at Mr Fergusson's hands. In passing from the part of Mount Sion occupied by the palace of David and the only one of seven synagogues that had escaped desolation, to the gate of Neapolis, the Pilgrim had Golgotha on the left and the Palace of Pilate on the right[4]. Now, taking the Palace of David and the Synagogue to mean, as is most probable, the Sepulchre of David and the Cœnaculum, and supposing the Neapolis gate of the Itinerary to be Nablouse or Damascus gate (and it is not easy to believe that it can be any other), then the notice of the Pilgrim exactly falls in with the actual sites. But granting all that Mr Fergusson assumes, which is not a little, they cannot be brought to agree with his theory; for although he has the whole disposing of all the sites indicated, he is sadly perplexed about this aforesaid gate, suggesting that it may be the Nablouse or Damascus Gate, *or* the gate of the New City,—i.e. the New Jerusalem of Eusebius, at the South of the Haram,—*or* of the New City of Josephus, far to the North of the Temple[5]! It were surely much better at once to cut the knot, and "unhesitatingly to reject the testimony of an anonymous

[4] Itinerarium Hierosol. p. 594. Ed. Wesseling.

[5] For these three irreconcilable theories, the choice of which is left to the reader, see Essay, pp. 92, 122. "Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?"

pilgrim[1]," as is afterwards proposed: it is at least a convenient method of disposing of "puzzling" passages in this or in any other author.

Of St Cyril's testimony I find no distinct notice in Mr Fergusson's pages, though he is an important witness, as he could certainly remember the recovery of the Sepulchre under Constantine. He wrote at a time when the traces of a garden were still visible around the Sacred Cave[2], and the particulars which he mentions of the position and character of the Rocky Cave, are perfectly intelligible of the existing Tomb, but not at all of the Sakhrah. The position he describes, as "not within the ancient walls, but within the outer wall which was afterwards added[3];"—as I have endeavoured to shew was the case with the present site, but certainly not with the supposititious one. "The Sepulchre," he says, "consisted originally of a double cave, of which the exterior was cut away for the sake of the present adornment[4]." The ante-chapel of the actual Sepulchre, called the Chapel of the Angel, constructed of solid masonry, shews how naturally an outer cave would cover the inner chamber; but I cannot comprehend how there could ever have been an exterior cave to the rough rock in the great Mosk, the surface of which rock still remains almost in its natural state.

We come now to Antoninus Martyr, who meets with no more respect than his predecessors from Mr

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[1] p. 93.

[2] Catechesis, XIV. sect. v. p. 206. ed. Bened. Commenting on Cant. vi. 10, he writes, κῆπος γὰρ ἦν ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη...καὶ τὰ σύμβολα τούτου μένει καὶ τὰ λείψανα.

[3] See the Commentary on Cant. ii. 14. in Catech. XIV. ix. p. 208.

[4] Catechesis, XIV. ix. See above, p. 80.

Fergusson[5]. The date assigned to this Itinerary is the latter part of the 6th, or the commencement of the 7th century. The distances are commonly given in the paces of the writer,—a convenient, but not very satisfactory mode of measurement, adopted alike by ancient and modern travellers, the result of which is utterly delusive, unless the author remembers to inform us of the value of his paces in known measures, which Antoninus has neglected to do. Mr Fergusson, however, has done it for him, assuming each pace (*gressus*) to be five feet, (two feet more, at least, than can be allowed to a man of ordinary stature,) and then argues that the distances of the Itinerary do not correspond with those of the present sites. Besides which, the numerals, as is so usual, having undergone some change, he adopts those that best serve his purpose, without the slightest reference to the authority of MSS. or the value of versions. It will afterwards be seen that the measurements, loose as they are, are not inconsistent with the existing localities.

There is however one distance not stated in paces by this writer, strangely suppressed by Mr Fergusson, which proves incontestably that he could not be writing of the imaginary Golgotha within the precincts of the Haram. Having described the altar of Abraham, by the side of the rock of Golgotha, where it is still shewn, Antoninus proceeds to notice a crypt or cavern hard by, where might be heard the sound of flowing waters. He adds, that if you cast in an apple, or any-

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[5] Essay, p. 126—129. The Itinerary is given in the Acta Sanctorum Maii, Tom. II. p. x. in Præfatt. &c. Tom. I. p. 354, et seqq. and in Ugolini Thesaurus, Tom. VII. p. MCCVIII. &c.

thing that will float, you may recover it at the fountain of Siloam. It was a fortunate inadvertence of Mr Fergusson to omit the important particular, that the writer computes the distance between Siloam and Golgotha at *a mile*[1]—in how much closer agreement with the old than with the new theory, a glance at the plan will shew. I will only further remark from this author, that the order in which the Sacred Places are visited, —commencing with the Sepulchre and the neighbouring sites, passing thence by the Tower of David, the Cœnaculum on Mount Sion, the Church and Hospitals of St Mary (now El-Aksa), to the site of the Temple and Pilate's Palace,—while it is quite consistent with the received topography, is unintelligible on the other hypothesis.

We now arrive at an important epoch in the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,—its destruction by the Persians under Chosroes II.[2] This fact is vouched for by the Paschal Chronicle, composed at that very time (for this is the last important event recorded in it,) and by other contemporaneous writers. How then does Mr Fergusson dispose of this inconvenient fact, which is stated with fuller particulars, and rests on more satisfactory evidence than half the historical events which have met with universal credence in the world? He sets it aside as an impudent falsehood, so barefaced as to carry its own refutation on the face of it, too absurd to deserve notice. His words are, "The age is fertile

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[1] "Intra Siloa et Golgotha credo esse milliarium." sect. xix. The omission is the more remarkable because Mr Fergusson dwells particularly on the preceding passage, and quotes as far as these words, p. 128, n. 1. An anonymous Greek writer in Leo Allatius (Σύμμικτα, p. 85) gives the distance between the Holy Sepulchre and Siloam as one mile.

[2] See the history and authorities cited above, in Vol. I. pp. 300, 1, and notes.

in falsehoods, but I have not met with one more startling than this[3]." No reason is alleged for the falsification, no proof adduced, no motive assigned; but the testimony of chronicles, letters, and histories, is coolly set aside as of no value, simply because it is fatal to the extravagant theory that has been propounded, and must be maintained at all hazards. I protest against a system of criticism which must reduce all documentary evidence to waste paper, and shake the very foundations of history, sacred or civil.

To proceed now to Arculfus, who describes the Church as restored by Modestus, Vicar of the See during the captivity of the Patriarch Zacharias. The value of this narrative is admitted, but the force of its statements is evaded by the same process that has been applied to earlier writers. Let the following notices be compared or contrasted, and it will be seen how far his description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre will suit the Dome of the Rock[4]. The Church, according to Arculfus, was a round building with twice four entrances,—to wit, four to the N.E. and four to the S.E. The door of the cave was at the East, and the place where the body was laid was on the North side of the rocky chamber. But the Dome of the Rock is an octagon, with four doors facing the cardinal points; the entrance to the cave is at the S.E., and there is no rocky couch on the North of the chamber, to correspond with the Sepulchre. This might suffice, had not Mr Fergusson furnished another specimen of criticism which is too bold to be passed over without notice[5]. Arculfus not only gave a description

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[3] Essay, p. 129.

[4] See the description and plan in Gretseri Op. Tom. IV. pars ii. p. 256.

[5] Essay, p. 154, 5.

of the sites to Adamnanus; he also rudely sketched the plan of the sacred buildings on a waxen tablet, in illustration of his narrative. It is acknowledged that this plan, which has been preserved, bears a much closer general resemblance to the group of buildings connected with the actual Sepulchre, than to the plan conceived by Mr Fergusson. A startling fact certainly, but one in which his ingenuity discovers a most convincing proof of the position which he maintains. He shall state the solution of the difficulty in his own words. The plan of Arculfus and that of the present Church "are so similar, that the conclusion appears to me inevitable, that the plan [of Arculfus] is not one taken from the Church, but the one from which the present Church was built.....We know, from continued reference to it, how popular and common this tract was, between the time of its composition and the Crusades; and one copy at least must have been found in Jerusalem, if not many. Let us then assume that the Christians were turned out of their original Sepulchre and Golgotha by the Mahometans. Nothing can be more improbable than that they had a *correct* plan of the localities:...but here they had *one*, and when compelled to transfer their Sepulchre to a new locality, can anything be more probable than that they should take the plan known to all the Latin world at least, and fixing on a rock for their 'Golgothana rupes'...that they should have arranged the other localities with reference to it as they found them set down in this plan?" I have nothing to oppose to such reasoning as this—it is past all argument, it would account for anything and everything. The whole assumption is overthrown by the simple fact, that the Church of the 11th century was erected, not by the Latins, but by

Greeks, who probably never heard of the tract of Arculfus.

Another specimen of that reckless disregard of difficulties which distinguishes the pages of Mr Fergusson's Essay must be noticed before we take leave of Arculfus. There is undoubtedly considerable difficulty in his description of the Mosk then used by the Infidels—a difficulty which will be considered in its proper place. He narrates that "the Saracens had erected a house of prayer on the site of the famous Temple, which was placed in the vicinity of the *eastern* wall[1]." This description Mr Fergusson applies to the Mosk El-Aksa. But El-Aksa stands on the *southern* wall, and does not occupy the site of the Temple, even in his view of the case; and since, according to his theory, the whole pile of buildings connected with the Holy Sepulchre lay between the site of the temple and the eastern wall, no writer could say that the Temple stood near the eastern wall. But these difficulties disappear in a loose translation, and the Mosk stands where the theory requires it, "in the immediate vicinity of the *southern* wall, *within the enclosure* of Solomon's Temple"! Why, at this rate, any passage in any book will be "sufficient in itself to settle the whole controversy."

It is very considerate in Mr Fergusson to assure us at this stage, that "as far as the argument has hitherto gone, there has been no flaw whatever in the evidence:"

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[1] Adamnanus de Locis Sanctis; compared with Bernhard, both cited and both mistranslated by Mr F. in his Essay, pp. 146, 7. The description of the *building*, in which all the difficulty lies, I do not quote, because I shall have to consider it in speaking of the Great Mosk. The point here in question is the *site*. The words are "in illo loco ubi templum constructum fuerat, *in vicinia muri ab oriente* locatum." "Ubi templum in vicinia muri *ab oriente* locatum," &c. Adamnanus et Bernhardus, l. c.

we might otherwise have judged differently; and it must be admitted, that if confidence in error is equivalent to demonstration of truth, his positions are unassailable. We come now to St Willibald, and Bernhard the Monk. And here Mr Fergusson discovers a curious anomaly, which seems for a time to have occasioned some perplexity even to him. "The older traveller describes the new, the later the old Sepulchre[1]!" Two solutions of the difficulty occurred to his inventive mind. The first was, that the transference of the site from the Dome of the Rock to the present spot took place previous to St Willibald; but then how came it that Bernhard, eighty years later than Willibald, described the old Sepulchre? This ground was therefore abandoned, and recourse was had to the other expedient of supposing an interpolation in the narrative of St Willibald[2]. But why not solve the difficulty by an interpolation in Bernhard? Was it not equally easy "to take it for granted" that the transference took place before St Willibald's journey, and that Bernhard was interpolated; as to "take it for granted" that it took place after Bernhard, and that Willibald was interpolated? No doubt it was, and a bold theorist, having so many centuries of the dark ages at his disposal for any frauds that he might please to palm upon them, might as well have begged his fact in the 8th as in the 11th century; but it so happens that there are two distinct narratives of St Willibald's journey by different hands, in one of which the account of the Holy Sepulchre is omitted: this, therefore, is

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[1] Essay, p. 159.

[2] "I have been forced to abandon that ground, and to assume that it is an interpolation of the eleventh century, and, as such, highly instructive, and useful also, in illustrating the topography of the Sepulchre." Essay, p. 162.

taken as decisive evidence that it is interpolated in the other!

But in truth, all the discrepancies between these two writers are accounted for by observing, that both mention facts unrecorded by the other; both, when checked by Paschasius Radbertus, are proved to be entirely consistent with the idea of the Sepulchre then current in Europe; and both, when equated with the fuller and earlier description of Arculfus, are found to coincide in all points in which agreement was possible, with three unimportant exceptions, which Mr Fergusson does not fail to remark and exaggerate[3]; 1st, an epithet used by Arculfus in describing the Church of Calvary is omitted by Willibald[4]; 2dly, the stone before the door of the Sepulchre is said by the latter only to represent the original; and 3dly, in St Willibald "we have on Calvary only the similitude of the Cross,"—which Arculfus leaves us to infer, when he says that the cross on Calvary was silver[5], and describes the true cross at Constantinople[6]!

Finally, an incidental notice of Bernhardus concerning the arrangement of the Churches connected with the Holy Sepulchre, clearly proves that he is describing—not such a plan as Mr Fergusson conceives, but one nearly similar to that which still exists; for he remarks that the four Churches,—i. e. the Sepulchre,

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[3] The remark on the words "Beata Helena collocavit illum locum intus in Hierusalem" is too pitiful to need comment. "If translated literally, it would appear that it was supposed that Helena brought the sacred places into the city; and not that she extended the city to them"! Essay, p. 161.

[4] St Willibald expressly notices "ecclesia in illo loco qui dicitur Calvariæ locus;" but because he does not happen to say "*prægrandis ecclesia*," as Arculfus does, therefore Mr F. concludes that it was "*a shed*, answering perfectly to the description given of it by William of Tyre, 'oratorium valde modicum.'" Essay, l. c.

[5] Adamnanus de Locis Sanctis, Lib. I. cap. iv.

[6] Id. Lib. III. cap. iii.

Golgotha, St Mary's, and another, were united by their respective walls[1], and grouped round an open court, laid out as a garden[2].

There are certain questions and forms of argument that are "such silly things, that very easiness doth make them hard to be disputed of in serious manner." I find myself involved in such a difficulty when I come to notice Mr Fergusson's—arguments must I call them? for the transference of the Sepulchre, and proofs of the probability of the transference. They consist entirely of declamation against the corruptions of the Church during the dark ages, which I am not concerned to deny; and of citations of various instances of gross imposture, which I have no wish at all to defend; and the conclusion follows, that "such things, instead of being improbable, were of daily occurrence; and things ten thousand times more absurd and improbable than this, were done and asserted and believed, with an implicitness of faith which we have now-a-days a difficulty in comprehending." Nay, any one who considers the dark superstition of the times, "will admit that the removal of the Holy Sepulchre, so far from being an improbable event, was almost a matter of course; and he may rest satisfied with the moderation that left it still at Jerusalem, and has not transferred it to Italy or Spain[3]." "Indeed, had the Khalif (Harun er-Rashid) sent the Emperor (Charlemagne) the Sepulchre itself on the back of the elephant

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[1] "...quatuor ecclesiæ mutuis sibimet parietibus cohærentes." Mr Fergusson applies this only to Golgotha and the Basilica of Constantine. Essay, p. 163.

[2] "Inter prædictas IIII^{or} ecclesias est paradisus sine tecto." This must have been in the place of the south transept of the present Church. A reference to the Restored Plans of the Buildings" (plate VI.) in Mr Fergusson's Volume, will show how irreconcilable is the above description with his theory.

[3] Essay, pp. 165. 166.

he presented him with, all Europe would have received it with transports of joy;" "and it has always been a matter of wonder to" Mr Fergusson "that the San Sepulchro neither accompanied nor followed its sister cave (of Loretto) in her peregrinations[4]."

Now, all this may be perfectly true, and yet, I suppose, it must be admitted that there are sites, both in Europe and Asia, which did not undergo transmutation in those ages, however favorable the darkness might be to such a process; and the question is, have we a right to assume, in the first instance, without any evidence whatever, that the transference took place, and then account for it by the ignorance of the times? Let Christians well consider the legitimate consequences of such a theory, and they will pause before they adopt it.

But now, When did the transference take place? It is admitted, that it is not possible to ascertain this "in a manner entirely satisfactory: those who committed the fraud were not likely to betray their secret, and, in fact, did not[5]." But "the proposition is this,"—that "after the burning of the Basilica of Constantine by Muez (A.D. 969) the Christians were forced to abandon the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and between the years 1031 to 1048, did rebuild a Church to represent that one from which they had been ejected, where it now stands[6]." This is "the most distinct view he can form of the matter; for he does not think the materials admit of any one being quite certain about it[7]."

A few difficulties involved in this supposition shall be stated, with Mr Fergusson's replies. And, first, What motive could induce the Moslems to deprive the Christians of their Holy Sepulchre, after leaving them in

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[4] pp. 158, 167. [5] p. 157. [6] p. 164. [7] p. 176.

undisturbed possession of it for three centuries? "It is, perhaps, hopeless to attempt to inquire[1]." But does not history record the total destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Khalif Hakem, A.D. 1010? Certainly. "All the historians of that age narrate the total destruction of the Church of the Sepulchre by El-Hakem's order, and its being rebuilt between 1031 and 1048[2]." How then do you account for the fact, that the building remains at this day in a state of perfect preservation,—ceiling and all? This question Mr Fergusson does not directly answer. He leaves us to conclude for ourselves, that all who witnessed or recorded the demolition of the Church under Hakem, were fools or liars—most probably both: it is a "startling falsehood;" like the destruction of the Church by the Persians and its restoration by Modestus, "most extremely apocryphal." It must be so, for "the architectural evidence is so strong as to settle the matter; and here we find nothing whatever to contradict it[3]"! Which last assertion must be qualified, if it be not negatived, by the admission immediately preceding, that "all the historians"—yes, all, Christian and Moslem, Greek, Latin, Syrian and Copt,—"all narrate the total destruction of the Church[4]." Indeed, the circumstan-

[1] Essay, p. 175.

[2] p. 176. He adds, "and though they do not assert it, it may be assumed that they, or at least some of them, understood it to be on the same site as the old one, though this is by no means clear." I look in vain for symptoms of a suspicion that the site had been changed; but it is certain that not one of all the authors had the slightest doubt of its identity, which is the reason why "they do not assert it."

[3] p. 177.

[4] In p. 178, Mr Fergusson says that some of the authors—he only cites Ademar—make a distinction between the Church of Constantine and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and he maintains that the former, and not the latter, was demolished by Hakem. But he misrepresents Ademar, who calls it, "sepulcrum;" "basilica Sepulchri Domini;" "basilica Sepulchri gloriosi:" it is much better to say plainly,

tiality of the narrative, as collected from the writers of various creeds or rites, is so minute that we have the names,—not only of the renegade who instigated, and of the Khalif who commanded its demolition,—but of the Copt Secretary who wrote the order, of the Moslem Governor who executed it, and of the French Bishop who witnessed its execution[5].

Again, was there no difficulty in concealing the fact, or in silencing objections? Even if all the various religionists agreed in the fraud, and if the Latin monks of Jerusalem, having one copy of the tract of Adamnanus in their possession, lent the incorrect plan of Arculfus to the Greeks, that they might build a bad imitation of the original pile, would the pilgrims look on in silence? would no whisper of the cheat be blown westward? It is admitted that "the question still remains of the practical difficulty of successfully perpetrating the pious fraud." How then is the difficulty disposed of? It is set aside with the remark, "This, however, appears to me but a very trifling affair." As for any pilgrim who might detect the fraud,—"If such a pilgrim did exist, he probably was a priest, and consequently, for the honour of his cloth, would not betray the secret; or if a layman, were he inclined to tell tales, means could easily be found to silence him, if necessary:" and again, considering the credulity of the times, "we need scarcely wonder that this absurdity escaped exposure[6]." Now it is a remarkable fact that the rage for pilgrimage was never so rife in Europe as at that

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"it is pretty clear how it should have been written, though the authors may have intended it differently."

[5] It is not necessary to repeat these here; they will be found in Vol. I. pp. 346—354, and notes.

[6] Essay, p. 171.

time which Mr Fergusson has unhappily fixed on for the transference of the site[1]: and it has been already stated that the destruction of the Church of the Resurrection was witnessed and reported in Europe by a French Bishop.

Fifty years after the completion of the New Church the first Crusade put the Christians in possession of the city; and Mr Fergusson amuses himself with the thought of "the puzzlingly ludicrous position of the Church of Jerusalem, when they found that they were in possession of two Holy Sepulchres." They might have returned to the old one; but they were pledged to the cheat, and "found themselves under the necessity of adhering to the worst, and what they must then have known to be the false one[2]." It were superfluous to remark that the dilemma is purely imaginary; and that there is not the remotest hint of such a difficulty in any writer of any Creed.

But Mr Fergusson "has hitherto stated the argument only in the strongest possible manner against his own views, as if no pilgrim or writer of the middle ages suspected the real truth of the matter, that the Dome of the Rock was originally the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. So far however is this from being the case, that the converse is much nearer the truth." I confess that of all the startling assertions in the volume, not one occasioned me so much amazement and, I will add, concern as this. It seems scarcely possible to believe that the writer is in earnest. For on what is this assertion grounded? "It is true, indeed, that no writer states broadly the fact of there being two Sepulchres in

[1] See Vol. I. p. 353, n. 7.

[2] Essay, p. 174.

Jerusalem, but almost all of them were aware that this building (the Dome of the Rock) was a Christian building;" and again, "the Mahometans do not lay claim to the building of it, so far as I can trace, till long afterwards, and then seem merely to have found it convenient to forget that the Christians had built it; whereas the Christians are quite positive in their traditions, as we shall presently see."

To dispose first of the Mohammedans. Can Mr Fergusson produce one historical notice, or a single tradition from among them, in confirmation of his theory? We happen to possess no work on the subject composed previous to the Crusades; but the histories of Jalal-ad-dín (c. A.D. 1475) and of Mejr-ed-Dín (c. A.D. 1495) abound "in all manner of traditions and assertions from earlier authorities," extending nearly as far back as the era of the Hegira. Among all these various testimonies not the slightest intimation can be found that the Dome of the Rock was originally a Christian building. Its erection by the Khalif Abd-el-Melik Ibn-Merwan is attested with a consistency of agreement, perfectly marvellous amid the discrepancies of other conflicting traditions.

To pass then to the Christians, whose traditions are so positively appealed to by Mr Fergusson. Let it be premised, that from the time of the first Crusade, the Dome of the Rock came to be known among the Franks as the Temple of the Lord, the neighbouring Mosk El-Aksa as the Temple of Solomon,—a distinction of name, without a difference, which I shall attempt to explain in discoursing of the Temple Area.

The first witness adduced by Mr Fergusson in proof that the Christians of the 11th century were aware that this Saracenic Mosk was a Christian building, (which

he assumes could only be the Church of the Sepulchre,) is Sæwulf, who describes it as the Temple of the Lord, erected over the Holy of Holies where the ark was placed, two engine-shots distant eastward from the Sepulchre of the Lord[1]. This needs no comment. Albert of Aix is scarcely a more hopeful ally to Mr Fergusson; for he holds with Sæwulf, that the building in question occupied the site of the Holy of Holies, and adds the attestation of many, that this Temple was afterwards rebuilt by modern Christians, on the exact site of Solomon's temple[2]. This writer and James de Vitry alone of all the historians, mention the tradition that the Christians had ought to do with its construction: the one point in which they all agree is this—that whoever rebuilt it, it certainly occupied the site of Solomon's Temple[3]. Let that suffice for their testimony.

The best informed and most able historian of the Crusades is, without controversy, William of Tyre, a native and inhabitant of Jerusalem during its occupation by the Franks in the 12th century. To a scrupulous man his

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[1] Sæwulf in Recueil de Voyages, Tome IV. p. 840. Essay, p. 180. Mr Fergusson, with consistent laxity, translates "quantum arcus balista bis jactare potest," "*two bow-shots.*" (p. 180.) He had misrepresented Sæwulf before, in p. 103, where he says that this writer claimed the erection of the Temple of the Lord for Justinian. This is so far from true, that he expressly denies it: "Quidam autem dicunt civitatem fuisse a Justiniano imperatore restauratum, et templum Domini similiter sicut est adhuc: sed illud dicunt secundum opinionem, et *non secundum veritatem*:" here he repairs that error to commit a greater injustice, as though Sæwulf knew Constantine to be the builder, but did not say so, because "he had said just before, that he and his mother had built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." p. 181.

[2] Ap. Bongar, p. 281. Essay, p. 181. It must be mentioned, that the quotations from the Gesta Dei are grievously mistranslated in the text, and garbled in the notes of Mr Fergusson's book.

[3] See e. g. Fulcherius Carnot. p. 397. Gesta Francorum, p. 573. Jacobus de Vitriaco, p. 1080. Phocas ap. Leo. Allat. p. 23.

testimony would be rather troublesome; but Mr Fergusson disposes of him with as much ease as he had of earlier writers. Being better acquainted with Saracenic history[4] than the other writers of his day, he was fully aware of the Saracenic origin of the Dome of the Rock. "He asserts twice over that it was built by Omar Ibn-Khatab, and appeals to the inscription on the walls in testimony of this[5]." These inscriptions—for there were many—represented in mosaic work within and without the Mosk, were supposed to be as old as the building, and descended to minute particulars,—the author and the expense of the undertaking, the time when it was commenced and finished, being therein recorded. An awkward fact, one would think, for Mr Fergusson's theory, the force of which he evades by a new expedient. Though the worthy Archbishop, in the two passages in which he records the fact, is as grave and sedate as usual, Mr Fergusson discovers in his statements "an earnestness that looks very suspicious; and I cannot help thinking (he adds) that as Archbishop of Tyre, he was in the secret, and consequently anxious to conceal it; and this appeal to inscriptions, which Christians had not access to in his day[6], and could not read if they had,

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[4] He had composed a Saracenic history from the time of Mohammed, which he refers to in his extant work, Lib. I. capp. i. and iii. It is now unhappily lost. It was entitled "Gesta Orientalium principum."

[5] So Mr Fergusson, p. 182; but he does not cite the particulars of these inscriptions, (not "the inscription," as he writes). "Extant porro in eodem templi ædificio, intus et extra, ex opere musaico, Arabici idiomatis literarum vetustissima monumenta, quæ illius temporis esse creduntur; quibus et auctor et impensarum quantitas, et quo tempore opus inceptum, quoque consummatum fuerit, evidenter declamatur." Will. Tyr. Lib. I. cap. ii. p. 630. Compare Lib. VIII. cap. ii. p. 748.

[6] This is another inexplicable mistake of Mr Fergusson. William of Tyre was actually born at Jerusalem, and lived there many years during its occu-

appears to me about as clumsy an argument as could well be used to prove a bad case."

I think I may stop here. The intelligent reader would perhaps have been abundantly satisfied, had I done so long ago. Most persons who are open to reason would imagine that the bare fact, that Constantine built no Church over the Holy Sepulchre, was pretty conclusive against a Church of his standing over it at this day, whatever may be the force of the architectural argument. The very first step of Mr Fergusson's proposition is inadmissible. He assumes, without any warrant, "that Constantine did erect two separate churches, one a basilica, the other a round church, and that this last did contain the rock in which was the Sepulchre[1]." This cannot be granted: it is directly contrary to historical fact: to admit it, is to run counter to the express testimony of Eusebius, who was an eye-witness of what he describes, an active agent in the works which he has immortalized.

Again, the fact that the Propylæum of Constantine's Basilica opened upon the market-place, in the midst of the city, while the Golden Gate crowns the brow of the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, would prove to most men that Constantine's buildings, whatever they were, did not occupy the place assigned them by Mr Fergusson. This would have sufficed for his argument; and one or two instances, of the many which I have adduced, of

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pation by the Franks. He was successively Archdeacon of Tyre (A.D. 1167), Chancellor of the Kingdom, (Lib. XXI. cap. v.) and consecrated Archbishop of Tyre in A. D. 1174. (ibid. cap. ix.) He commenced his history in A.D. 1182, (Lib. I. cap. iii.) and brought it down to the end of A. D. 1183. He was poisoned at Rome, at the instance of the Patriarch Almaric, probably in the following year, 1184, three years before the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin. Le Quien, O. C. Tom. III. col. 1314, &c.

[1] Essay, p. 103. See above, p. 96.

his manner of citing and translating his authors,—would have demonstrated how very untrustworthy a guide he is to the fountains of historic truth. But I have followed him carefully through all his authorities in the vain hope of finding a single fair quotation; and, failing in this, I have exposed his unfairness; I hope with temper and moderation, for I have no desire to repay his discourtesy in kind. But now he must allow me with all honesty to enter a strong remonstrance against the line which he has, unwittingly or wilfully, pursued. The wildest and most extravagant theories that were ever propounded, on this or any other subject, may be treated with toleration, however ridiculous, if honestly held and fairly maintained by their advocates; but when an over partiality for a preposterous fancy so warps our judgment, or darkens our perceptions, as to incapacitate us from appreciating evidence, or to indispose us to receive the truth, there is an end of forbearance—we need to be recalled to moral consciousness by a full exposure of our errors. The greatest wrong that can be done to any department of history, is to attempt to poison the fountains from which it must be drawn. Nothing can justify it—neither boldness, nor cleverness, nor zeal for truth: for all which the author of the Essay must have full credit. Thus much by way of protest. I need only add, that I have not thought it needful to cite other writers than those referred to by Mr Fergusson, or I might have shewn from the Patriarch Eutychius[2], and from other authors, that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,

[2] See Eutychii Annales, Tom. II. pp. 421—429, cited in Vol. I. pp. 337, 8, where we find the Dome of the Rock and the Holy Sepulchre existing together between A. D. 813 and 829. Eutychius died in A. D. 940.

the Dome of the Rock, and the Mosk El-Aksa, had each a separate and independent existence previous to the date assigned to the transference: but if any doubt remain on the subject, the Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from the pen of Professor Willis, will so fully establish the identity of the present site with that of the original Sepulchre, that it were superfluous to pursue the subject any further in this place.

I am not aware of any other traveller or writer of celebrity who has declared against the main Ecclesiastical tradition of Jerusalem, since the publication of the Biblical Researches, with the exception of Dr Wilson[1], who, however, has advanced few original objections, all of which have been anticipated in this or the preceding Chapter. He admits that the conclusions of Dr Robinson, "though they have obtained the acquiescence of multitudes of his readers, both in Europe and America, have been assented to but by few travellers who have visited Jerusalem," since their publication. For himself, he decides against the authenticity of the traditionary site, which he thinks must have fallen within the Second Wall; whereas "the intimations in the Scriptures make the impression on his mind, that the Crucifixion and Burial of Christ took place, not merely beyond any particular wall of Jerusalem, but beyond any distinct parts of the city which might lie beyond that wall." The situation of the Gate Gennath, near the Hippic Tower, which he adopts from Dr Robinson, (an impossible position, as I have endeavoured to prove) and the Pool, so doubtfully attributed to Hezekiah, are the two topogra-

[1] Lands of the Bible, Vol. I. p. 434.

phical arguments which, in his opinion, countervail against the authority of the received site[2].

With respect to the historical evidence, "after a careful examination of Dr Robinson's authorities, he is inclined to say that he has perhaps pressed them somewhat beyond their legitimate bounds;" and he moderates with sufficient impartiality between these ancient writers and their critic[3]. But as if to compensate for this service, he attacks Macarius with more than usual vehemence[4], suggesting motives of deception with an ingenuity of suspicion surpassing all preceding writers on the same side[5]; the most novel of which is, that "the search may have been commenced at this site, simply to get rid of the idol-fane"—as though there was no other method but an impious fabrication to accomplish this object, under an Emperor who made it his business everywhere to demolish the monuments of pagan superstition[6]. Will Dr Wilson allow me to suggest whether these evasions of historical evidence be not dictated rather by prejudice than by reason; and to add my conviction that he has done equal injustice to the early Church, and to his own candour and judgment in his strictures on the conduct of Macarius. And surely he must have imbibed little of the spirit of the primitive Christians, when he could suppose that they were likely to pay more marked honour to the resting-place of their human teachers "than to that grave in which the body of the blessed Saviour had been without seeing cor-

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[2] pp. 436, 437.

[3] pp. 438—440.

[4] The citation in p. 442, n. 1, from "a vigorous writer in the North British Review," might well have been omitted in a respectable book.

[5] Lands of the Bible, Vol. I. pp. 442, 3.

[6] Vita Constantini, Lib. III. cap. liv.

ruption, and which had yielded its charge on the morning of the resurrection." I do not believe that the Christians whom he would regard as nearest to the primitive model, would so prefer a monument of human corruption, to a witness of our Lord's Resurrection—an earnest and pledge of the general Resurrection through His almighty operation. I am equally convinced, that if the Church of the fourth century did know the actual Sepulchre,—a fact which Dr Wilson thinks "may be reasonably admitted"—no motives whatever would have induced them to substitute a fictitious one; and that, if they did not, they would have shrunk from the idea of an invention with perfect abhorrence. I will conclude this historical discussion in the words of the sober-minded Dr Shaw[1], who writes, that notwithstanding the changes and revolutions which the sites have undergone, "it is highly probable that a faithful tradition has always been preserved of the several places that were consecrated, as we may say, by some remarkable transaction relating to our Saviour or to His Apostles. For it cannot be doubted, but that, among others, mount Calvary, and the Cave where our Saviour was buried, were well known to His disciples and followers; and not only so, but that some marks likewise of reverence and devotion were always paid to them."

The remainder of this chapter may be devoted to an historical notice of two of the principal sacred localities within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Immediately opposite to the entrance of the cave, which faces the East, is the Greek church, occupying

[1] Travels, p. 277, 2nd Ed. 4to. Lond. 1757.

part of the site of the basilica of the Emperor Constantine[2], but differently arranged, with its apse towards the East. It is the finest church in Jerusalem, excepting only that of St James, attached to the Armenian convent on Mount Sion. It was erected by a Russian architect, in the year 1809, after the fire, and is of large dimensions, surmounted by a cupola of considerable altitude, and adorned, as the Oriental churches mostly are, with handsome chandeliers and strings of lamps alternated with ostrich-eggs, hanging in festoons from the ceiling. The iconostasis, surmounted by the rood, is handsomely carved, as are the ambons and the patriarchal thrones, immediately without the bema on either side. The icons, with their gilded aureoles, are in the usual taste, executed by Russian artists, and far from pleasing. The aisles are excluded from the church, and being connected at the East end, run completely round the Choir, forming the means of communication between the various chapels and the sacred localities common to all Christians.

The church of the Franciscans is a comparatively mean building, to the North of the Holy Sepulchre, called the Church of the Apparition; the Armenians worship in one of the galleries of the rotunda; the Syrians have a small chapel under the gallery, at the West of the Sepulchre; while the Copts have their altar in a small shed, scarcely large enough to admit the officiating priest, at the back of the Cave itself. There are also apartments about their respective chapels, assigned to the monks of these several rites, who wait continually on their ministry at the sacred places, and live immured,

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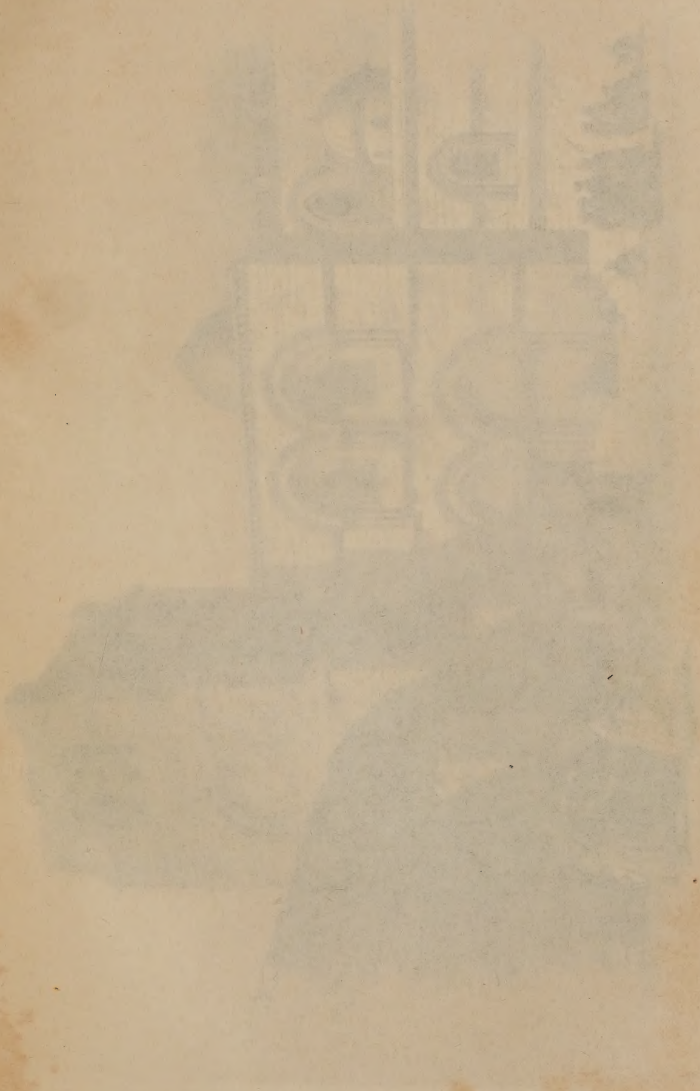
[2] Euseb. Vit. Const. III. xxxvi.

as it were, within the walls; while other chapels, commemorative of events connected with our Saviour's Passion, in various parts of the building, occupy the remainder of the sacred enclosure, which is of considerable extent.

The only entrance is at the South transept from a paved court, through the westernmost of two handsome door-ways, with an architrave representing in bas-relief our Lord's triumphant entry into Jerusalem, and other subjects. The first object that attracts attention within the building is the Stone of Unction, where the pilgrim may turn to the left into the round church which encircles the Holy Sepulchre, or to the right into the South aisle of the Greek church, which has been lately noticed. Proceeding a few paces up this aisle, he finds on the right a flight of eighteen steps leading up to the low vaulted chapel of the Holy Golgotha. Here, if he be an Oriental, he will put off his shoes from his feet, and approach with reverential awe the scene of our Lord's last Passion, and draw near on bended knees to the very spot of the Crucifixion. If he be an Englishman or American, the attendant priest will look for no such deportment; he will expect nothing more than a look of indifference, or at most of idle curiosity; he will be prepared for sceptical objections, and an apparent predetermination to disbelieve. It is sad to think that a person in Frank habit kneeling at Calvary and the Sepulchre of Christ, and offering up his devotions at these sacred spots, venerated by Christians of all nations for fifteen hundred years, should be as it were a monster to those who witness it: but such is the fact. And what then will the curious traveller see? He would observe that the stairs by which he ascended



W.F.Witts del. A.Picken lith.

Day & Haghe lith.rs to the Queen.

ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

to this platform are cut, for the most part, in the solid rock, and that the floor of the chapel is formed by levelling the same. At the East end, on the North side of this double chapel, he will see a platform raised about a foot and a half from the floor[1], covered with white marble; and under the altar of the orthodox he will observe a hole in the marble, communicating with a deep bore in the solid rock, in which he will be told that our Saviour's Cross was erected. Near this, on his right, he will see another incision in the marble, showing a fissure in the rock, said to have been occasioned by the earthquake which occurred at the time of the Crucifixion[2]. If he examine it minutely, he will perceive that "the insides do testify that art had no hand therein, each side to other being answerably rugged, and there where inaccessible to the workmen[3]." The continuation of this cleft may be seen in the Chapel of the Forerunner, below Golgotha, where, previous to the fire of 1808, were shown the tombs of the first two Frank kings of Jerusalem—Godfrey and his brother Baldwin.

The tradition relating to the place of Crucifixion, would appear to be as old as that of the Holy Sepulchre; for although there is perhaps room to doubt whether we have distinct notice of it in Eusebius, yet St Cyril, only

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[1] Sandys says this platform is "ten feet long and six broad." Dr Clarke must either have observed very superficially, or have greatly mistaken his informant, when, in speaking of "the modern altar," he said, "This they venerate as Mount Calvary, the place of Crucifixion; exhibiting upon this contracted piece of masonry the marks or holes of the three crosses, without the smallest regard to the space necessary for their erection." Vol. II. p. 546. The tradition is, that the penitent thief was on the right, the impenitent on the left, and that the rock rent between him and our Saviour, "a figure of his spiritual separation," writes Sandys.

[2] It is said to have been rent at the feet of the centurion, and to have produced the exclamation, Matt. xxvii. 54.

[3] Sandys' Travels, p. 127.

a few years later, makes mention of it in many passages, and apparently delivered the greater part of his Catechetical Lectures in the church erected over the site[1]. He speaks, too, of the rent in the rock as ascertained in his day, at that particular spot[2]; not as if that were the only rent, but that its proximity to the Place of Crucifixion invested it with peculiar interest.

It has been objected, very unreasonably, that the Place of Crucifixion is too close to the Sepulchre to allow of its being the true site. Had it been further distant a stronger argument might have been adduced: for it is expressly said "*in the place* where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre[3]." Not that it is necessary to suppose that the place of execution was in the garden: it was probably a public thoroughfare without the city-wall; and the traveller in Syria and Palestine will see nothing forced in the conception that the garden-fence might have passed between the two sites[4].

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[1] "He was crucified for our sins truly: shouldest thou be disposed to deny it, the very place which all can see refutes thee, even this blessed Golgotha, in which, on account of Him who was crucified on it, we are now assembled" (Cat. IV. 10); "one never can weary of hearing concerning our crowned Lord, and least of all in this most Holy Golgotha. For while others only hear, we have sight and touch too:" and presently, "Thou seest this spot of Golgotha!" &c. Cat. XIII. 22, 23. The later lectures were delivered in the Church of the Resurrection. See Cat. XVIII. 33, (14); XX. 4.

[2] "This Holy Golgotha, rising on high, and showing itself to this day, and displaying even yet how because of Christ the rocks were then riven." Cat. XIII. 39, (19).

[3] John xix. 41.

[4] I would mention Jaffa especially, as a case in point. Here the gardens come up very near the walls, having wide public thoroughfares passing through them. Damascus, Tripoli, and Beirout, will furnish other examples. Dr Robinson says that the place of Crucifixion "was probably upon a great road leading from one of the gates. And such a spot would only be found upon the western or northern sides of the city, on the roads leading towards Jaffa or Damascus." (Vol. II. p. 80). And the place now shown must have been exactly in such a spot.

Descending from Golgotha, and passing up the aisle towards the East, we come to a wide staircase leading down by twenty-nine steps to a Chapel of the Armenians, where they show the throne of St Helena[5]; and then by thirteen more into the cave where the Cross of our Lord is said to have been discovered. Here the rock overhangs the chapel, which is formed in its cavity, and a fissure in the rock may be seen as you descend the stairs, said to be the continuation of that on Golgotha[6].

The Invention of the Holy Cross, which is commemorated in the English calendar on May 3rd, would seem to be historically connected with St Helena's visit and the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre; and a writer, who is least disposed to admit the reality of the discovery, is forced to acknowledge, that "notwithstanding the silence of Eusebius, there would seem to be hardly any part of history better accredited than the alleged discovery of the true Cross[7]."

The silence of Eusebius indeed seems to be taken for granted without sufficient reason; for, although he certainly does not narrate the discovery in his own person, yet the terms employed by Constantine in his letter to Macarius, which he has preserved, seem "clearly to imply the Invention of the Cross[8]." For however they may be explained as having reference only to the entire preservation of the unmutilated Sepulchre, yet it

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[5] The stone chair which the pilgrims have dignified by this name, was placed there, as Quaresmius mentions, (cir. A. D. 1625,) to serve as a throne for the Armenian Bishop. Elucid. Terr. Sanct. Tom. II. p. 422.

[6] Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 408, 9, gives another account of this fissure, to which I shall have occasion to refer in speaking of the waters.

[7] Robinson's Bib. Res. Vol. II. pp. 15, 16, and again p. 76.

[8] This is an admission of Mr Isaac Taylor, in his Anc. Christ. Part VII. p. 296.

is improbable that the Emperor should speak of that as a monument of our Saviour's Passion, which the historian so much more aptly describes as a witness of His Resurrection, a trophy of His victory over death[1]. It were much simpler and more satisfactory, to explain Constantine's language as alluding to the Invention of the Cross, and then the expressions of astonishment become perfectly intelligible; for while no doubt whatever is implied as to the success of the attempt to recover the Sepulchre, the discovery of the Cross was obviously so unexpected, as to fill all who heard of it with amazement and grateful devotion. The first distinct mention which we find of the Holy Cross is by St Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Catechetical Lectures, (A. D. 347), where he refers to it as one of many witnesses to our Lord's Crucifixion. There he testifies not to its discovery[2], but to its existence; and in language which would imply that it had been known for many years, for it had been already "distributed piece-meal to all the world[3]."

The circumstances connected with the discovery are to be gathered from the writings of the fathers who flourished at the close of the fourth, and the opening of the fifth century[4], who write of it as of a well-known and generally-received story; with such variations as are to be expected, when an event of a marvellous character

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[1] In Constantine's letter we have: *τὸ γνώρισμα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους·...τὸν ἱερὸν ἐκείνον τόπον ἀφ' οὗ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους πίστιν εἰς φῶς προήγαγεν.* But in the language of Eusebius, *τῆς σωτηρίας ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον ... ἄντρον τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀνάστασιν μαρτυρούμενον ... τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου σωτήριον νίκην.* Vita Con. Lib. III. capp. xxviii. xxx. xxxiii.

[2] Except in his letter to Constantius, A. D. 351; the genuineness of which is disputed by some learned writers. See Vol. I. pp. 250, 1.

[3] Cat. iv. 10; x. 19; xiii. 4.

[4] The passages are collected in Gretser's great work, De Sancta Cruce. Opera, Tom. II. ap. init.

is reported by various authors in various countries far removed from the scene of its occurrence.

St Ambrose is the first extant writer who gives a detailed account of the undertaking, which he ascribes to St Helena. In his discourse upon the death of Theodosius[5], he takes occasion to eulogize the mother of Constantine, and relates the success of her endeavour to possess herself of the Holy Cross. His narrative, divested of the flowers of oratory, is simple enough, and contains no account of any miracle[6], unless the very preservation of the wood deserves to be so considered. This father, in agreement with St Chrysostom, relates the discovery of three crosses, and that the cross of our Lord was distinguished by the title affixed to it by Pilate[7]; not by the restoration of a sick person to health, or of a dead corpse to life, as we find in later writers.

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[5] S. Ambrosii Orat. Funeb. de obitu Theod. Imp. Opera, p. 137. edit. Paris. 1529.

[6] Eusebius speaks of miracles wrought at the Holy Sepulchre, but does not connect them with the discovery of any site. Dr Robinson (Vol. II. p. 76) attempts to discredit the sacred localities by mention of the miracle. But taking for granted that the miraculous part of the story was false, yet an interval of seventy-five years and many hundred leagues, in an age when printing was unknown, allows ample room for the intervention of erroneous statement, apart from fraudulent design. Dr Wilson (Vol. I. p. 442) assumes the allegations concerning the discovery of the Cross, to have resulted "from gross delusion, or rather from gross fraud;" and then disposes of the Sepulchre by analogy.

[7] So St Chrysostom (A. D. 394), and St Ambrose (A. D. 395). Paulinus and Sulpicius Severus (A. D. 400), narrate the restoration of a corpse to life. Rufinus (400), Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret (about 440), speak only of a sick woman restored to health. St Ambrose, who is followed by later writers, adds moreover, that a further search was made for the nails: two were recovered, of which one was converted into a bit for a horse, while the other was set in a crown and presented by Helena to her son Constantine; which, Theodoret says, was handed down to his successors as a precious heir-loom. Lombardy and Russia are rival claimants for this relic.

St Helena would appear to have been guided in this case, as in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, by the received and continuous tradition of the native Christian Church, which reported that the instrument of our Lord's crucifixion had been cast aside, in the hurry of the preparation of the Passover[1], into a pit near the place of execution, which she caused to be examined, and three crosses were actually discovered: and however strange or startling the fact may appear, it is better to suspend the judgment, if we are not satisfied with the evidence, than to impute so great a crime as imposture and fraud to men who, for ought we know to the contrary, may have been eminent saints. It seems scarcely credible that the search would have been commenced at all without some reasonable prospect of success, grounded on a probable tradition: and the desire to recover such a relic, if possible, was not unnatural, and quite in accordance with the spirit of the age; which, however, was satisfied with the possession and legitimate use of such memorials, and did not exalt them into idols —for St Ambrose expressly declares that when "she found the title, she adored the King, not the wood; for that is the error of the Gentiles, and the vanity of the wicked. But she adored Him who hung on the wood, (whose name was) written in the title[2]."

It is not my intention to notice the other tradi-

[1] The death of the two malefactors was hastened in consequence: our Lord's burial in the neighbouring tomb, because it was "nigh at hand;" and the postponement of the embalming, all prove that the proceedings were *hurried*. See St John xix. 31, 32, 42.

[2] "Invenit ergo titulum, regem adoravit, non lignum, utique quia hic Gentilis est error, et vanitas impiorum. Sed adoravit illum qui pependit in ligno scriptus in titulo." St Ambrosii Orat. Funeb. ut sup.

tionary sites within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, because the three which I have dwelt upon at length are incomparably the more important, and belong to an age much anterior to that which is claimed for the remainder. Indeed, the most probable account of these chapels and oratories would appear to be, that they were first fixed by devotion, merely with a view to commemorate such circumstances attending that awful scene[3] as the Evangelists were inspired to record, without any idea of identifying the spots; and that the simplicity of pilgrims in later ages has assigned the transactions to these particular localities[4]. In the

[3] As "the Calvary" so frequently seen in Roman Catholic countries—especially in the Tyrol and Southern Germany.

[4] If any think that the more intelligent pilgrims, in what will be considered the darkest ages, placed confidence in the *minor* traditions, let the following passages undeceive him. St Jerome speaks thus of a tradition which happens to be mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrims as early as 333: "*Simpliciores fratres* inter ruinas templi et altaris, sive in portarum exitibus quæ Siloæ ducunt, rubra saxa monstrantes, Zachariæ sanguine *putant* esse polluta. Non condemnamus *errorem*, qui de odio Judæorum, et fidei pietate descendit." Comment in Matt. xxiv. Opera, Tom. IV. pp. 112, 113. ed. Bened. And much later, in the age of the crusaders, "Hæc intra urbem a fidelibus venerantur. *Flagellatio* Jesu Christi, atque coronatio, ac derisio, et cætera quæ pro nobis pertulit: sed *non facile ubi fuerunt nunc dignosci possunt*, cum præsertim civitas ipsa *totiens postea destructa atque deleta sit.*" Gesta Francorum, p. 573. So Radzivil, (A.D. 1583), after speaking of the place of the Ascension on the summit of Mount Olivet, proceeds, "Ad dextram in eodem monte, extant ruinæ directi templi, in quo *nonnulli volunt*, duos viros post Ascensionem Domini apostolis apparuisse, et dixisse: Viri Galilæi, quid admiramini? Actor. I. *Sed cum S. Lucas manifeste scribat*, in eodem loco visos fuisse, *non video quo fundamento*, in alium magis remotum id rejici debeat." Peregrin. p. 75. So again, Cotovicus, (A.D. 1598,) of the beautiful Gate of the Temple, shown, at his day, at the West of the Haram, "*Ego tamen esse antiquam illam non facile crediderim*, sed aliam potius et recentiorem: nam templum funditus eversum, et montem Moriah complanatum esse *historicorum testimonio constat:* ex quo facile colligere est etiam Portam hanc parem cum templo ruinam passam fuisse." Itin. pp. 301, 2. The pilgrims were not all idiots: they reasoned, and questioned, and allowed the authority of Holy Scripture, fully as much as we do.

former view, they may still be not without their use to one who is more intent on turning to good account a visit to these sacred scenes, than disposed to ridicule and despise feelings which he cannot understand or appreciate. The same may be said of other traditionary sites in and about the Holy City; and for himself, the writer will not hesitate to avow that he never passed up "the Dolorous Way" without looking with deep emotion at the "Church of the Flagellation," the "Arch of the Ecce Homo," and the "Impression in the Wall;" or that he even felt it a pleasure to sojourn and a privilege to suffer in the house of Saint Veronica, not because he attached any importance to the traditions in question, but for reasons which need not be explained, in which he hopes that many of his readers would sympathise; nor does he envy the man who could pass by in disgust these and such-like *mementos*—for this at least they are —and returning home, not only feel, but write, "enough of such absurdities![1]" He is not aware that the view here advocated is in the slightest degree superstitious; if it be, he humbly trusts that such superstition will not be visited more severely than the extreme of irreverence.

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[1] Bib. Res. I. 344. Dr Wilson (Vol. I. p. 425) shows better feeling; and justly asks—"Who, in such a locality, should seek to exclude from his view the scenes of that day of overwhelming terror and infinite grace?"

CHAPTER III.

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

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I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The Church or group of Churches which is the subject of the following pages, was in its original form erected by the Emperor Constantine for the pious purpose of protecting and venerating that Sepulchral cavern which was believed to have been the very Tomb in which the Body of our Lord was laid. The buildings received, in accordance with the custom of that period, the name of the Martyrium of the Resurrection. They have long since disappeared, and others have been in turn erected and destroyed on the same site, until at length they have been brought to the state in which they now are. But during all ages of Christianity, and under all their vicissitudes, these structures have remained the great centre of pilgrimage; to obtain this site, the best blood and wealth of Europe was poured forth in the Crusades, and before and after that hopeless struggle to retain Christian possession of it, no difficulties, dangers, or insults, were powerful enough to deter the crowds of pilgrims who annually went forth to visit the scenes of their Saviour's sufferings and triumphant Resurrection. Whether or no these sacred events took place upon the spots that

were so confidently assigned as their true localities, has been of late years very warmly contested. But this is not essential to the question. Those who erected the buildings, and those who visited them, were alike convinced of the genuineness of the traditions; and therefore the influence of these buildings upon Ecclesiastical Architecture is wholly irrespective of the enquiry into the true localities. And it is as a branch of the history of Ecclesiastical Architecture alone that I purpose to treat the subject at present.

But, considering the vast influence that was exercised during the middle ages by the veneration for sacred localities of all kinds, as well as for relics, and the numerous Churches which were erected solely for the purpose of affording objects of pilgrimage, by distinguishing such sacred localities and making them as it were a mark for pilgrims; it is evident that the buildings upon that spot which was of all others the most sacred, must be of exceeding interest in teaching us the principles upon which such Martyria were arranged.

In saying this, I by no means intend to throw doubts upon the truth of that tradition which has fixed the site of the Holy Sepulchre within the Church in question; for I am myself fully convinced of the genuineness of that site. But that question has been treated by much abler hands than mine, and requires an investigation of the entire topography of the City, which I am not qualified to undertake, if even it were included in the Architectural question, which it is not, as I have endeavoured to shew[1].

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[1] Since these pages were written, an attempt has been made by Mr Fergusson, in his Essay on the Topography of Jerusalem, to shew that not only the present site is not genuine, but that the Martyrium of Constantine was erected

It is very curious and interesting, but at the same time most melancholy, to trace the process by which the cravings of the simpleminded and ignorant crowd of pilgrims to behold and to touch every spot where some event of the sacred narrative took place, led to a gradual accumulation of local appropriation, which has ended in a confident indication not only of every place where every historical event happened, but also of places connected with the parables, which we have no reason to believe were other than fables invented for our edification. A visit to the "House of the Rich Man," or a sight of the "Stone which the builders rejected," are very apt to excite the wrath and disgust of our better informed but somewhat hasty modern travellers, and lead them to denounce the Monks and Pilgrims of the middle ages as a pack of knaves or credulous fools, and the entire body of local tradition as a system of premeditated imposture, no one portion of which deserves the least credit.

This is an error in the opposite extreme, by which much valuable truth is rejected. It is, unfortunately, impossible to deny the credulity, or even the imposture in many cases; neither can we wonder at the disgust and indignation which must arise in the mind of every sincere and right-thinking person at the sight of such a

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in another part of the city, and is no other than the present Mosque of Omar. But this theory is, in my opinion, perfectly untenable, although, if it were true, it would not very seriously interfere with the following dissertation. However, leaving the topographical part of the controversy in the hands of my friend the author of the Holy City, I shall make a note of Mr Fergusson's statements as I proceed, and now shall merely express my regret that he should have permitted himself to fling abuse and contempt so unsparingly upon preceding authors. His hypothesis is certainly quite new, and nobody is likely to dispute the credit of it with him.

mass of absurdity and falsehood, and of mean and low passions and feelings, fostered into full activity in a land and in a city that ought to excite far different and holier feelings. But however difficult it may be to separate the after-growth of credulity from the true original tradition around which it has accumulated, it must be remembered that it may have preserved to us the memory of the spot where some great and leading event took place; and, for example, I am not prepared to reject the traditional site of the Sepulchre, because I find close to it an altar absurdly pretending to mark the very place where the soldiers divided the vestments.

With respect to the Church which is the immediate object of this Essay, Robinson has well and calmly stated the difficulties that at first sight present themselves to the mind of a traveller. "The place of our Lord's Crucifixion, as we are expressly informed, was without the gate of the ancient city, and yet nigh to the city[1]. The Sepulchre, we are likewise told, was nigh at hand, in a garden, in the place where Jesus was crucified[2]. It is not, therefore, without some feeling of wonder that a stranger unacquainted with the circumstances, on arriving in Jerusalem at the present day, is pointed to the place of Crucifixion and the Sepulchre in the midst of a modern city, and both beneath the same roof. This latter fact, however unexpected, might occasion less surprise; for the Sepulchre was nigh to Calvary. But beneath the same roof are further shewn ... various other places said to have been connected with the history of the Crucifixion, most of which it must have

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[1] Heb. xiii. 12; John xix. 20. The same is also implied in John xix. 17; Matt xxvii. 32.

[2] John xix. 41, 42.

been difficult to identify, even after the lapse of only three centuries; and particularly so at the present day, after the desolation and numerous changes which the whole place has undergone[3]."

The difficulty thus laid down with respect to the locality, is discussed in another part of this volume. The places, which are to this day so confidently and credulously pointed out within this Church, may be enumerated as follows: (1) the Holy Sepulchre. (2) The hole in the Rock in which the Cross was fixed. (3) The holes on each side in which the thieves' crosses were fixed. (4) The spot upon which the Crucifixion or actual nailing to the Cross took place, which the Latins assert to have been done previously to the elevation of the Cross. (5) The stone upon which the Body was laid after it was taken down from the Cross, and where it was wrapped in linen with spices. (6) The place where the soldiers divided the vestments. (7) The spot where the friends of our Lord stood afar off during the Crucifixion. (8) Where the women stood during the anointing of the Body, &c. (9) Where the women stood over against the Sepulchre. (10) Where our Lord appeared to Mary Magdalene as a gardener. (11) Where He appeared to the Virgin Mary. (12) The Prison in which He was detained while the preparations were making for the Crucifixion. (13) The place where the Crosses were discovered by Helena. (14) The place where she sat while the digging was proceeding for that purpose. Beside these places, which are distinguished by altars and especial chapels, or else by stones let into the pavement, there are some relics removed from other places,

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[3] Bib. Res. Vol. II. p. 64.

such as the column of Flagellation, of Mocking, &c. Some of the places above enumerated have no connexion with the Scripture narration, but belong to legendary addition, as N^os^. 11 and 12. But it will appear in the course of the following history, that with the exception of (1) The Sepulchre, (2) the hole for the Cross, and (13) the place where the Crosses were found, not one of the above sacred localities or *stations* are mentioned by any writer previous to the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, at the end of the eleventh century, and the hole for the Cross appears for the first time in the narration of Arculfus in the ninth century; for before this time we only hear of Golgotha (or Calvary) in general terms, which, as Robinson has observed, is scripturally connected with the site of the Sepulchre. The place where the Crosses were found belongs to the legend of their discovery, and thus, after all, with this exception, the original tradition of the Sepulchre stands alone and separated by many centuries from the heap of credulous rubbish which has so disgusted and repelled modern travellers and writers, and which has mainly induced them to seek arguments for the rejection of the Sepulchre itself. Many of the holy places or stations probably arose from the mediæval practice of dramatising the sacred narratives, or presenting them in the most palpable forms of representation to the senses of the ignorant crowd. We may therefore regard such stations as having been at first established as memorials, or altars, for the purpose of fixing the succession of leading events more certainly in the memory, and that in time they came, by an easy transition, to be considered as having been placed upon the very spots upon which each event happened.

I will now proceed to the Architectural History of the Church, the investigation of which has formed the subject of Lectures that I have delivered at Cambridge and at the Royal Institution in London, at various times, but has been considerably matured by the information which these Lectures have procured for me from the kindness of many of my friends; and, amongst others, from the excellent author of the preceding pages, whose knowledge of the locality, and extensive researches into the literature of the subject, has been of great service to me. I have gladly, therefore, availed myself of his kind request that I will append these pages to his valuable history of the Holy City.

II.

CHURCH OF THE SEPULCHRE IN GENERAL.

The buildings on this site have been repeatedly ruined and rebuilt, and otherwise altered from time to time; but the principal changes which we shall have to consider may be briefly recapitulated as follows[1].

The first edifices that were erected to do honour to this place were those of Constantine, which were dedicated in the year 335. These were ruined in the Persian invasion of Chosroes, in 614, and restored by Modestus fifteen years afterwards. Jerusalem was taken by the Mahometans in 637; but the sacred buildings in question were not injured by them at that time. In 1010, they were, however, utterly and purposely de-

[1] The History of the Holy City in the previous volume has already detailed these events as they occurred, but of course mixed up with the general narrative. My object in the following Essay requires that I should separate the history of this church entirely from the history of Jerusalem.

stroyed by the order of the Kalif Hakem. Thirty years afterwards, permission was obtained by the Emperor Constantine Monomachus to rebuild them, which was effected under the Patriarch Nicephorus, about fifty years before the entry of the Crusaders.

They, during their reign in Jerusalem, greatly increased the buildings; and, after their expulsion, no important changes took place until the unhappy fire, which, in 1808, so greatly damaged the Church, as to necessitate the entire reconstruction of its central portions. All these successive changes I shall proceed to examine at length.

Each successive restoration of these buildings introduced changes of form and style, in accordance with the methods of building that happened to prevail at the moment; and we have, therefore, according to the statement just made, five distinct periods of the building to examine, namely, (1) the buildings of Constantine; (2) those of Modestus; (3) those of Monomachus; (4) those of the Crusaders; and, finally, (5) those that at present exist.

Now, although the historians relate that in the Persian invasion, and at the demolition by the Mahometans in 1010, the buildings upon this site were, as it were, uprooted from the earth; it must be remembered that the destruction of a complex mass of building, like that in question, is by no means so easy: nor is it ever effected by a hostile force, so as to obliterate the foundations, for the ruins of the vaults and walls necessarily protect the lower part of the buildings. When a building is taken down by friendly hands, the materials are carefully removed as fast as they accumulate. But this systematic process is not likely to be carried on by men

working under the influence of malicious violence, whose sole purpose is to disfigure, and render untenable, the object of their fury. They are satisfied when the perfect structure is converted into a misshapen heap of ruins. But those who, when the storm has passed, return with friendly hands to clear away the rubbish, and rebuild the fallen walls, are sure to find the original foundations, much of the lower part of the walls, and many of the vaults, still entire. The original plan of the buildings, therefore, can never be lost, under such circumstances; but it may be departed from during the rebuilding, for two opposite reasons. In the first place, the funds may not be sufficient to reconstruct the whole of the buildings, or even to construct the part of them which has been selected, on so magnificent a scale as before. Or, on the other hand, the funds may be so large as to tempt an increase of magnitude and grandeur. It is true, however, that buildings founded, as these are, upon a rock, require so little depth of foundation-building, that they are more easily eradicated, and afford less temptation for the employment of old foundations in rebuilding, than structures which are erected upon ground that requires deep trenches to be made, and massive subwalls to afford a footing for the superstructure. Such substructures necessarily escape a hostile destruction. In our present building, the original levelling and cutting down of the rock will be found to afford the best traces of the former dispositions. But all these causes have influenced, from time to time, the remarkable group of buildings which I propose to examine. The authorities from which our knowledge of the arrangements of the buildings are derived, are the numerous pilgrimages and chronicles of the middle ages; and, by

comparing and collating these, and by a constant reference to the site, I hope to be able to shew, that a tolerably consistent architectural history of these vicissitudes of plan may be drawn out.

As the Churches in question form an exceedingly complex group, and we are necessarily better acquainted with the more recent structures, than with the older ones, we must take the history in a reverse order, and begin with the fourth period, namely, by describing the whole as it stood from the time of the Crusaders, until the fire of 1808[1], which however has not affected the plan of the buildings.

The Church, in its general plan, may be described as a Romanesque cruciform structure, having a circular nave to the West, a North and South transept, and a short Eastern limb or choir terminated by an apse. An aisle runs round the circular nave, on three of its sides. Also there is an aisle at the end of each transept, and on the East and West sides of each transept; and an aisle passes round the apse, and has chapels radiating from it, in the usual manner. Projecting from the East end, but lying to the South of the central line of the edifice, is a chapel, termed the chapel of S. Helena. The Eastern aisle of the South transept is occupied by chapels in two floors, the upper floor having the chapel of the Crucifixion. The principal, and at present the only, entrance to the Church, is at the South front of this Southern transept. Moreover, the triforium of the

[1] Plate 2 is a Plan, and Plate 3 a longitudinal section of the Church and its chapels as they appeared during the fourth period; this plan is based upon a most elaborate survey, for which I am indebted to the kindness of my excellent friend J. Scoles, Esq., who laid it down in the year 1825. In Appendix (A) I have explained my authorities for the sections at length.

Church is an entire floor, extending over the whole of the side-aisles, and was, on its first completion, accessible from one end to the other, and, indeed, all round the Church; but was subsequently obstructed by party walls, erected for the accommodation of some of the various sects who have divided the Church amongst them.

The circular nave or Rotunda was wholly erected with circular arches, but the Eastern part of the Church with pointed arches; having, however, round arches in the windows, according to the usual practice at the early period of the pointed style. In the centre of the Rotunda is placed the principal object, for the protection and veneration of which the entire structure was planned; and before I proceed to the detailed description of that structure, I must investigate the arrangement and history of the Sepulchral Cavern, which had so vast an influence upon it.

III.

ON THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND ROCK-TOMBS IN GENERAL.

In the centre of the Rotunda, as I have already said, there stands a small Chapel or *edicula*, twenty-six feet in length, and eighteen in breadth, having its interior divided into two small apartments, the inner one of which is said to be the actual Sepulchral Chamber "hewn out of a rock," in which the body of our Lord was deposited. Its present appearance, which is, at first sight, that of an artificial construction of masonry, is explained by saying that the architects of Constantine levelled the ground all round the Cave, leaving that

portion of rock, within which the chamber had been excavated, to stand up as an isolated block, and that the exterior and interior of this block has been cased with ornamental architecture, so as to give it its present artificial appearance.

To enable my readers to judge of the probability of this account, I must digress into a short examination of the arrangement and form of the Jewish and Roman Sepulchres; for it must be remembered, that the Sepulchre in question, originally formed for a wealthy Jew, "his own new tomb," "wherein never man before was laid," was altered into its present condition by a Roman emperor, more than three centuries afterwards.

Every traveller bears witness to the innumerable rock-sepulchres which exist in the valleys round about Jerusalem. The general mode of construction is, in the words of Robinson, that "a door in the perpendicular face of the Rock, usually small and without ornament, leads to one or more small chambers excavated from the rock, and commonly upon the same level with the door. Very rarely are the chambers lower than the door, the walls in general are plainly hewn; and there are occasionally, though not always, niches or resting-places for the dead bodies. To obtain a perpendicular face for the door, advantage was sometimes taken of a former quarry; or an angle was cut in the rock with a tomb in each face; or a square niche or area was hewn out in a ledge, and then tombs excavated in all three of its sides. All these expedients are seen particularly in the northern part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and near the Tombs of the Judges. Many of the doors and fronts of the tombs along this valley

are now broken away, leaving the whole of the interior exposed[1]."

But the interior arrangements are minutely described by the accurate Schultz, as follows. "Amongst the Sepulchres of Jerusalem we find two modes of arrangement, which, however, resemble each other in one respect, that they are both divided into two parts. A low door gives admission to a small vestibule, within which a similar door, opposite to the first, leads to the sepulchral chamber. Thus far the two kinds are alike; but their difference is that in one, the niches (or *loculi*[2]) are cut out of the rock with their longest dimension *perpendicular* to the sides of the apartment, as in the plan fig. A. Thus a moderately sized chamber is sufficient to afford room for ten or twelve bodies.

Fig. A.

Fig. B.

In the second, narrower niches (or *loculi*) are hewn out of the two sides of the cavern, on either side one, having the long dimension *parallel* to the side of the apartment, (as in fig. B.), and in these either the body was laid or a sarcophagus placed. The side of the room opposite to the door has very frequently a little niche that would receive the body of a child, and often a place for a lamp. This latter mode of arrangement,

[1] Robinson, Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 522.

[2] I employ this word *loculus* as a convenient general term for the receptacle of the body in a sepulchral structure, whether that receptacle be a grave, a chest, a cavity in the rock, or any other of the forms that are to be found.

which occurs amongst others in the Tombs of the Kings, was, in my opinion, reserved for the sepulchres of rich and distinguished persons[1]."

It appears, from this description, that the dead were always deposited in a cavity hewn out of the sides of the chamber, but that in one case they were laid at right angles to the side of the room in a long *deep loculus*, and in the other case, parallel to the side of the room in a *shallow loculus*.

These two classes of receptacles are to be found in the rock-sepulchres of other nations. The first kind, however, is by no means so common as the second. The Egyptians appear to have occasionally employed such cavities for the deposit of their mummies, and they occur in the tombs of Petra. Later, in the Christian catacombs of Rome, the discovery of a few loculi of this form in the cemetery of St Ciriaca, is mentioned as a most unusual arrangement[2].

But the second position of the body, which is by far the most usual amongst all the nations of antiquity who employed the sepulchral chamber, is the one which interests us the most, as it was undoubtedly the form of the so-called Holy Sepulchre[3].

It is scarcely necessary for me to remind my readers that the Jews simply laid their dead in the tomb, swathed up in linen, with aromatics, but without employing either the elaborate embalmment of the Egyptians, or their complex coffins. Those Romans who did

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[1] Schultz, Jerusalem, p. 97.

[2] Monumenti primitivi delle Arti Christiani, Rome, 1844, pp. 110, 225.

[3] Throughout this dissertation I employ the term "Holy Sepulchre" to designate that which is exhibited under that title in the church in question, without necessarily assuming it to be the genuine sepulchre of the gospels.

not burn the corpse, deposited it in a coffin, or stone sarcophagus, which was closed with a lid; and this was the practice of the Greeks. But it is also known that the early Greeks, Etrurians, and other nations, deposited their dead, dressed in the armour or robes of state which they wore when living, and simply laid them thus upon a stone or bronze couch, protecting them, like the Jews, from spoliation or from wild beasts only by securing, and sometimes concealing, the doors of the sepulchral chambers.

It is evident that the form and arrangement of these sepulchral chambers must have been designed with especial reference to the manner in which the bodies of their future tenants were intended to be deposited within them. In many instances the sarcophagus, couch, or other resting-place, is hewn out of the solid rock, and thus must have been left standing out from the floor, or projecting from the sides, when this apartment was first excavated. When the stone couch was employed, its surface was either level, or merely hollowed out an inch or two in depth, to afford a resting-place; and a raised part is often left at the head, to serve as a pillow, or a round cavity cut for the same purpose. Such couches are found in the Etruscan rock-tombs, and in those of Greece and Asia Minor. I am not now speaking of the stone benches in such tombs, which served as resting-places, or shelves, for the cinerary urns, &c. In the Jewish tombs of Syria, however, the recess in the side of the chambers appears to have been always employed. But even this admits of great variety[4]. In

[4] Many of the rock sepulchres around Jerusalem belonged to Romans or Greeks, Pagan or Christian, the inhabitants of the city after its occupation by the Romans, and it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish the

its simplest form, it is a rectangular opening or cavity in the face of the rocky side of the tomb, the bottom of it being usually higher than the floor of the chamber; and its length and depth just sufficient to admit of a human body being deposited in it. Often its upper surface or soffit is curved into an arch, which is either segmental or semicircular; and this, too, is its usual form when a sarcophagus is deposited in it.

Loculi[1] of this description are sometimes cut in the sides of the chamber, one above the other, in two or more tiers.

Lastly, the bottom of the cavity is often excavated so as to form a sarcophagus, or stone-coffin, so deep as to allow a horizontal stone to be placed upon its edges; thus the arrangement practically resembles a sarcophagus placed in an arched recess sufficiently deep to enclose it completely.

As a Syrian example of this latter form, I may quote certain rock tombs that exist near Khan Kesrawan, between Sidon and Tyre; for the drawings of one of which I am indebted to Mr Scoles.

Fig. X is a plan of this tomb, and fig. Y a section. As in Dr Schultz's description, we have first a low door-way, two feet nine inches square, which was formerly closed by a stone-door, the sockets for whose

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genuine Jewish sepulchre from the latter. But to this latter class appear to belong the catacombs on the Hill of Offence south of Jerusalem, which are said to resemble the tombs of Asia Minor, and some of which have Greek inscriptions. Also some at least of the architecturally decorated catacombs and tombs, of which more below.

[1] The only example of sarcophagi at Jerusalem is in the so-called "Tomb of the Kings," wherein they were placed in semicircularly arched recesses in the sides of the apartment. The general rule of the Jews appears not to have been to employ coffins of any kind.

pivots still remain (K). The form of this is a perfectly simple and unornamented square, as shewn in elevation

Fig. X.

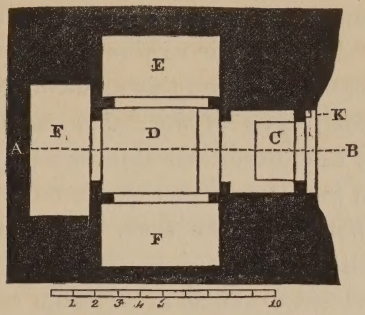

Fig. Y.

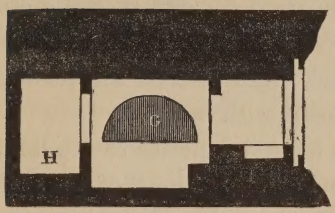

Fig. Z.

in fig. Z. This admits to a little vestibule, C, the floor of which is sunk, probably to receive moisture; and from which a second entrance, opposite to, and rather lower than, the first, admits to the sepulchral chamber D, the dimensions of which are but five feet three inches in length, and about four in width. It is only four feet nine high, and is flat-ceiled. Each of three sides, however, has a sepulchral loculus, E, F, F, for the reception of a body. As the three are alike in form, the elevation of one of them, G, in fig. Y, corresponds to the section of the other, H, in the same figure.

An arch, G, pierced in the side of the chamber, is the opening to the loculus; and the lower margin of this arch is two feet above the floor of the chamber. But at the bottom of this arch a sunk receptacle (as at H) is formed, eighteen inches in depth, to receive the body, as shewn by the section; and herein lies the principal difference between this sepulchral chamber and Schultz's second class of Jerusalem tombs. (Fig. B, above). They each have their antechamber and recessed loculi; but in the latter class there is no hollow or chest sunk in the bottom of the arch, so that the body was simply deposited thereon.

In the present example, as no ledge appears at the back or sides of the loculus to afford a resting-place for a horizontal slab to cover the bodies, it may be inferred that they were left uncovered; and that the stone-door of the outer chamber was the only means by which the sepulchre was secured, unless indeed the vertical arches of the loculi were closed with masonry.

The arch of the loculus opposite to the door is narrower than the others, on account of the dimensions of the apartment. But as the cavity expands behind the opening, it is still long enough to receive the corpse of a full-grown man, but not if enclosed in a coffin.

This form of a loculus occurs in various other districts. Texier[1] has given drawings of a rock-chamber at Nacoleia, in Asia Minor, the general arrangement of which is similar to this, but it has no vestibule, and the rude ornament of the doorway shews it to belong to a very early period; while another sepulchre at the same place, with a similar doorway, has stone couches

[1] Texier, Déscription de l'Asie Mineur, Pl. 57.

against the walls in lieu of these arched recesses and square chests of stone. He has also given engravings of another sepulchral excavation at Nacoleia, with these arched recesses, the front of which has a deep portico with rude columns.

At Urgur[2] a chamber occurs which has on each of three sides an oblong rectangular opening, about eighteen inches from the floor, instead of an arch. The one opposite to the door is provided with a deeply sunk cavity, like those under the arches of fig. Y, above. But the lateral openings have only a shallow sinking at the bottom of their recesses. A rude early portico and atrium, of slightly Egyptian character, is in front of this cavern.

The arched recess, with the hollow chest or stone coffin below, (as in figs. X, Y, Z) abounds in the Christian catacombs both of Rome and of Naples, where it appears to have been reserved for the richer or more distinguished persons. The fortunate discovery of an inscription attached to one of these[3], in which the monument itself is mentioned, has taught us that its proper name was ARCOSOLIUM. In these, however, the cavity is covered by an horizontal slab, which is supported by a narrow ledge at the back and sides, and rests in front upon the front wall of the *loculus*[4].

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[2] Texier, Pls. 92, 93.

[3] The inscription is preserved in the pallazzo Rondanini at Rome (Mon. Prim. d. Arti Christiani, p. 85.) The pagans employed the word *solium* for the *arca*, or sarcophagus, in which they enclosed the dead body, and the Christians applied the same term to the chest in which relics of their martyrs were kept under an altar. (Ib. p. 96.) *Solium* is also a *bath*, which a sarcophagus resembles. The compound word *Arcosolium* very fitly represents the peculiar form of sepulchral monuments to which it was applied.

[4] Mr Wilde, in his Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, &c. (Dublin, 1840, Vol. II. p. 123) has paid particular

Its use was not confined to the Christians; for in the sepulchres of the Villa Corsina, near Rome, there are some examples, some of which, it is true, have the *solium* occupied by cinerary urns[1], but in others it is plainly intended for an entire corpse.

It will of course be understood that the difference

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attention to the forms and arrangements of sepulchres; for which his professional and scientific studies as a surgeon seem to have given him an especial predilection. In his journey from Tyre to Sidon, he explored the tombs, represented in figs. X, Y, Z. He describes them as an extensive series of catacombs, cut in the face of the white sandstone rock. His view of the interior of one of these chambers exactly corresponds to Mr Scoles' architectural drawings; but Mr Wilde says, "The moment I entered the first of these tombs (exhibited in the engraving), I was struck not only with the resemblance, but the exact similarity they bore to the Egyptian catacombs, especially to those of Sackara and Alexandria. Like them, they have a low square doorway, opening into a chamber, varying in size from ten to fifteen feet square, containing three horizontal sarcophagi, or places for bodies, one on each side; the doorway, or entrance, fills up the fourth side, the whole carved out of the solid rock, which like that of Egypt is soft, and easily excavated." Of the catacombs of Sackara he says, "This tomb, to which the Arabs give the name of Bergami, is one of vast extent and matchless elegance of design and finish; all carved with the greatest precision out of the solid rock. Its outer hall or apartment is of great size, and adorned with massive pillars on either hand. Off the sides of this portion of the tomb are a series of small chambers, their walls covered with hieroglyphics: in form they are for the most part square, and have in general three niches for the bodies; one opposite to the door, and one on either side. Two square wells lead down to a great depth into a lower tier of sepulchral chambers, similarly coated with phonetic writing." (Vol. I. p. 372.) Upon comparing the accounts of different travellers and writers, I cannot, however, satisfy myself how far the similarity of the Egyptian loculus to the Syrian is to be interpreted. The question respecting which I should be exceedingly grateful for exact information is this: Does the Arcosolium, in its exact form and arched opening, as in the Christian catacombs of Rome, and in the Syrian tomb of the above woodcuts, exist in the tombs of Egypt? Vide Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, Vol. II. 2nd series, p. 397; Pococke, Vol. I. p. 54; Clarke, Vol. III. p. 286, 4to edition. Clarke says distinctly of the small chambers of the Alexandrian catacomb, that "each contains on either side of it, except that of the entrance, a *soros* for the reception of a mummy:" these chambers are about nine feet square.

[1] See Bartoli, Ant. Sepolcri, tav. 9, 11, 13.

between the *arcosolium* and a sarcophagus placed in a niche or isolated, is simply that in the former the *solium* is a part of the structure, very often indeed part of the solid rock, and therefore it shews its front only; but the sarcophagus is an isolated chest, and often moveable, and has three finished sides at least, and when not placed against the wall, is ornamented on four sides.

The arcosolium is plainly the prototype of the mediæval monuments that are constructed in the side-walls of churches.

In the Etruscan sepulchres there is no example of a genuine "arcosolium." When a sarcophagus is employed, it is always placed against the walls of the apartment, or isolated, but never fitted into a recess either arched or square, and the same may be said of the stone-couches. But recesses, both arched and rectangular, without the hollow chest, are sunk in the sides of the Etruscan chambers, and in the vertical faces of rock, for the reception of bodies[2].

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[2] The descriptions which travellers give (without drawings) are so ambiguous, that I cannot affirm that the recess always occurs in the Jewish tombs. Schultz seems to imply this in the description I have quoted above, in which case he must be supposed to mean that the tombs near Jerusalem in which the recess does not occur, belonged to foreigners. Doubdan, in the following passage, clearly states that the body was either deposited in a stone chest, sufficiently deep to admit of a horizontal cover, or else simply laid upon the surface of a kind of altar left in the rock, and hollowed about an inch. But he says nothing about the recess in the floor of which these receptacles were formed; and similarly Clarke, Vol. II. p. 252, 4to edition, comparing the tombs of Telmessus with those of the Hill of Offence, south of Jerusalem, is equally ambiguous. I must leave this question to be answered by actual observers; for as the tombs of Asia Minor are of both kinds, as already stated, it is impossible to say which he alludes to. The drawing of one of these tombs in the Hill of Offence, which is given by Zuallardo, and copied by Cotovicus, represents a simple rectangular loculus, hollowed in the side of the apartment, like those of the ordinary Christians in the Roman catacombs. But more of this below.

"Some of these tombs (on the

Besides the ordinary kinds of single chambers which Schultz has explained, there are at Jerusalem many of a more complicated and remarkable construction, which have been described with more or less precision by travellers. They resemble the simple chambers in the forms of their receptacles (or *loculi*) for the dead, and differ from them only in consisting of a number of apartments connected in various ways by passages and staircases, instead of having merely a single chamber with its vestibule; and they are moreover distinguished by an ornamental façade of architecture, the style of which is, in them all, Greek, and often with a strange intermixture of Egyptian principles, the

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North of Jerusalem) consist of simple low-arched grottos, of an oblong form, leading from the antechambers. There are also others similar to those of Telmessus, Laodicea and Tortosa, having ledges at the sides; and again, others having niches for the bodies, representing the segment of a dome (arch?) like those in the royal sepulchres, (Tombs of the Kings)." Wilde, Vol. II. p. 308. Of the southern tombs, however, namely, those on the Mountain of Offence, mentioned by Clarke, with the Greek inscriptions, Mr Wilde (Vol. II. p. 336) says they invariably correspond to the type of the eastern tomb, having *horizontal benches* for the bodies ranged along the sides.

"Les Juifs, au moins les plus riches et considerables, avoient coustume de choisir dès leur vivant le lieu de leur sepulture, qui estoit pour l'ordinaire un petit cabinet ou caveau, qu'ils faisoient tailler à la pointe du ciseau dans quelque roche vive, de la grandeur d'un corps de six à sept pieds en quarré, et l'entrée fort petite. Dans ce caveau ou cabinet ils faisoient tailler à costé et de la mesme roche un cercueil, creusé avec un petit relais à un bout, pour hausser un peu la teste, de la mesme longueur de six à sept pieds, et environ deux de largeur, où ayant mis le corps mort enveloppé de son suaire et couvert d'une table de pierre, ils bouchoient la porte d'une autre grande pierre qu'ils faisoient sceller avec du ciment, et l'appuyoient avec une autre plus petite.

"Les autres se contentoient, au lieu de cercueil, de laisser un banc de la mesme roche en forme d'autel, creusé seulement d'un poulce, sur le quel on estendoit le corps, sans etre couvert d'une autre pierre. Voilà la forme de la plus grande partie des sepulchres de ce pays-là, et particulièrement de celuy de Nostre Seigneur," &c. Doubdan, le Voyage de la Terre Sainte, p. 65, 2nd ed. 1661. (He began his travels Nov. 25th, 1651.)

exact period of which it is by no means easy to determine. The names given to many of these larger sepulchres have plainly no authority, such as, the Tombs of the Prophets, of the Judges, of the apostle James, and of Jehoshaphat[1] and others.

The tombs so distinguished by names, are not the only ones of this kind near Jerusalem. Robinson (for example) describes another in a state of decay, at some distance S.E. of the Tombs of the Kings, and states that several others of a similar character may be traced[2].

For the elucidation of my subject, I shall venture to lay before my readers a description of two of the larger class of tombs, namely, of the Tomb of the Judges, as a specimen of the excavated catacomb; and of the Tomb of Absalom as a monolith.

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[1] Plans and drawings of the Tombs of the Kings may be found in various works. Mr Wilde (Vol. II. p. 300) has described them at length, and with some particulars omitted by other travellers. "There are no troughs or soroi in any of the chambers of this subterranean mausoleum, but simply ledges or sides like those of the regal sepulchres in Asia Minor." He proceeds to describe minutely the sarcophagi. The best plan appears to be that of Catherwood, which is published in Robinson, Vol. I. p. 530. Cassas gives plans and sections, which, compared with those of more recent travellers, appear to be sadly dressed up from very scanty and inaccurate notes. See also Bartlett, p. 129, and most of the picturesque works on Jerusalem. Cassas has also given plans of the tombs of the apostle James and of Jehosaphat; but I regret to say that these drawings of Cassas exhibit every symptom of having been made up from very hasty sketches. A plan and description of the tombs of the prophets is given by Lord Nugent, in his "Lands Classical and Sacred." Shaw describes the rock-sepulchres of *Latikea* (the ancient Laodicea), and adds that those near Jebilee, Tortosa, and the Serpent Fountain, together with those that are commonly called the Royal Sepulchres at Jerusalem,...are of the like workmanship and contrivance with the *cryptæ* of *Latikea* (Shaw's Travels, Second Ed. p. 263). Consult also "Agincourt, Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments."

[2] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 534.

IV.

THE TOMBS OF THE JUDGES.

The remarkable catacomb which is known by the name of the Tombs of the Judges, is an excellent example of the various modes in which the niches, or places of deposit for the dead, were arranged, when a considerable number were to be provided for, and a series of chambers formed with due regard to symmetry.

The kindness of my friend, Mr Scoles, to whom I have so often had the pleasure of referring in these pages, has enabled me to lay before my readers his complete architectural elucidation of this *hypogeum*, which, as far as I know, has never been attempted before, although the tomb itself is commonly referred to.

Plate 4 contains a plan and two sections which will completely explain the whole[1].

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[1] Fig. 12 is a vertical section of the whole, from West to East, and it shews that there are two floors in the eastern portion.

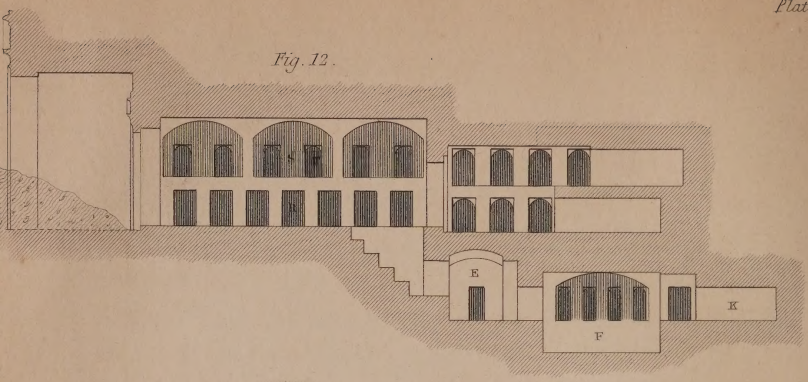
In fig. 13, which is a general plan, the lower floor is laid down in dotted lines, and the section in fig. 12 is taken in the centre of the upper plan along the line A, B, D, while the section of the lower chambers is taken also along their central line E...K, which is necessarily considerably to the North of the sectional line of the upper chambers.

Fig. 14 is a transverse section of the principal chamber B, and its southern chamber C, taken from North to South. The same letters of reference are employed in all the figures.

Mr Wilde (Vol. II. p. 306) describes a tomb which appears to be the one in question. He tells us that each of the deep *loculi* is slightly arched at top, as Mr Scoles' drawing shews, and adds that each has a square groove hewn in the rock round the entrance of it, for the reception of a door. They are more probably for a single slab to be cemented against the front of it. These square sinkings are indicated in the drawings.

"The bodies must have been put into these holes without any coffins... I would say that, from the appearance presented by the hewn surface, the rock was first roughly cut with an instrument in the form of a pick, with a flattened point, and then smoothed by

Fig. 12.



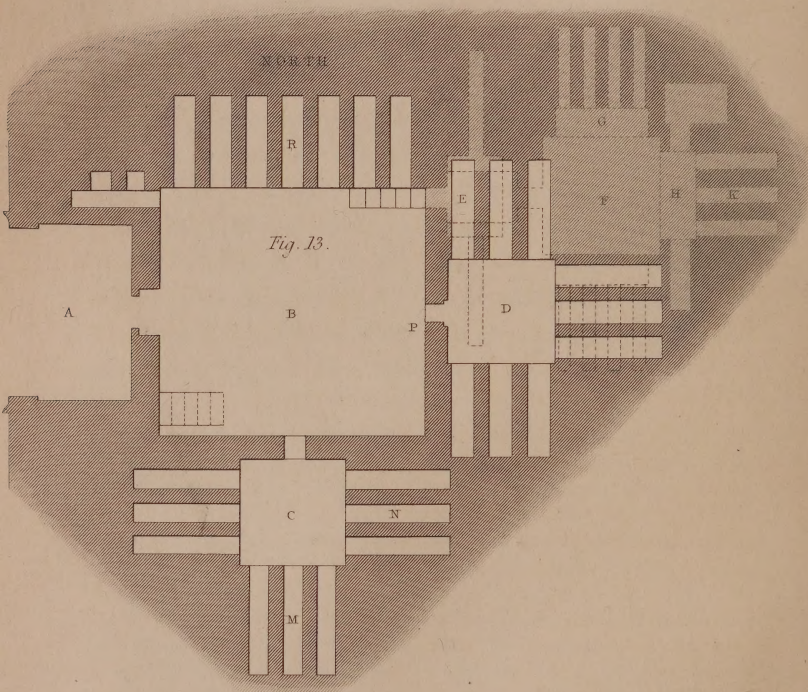


Fig. 13.

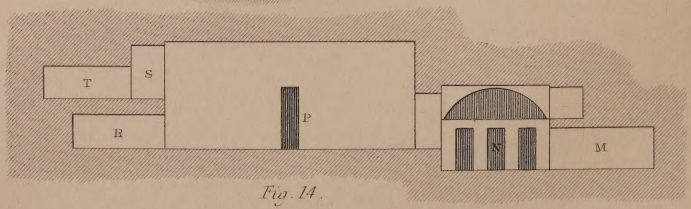
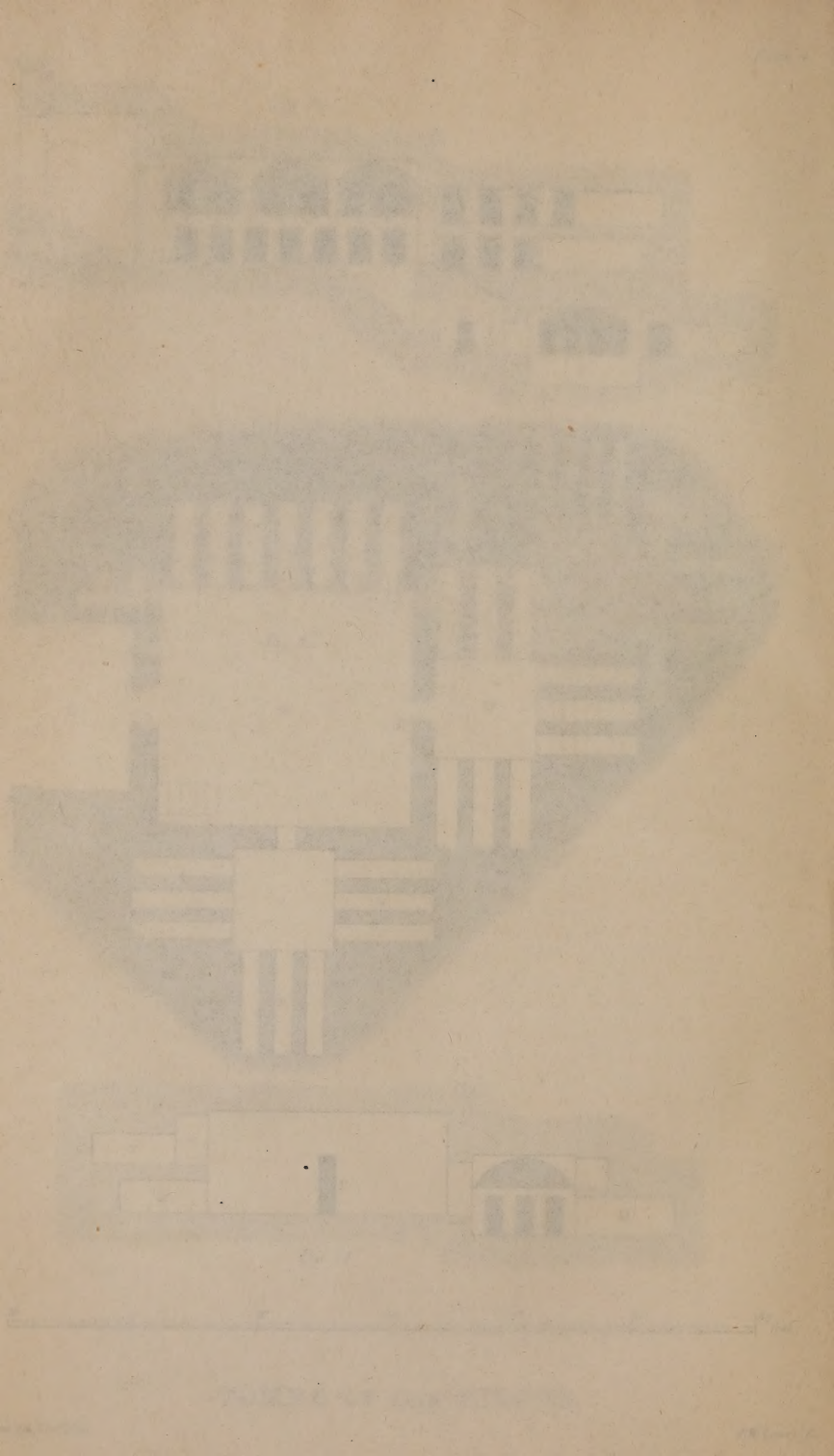


Fig. 14.

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 feet

TOMBS OF THE JUDGES.

es del. Nov^r 1825 J.W. Lowry fc



The entrance faces the West[2], and has a vestibule (A) thirteen feet by nine feet, the opening of which is equal in width and height to the vestibule itself, and is ornamented with a simple architrave moulding surmounted by a Greek-looking pediment having *acroteria* at the corners and in the centre. Within is a small door of narrow proportions[3], also decorated with an architrave and pediment.

This door opens to a chamber (B) very nearly square, twenty feet in depth, nineteen across from North to South, and eight feet one inch in height. Its ceiling is perfectly flat.

The North side is seen (in elevation) in fig. 12. It is occupied by two tiers of receptacles or *loculi*, the section of which is shewn on the left hand of the transverse section, fig. 14. These drawings will shew that the lower tier consists of seven plain cavities excavated in the rock, on the level of the floor, and perpendicularly to the side of the room, and each seven feet in length, two feet nine inches in height, and one foot eight inches wide. The upper tier is formed of three arched recesses, the floors of which are raised three feet nine inches above that of the room. Their arch is segmental, and they are two feet six inches deep, so that each of them would receive either a swathed corpse or a small sarcophagus.

The back of each recess is also pierced by two deep *loculi* rather narrower than those below, but in other

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some fine-grained tool, like a comb-pointed chisel. A similar appearance is exhibited on some of the rocks out of which are formed the sepulchral chambers in Egypt." Wilde, Vol. II. p. 308.

[2] This entrance is engraved by Cassas, (with some inaccuracies) under the title of Tomb of the Kings of Judah, and his representation is copied in the Pictorial Bible, and in Kitto's Pictorial Sunday-Book, No. 932.

[3] 6′. 9″ high and 2′. 5″ wide.

respects similar. Thus it appears that this system unites the two methods of depositing the body which, as already stated, are usually employed in this neighbourhood, namely, the long and shallow loculus with a raised floor, upon which the body was laid parallel to the side of the room, and the narrow and deep loculus in which it was laid at right angles to the side of the room.

This room (with the exception of a deep loculus opening to some smaller ones which are seen in the North-West corner,) contains no other receptacle. But in the middle of its South and of its East side is a narrow door[1], each leading to a room about eight feet square, and containing (as the plan shews) three deep loculi on each of three sides. But these two rooms differ in other respects. The Southern room, the floor of which is two feet lower than that of the great room, is shewn in section at the right end of fig. 14. This section also exhibits an elevation of the eastern side of the room; and as the southern and eastern sides of the room are arranged in exactly the same manner, the section of the southern side, compared with the elevation of the eastern which is close to it, completely explains the forms and depths of the loculi. The lower ones, three on a side, are similar in form and dimension to those of the great room. Above them is an arched receptacle of the same depth as those of the great room, but it is lower, and has no deep loculi pierced at its back. The room itself is only six feet six inches high.

The Eastern room D, is arranged in a totally different manner as far as its upper loculi are concerned;

[1] 4′. 8″ high, 1′. 6″ wide.

but as its dimensions are about the same as those of the Southern room C, and its lower loculi arranged in the same manner, three on a side, the two rooms appear exactly alike on the plan[2].

But the section of the Eastern room (fig. 1) shews that at the level of the upper loculi the sides of the room are set back[3] two feet nine inches, so as to allow space for four loculi instead of three on each side, in addition to the space in front, which may be supposed also to have been intended for the reception of bodies laid parallel to the walls, as in the arched recesses of the upper tier in the rooms already described.

It remains only to describe the lower floor, of which the plan is shewn in dotted lines in fig. 13, and the section in fig. 12. In the North-east corner of the great room B, a staircase leads down to a small vestibule E, which has more of architectural arrangement about it than any other apartment of this catacomb; for there is a sunk recess on three of its sides, headed by a segmental arch which reaches to the top of the room, and the ceiling springs from these arches in a slightly domical form, every other apartment in the catacomb being flat-roofed. These recesses are solely intended for ornament, for they are too shallow and too small to receive bodies, being only a foot in depth and four feet long, and the apartment itself including them is but six feet across, and about five feet high.

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[2] The loculi of the South room are 1′. 4″ wide, 8′. 1″ deep, and 3′. 3″ high, and those of the West room 1′. 10″ wide, 8′. 2″ deep, and 2′. 6″ high.

[3] The section only shews this setting back on the eastern side of the room, but the same contrivance is adopted on the North and on the South sides of the room, so that there are four loculi in the upper tier of each side, making, in addition to those below, twenty-one loculi in this apartment. The floor of the upper tier is only 3′. 5″ above the floor of the room.

The north and south sides have each one opening communicating with a deep narrow loculus. Its east side has a low door, only two feet six high, which opens to the sepulchral chamber F. The floor of the sepulchral chamber is two feet six inches below the sill of this door, and similarly the floor of the vestibule is two feet three inches below the sill of its door of entrance.

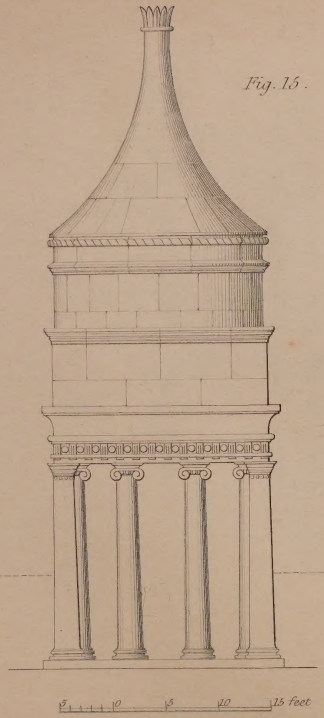
In this sepulchral chamber another mode of distribution is adopted, for there is but one tier of loculi. The chamber (eight feet ten inches square, and six feet two inches high), has on each of three sides an arched recess (G, H) forming a loculus of the shallow kind, the bottom of which is two feet six inches from the floor of the chamber. The back of each is pierced with three or with four deep narrow loculi, as in the first chamber B.

The eastern arch A, has also, as the plan shews, sepulchral recesses pierced on its north and south sides.

This lower story appears to be a complete sepulchre in itself, having its own vestibule. It is very well worth observation, that of the four principal chambers of this catacomb no two are arranged precisely in the same manner, and that great pains appear to have been taken to distribute the loculi with regard to symmetry and variety in design. Whether the arched recesses of the upper tiers were intended for the reception of bodies or for sarcophagi it is difficult to say, but they appear too short for sarcophagi.

The staircase in the south-western corner of the principal apartment B, leads down to an unfinished excavation.

Fig. 15.



Elevation.

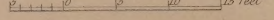
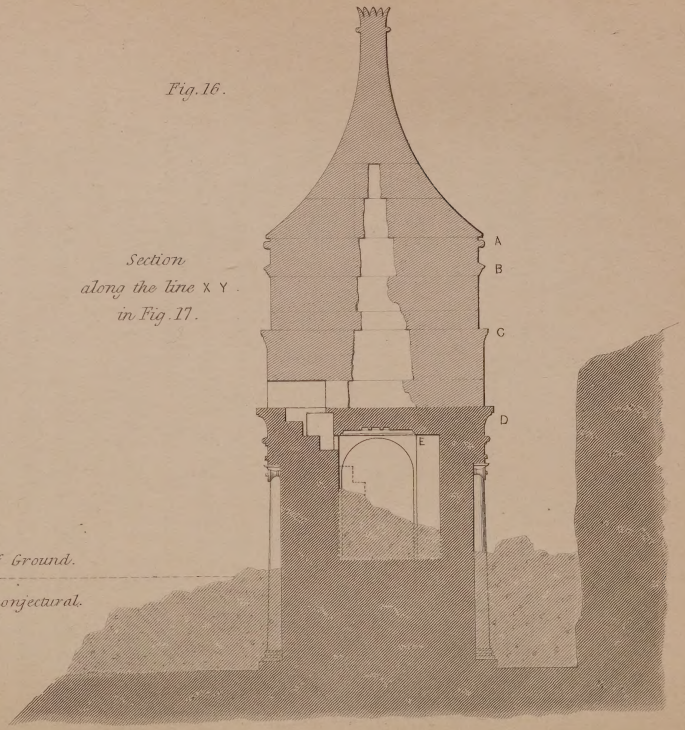


Fig. 16.

Section
along the line X Y
in Fig. 17.



Present Level of Ground.

All below this line is conjectural.

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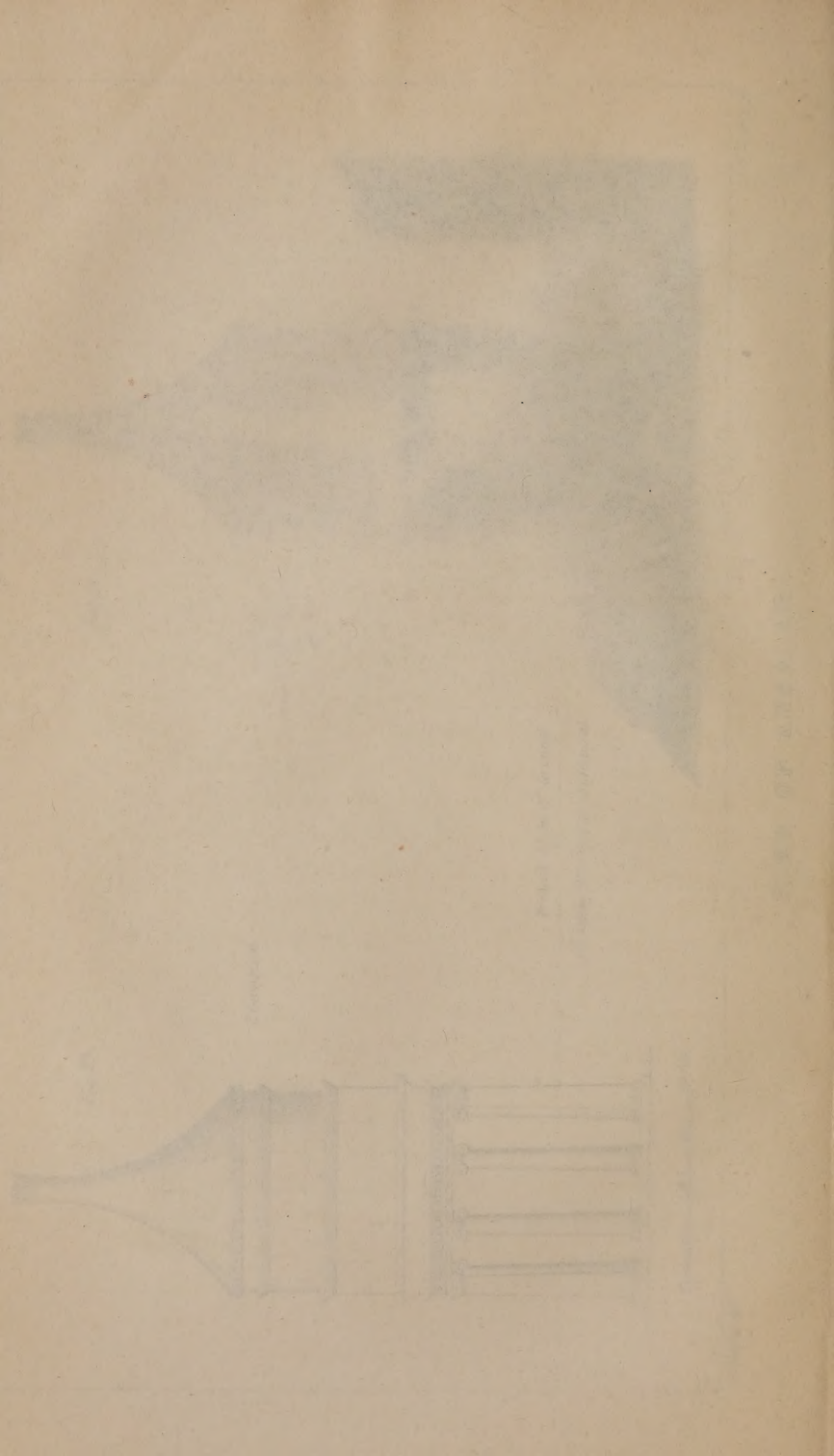
TOMB OF ABSALOM.



V.

THE TOMB OF ABSALOM.

To complete this sketch of the Jewish sepulchres, I must advert to the isolated tombs, known by the names of Absalom and Zachariah, which are placed on the east side of Jerusalem, immediately opposite to the southern extremity of the Temple Area, as shewn in the general plan of the town. They are, in the words of the accurate Robinson, "situated in the narrowest part of the Valley of Jehosaphat, where a shelf, or ledge of rock, extends down from the East, and terminates in an almost perpendicular face just over the bed of the Kidron." The Tomb of Zachariah is on the South, and that of Absalom about 200 feet to the North of it, and slightly westward. Each tomb is square, and stands North and South. The drawings will completely explain the tomb of Absalom, at least as far as it rises above the ground, for its lower part is now buried to a considerable height in a mass of débris and of stones, which have been cast at it by the Jews, who, believing it to be really the Pillar of Absalom, (mentioned in 2 Samuel xviii. 18), have been in the habit, from time immemorial, of shewing their horror at his rebellious conduct by casting a stone and spitting as they pass by it[1].

The lower part, however, is a mass of solid rock about twenty feet square, which has been completely detached from the cliff behind it, by working away a passage ten feet in width at the sides, and nine at the back, so as to leave the tomb standing in a square recess hewn out of the cliff, as shewn in the plan and in the section. This square mass has a pilaster at each

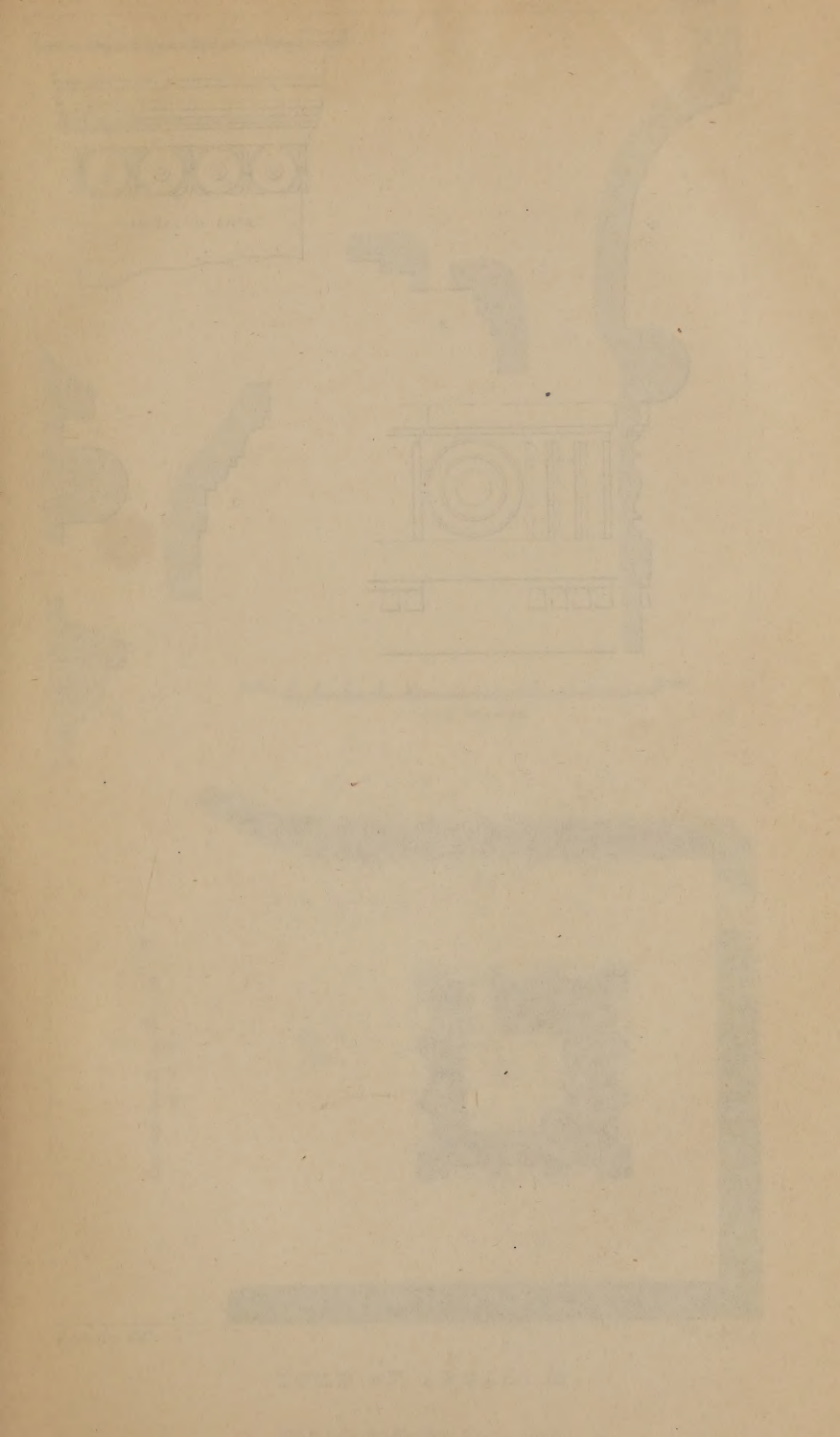
[1] Holy City, p. 375, 1st Edit.

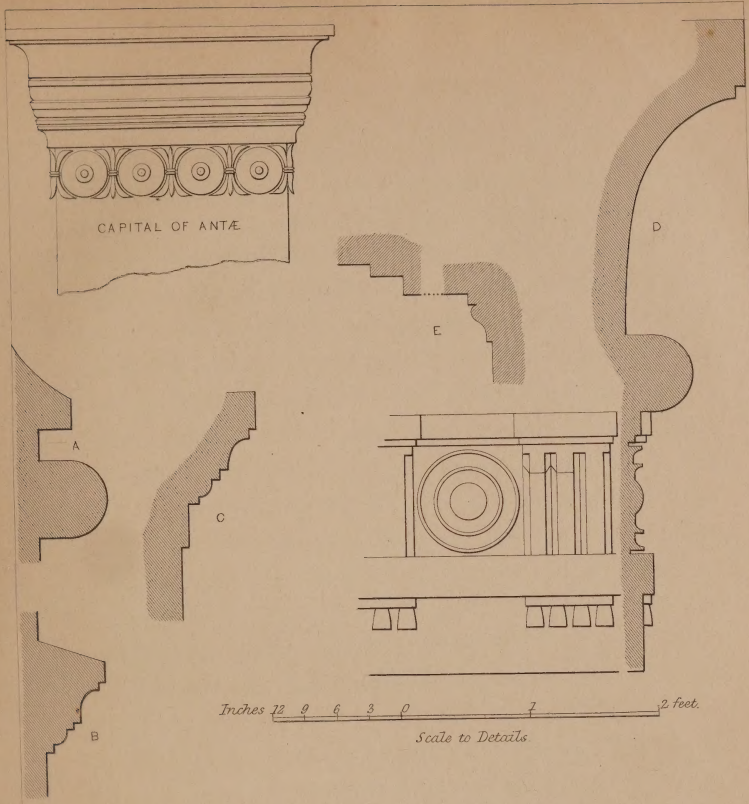
angle, and a quarter column attached to it, and also two half columns between; these columns have Ionic capitals, and the pilasters Greek-looking antæ-capitals. Their bases are buried in the rubbish. They sustain an entablature of a singularly mixed character; its frieze and architrave are Doric and have triglyphs and guttæ. The metope is occupied by a circular disk or shield. But in lieu of the regular cornice, there is one which resembles the Egyptian cornice, consisting of a deep and high cavetto, and a bold torus below it. The exact altitude of this lower story cannot be ascertained for want of excavation, but Mr Scoles estimates it at about twenty-five feet; above it is a *square* attic, rather more than seven feet in height, and surmounted by a simple cornice.

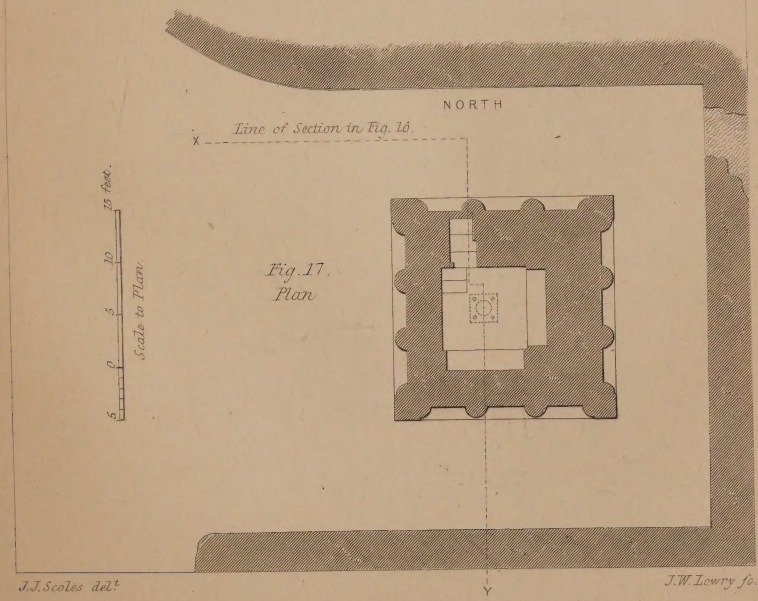
Upon this again is placed a *circular* attic, and the whole is finished by a peculiarly formed roof, which is exactly delineated in Plates 5 and 6, as well as the profiles and details of the architecture.

The parts above the Egyptian cornice are built of masonry, but below that line the whole is worked out of one piece of rock. The four fronts are of the same size and design, but the front towards the city is better executed than the others.

In the rocky part a chamber is formed, of which the plan and section is given in the drawings, as far as Mr Scoles could ascertain them; the lower part of the chamber being unfortunately so encumbered with rubbish, and with the stones that have been thrown into it, that its lower arrangements and altitude cannot be made out. It is not quite eight feet square, is placed nearer to the South side than to the others, by which room is obtained for arched recesses on the North and West. On the East, a low door immediately above







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TOMB OF ABSALOM.

the cornice gives access to a stair of entrance. The thickness would admit of an arched recess on this side, but if it exist, it must be lower than the others and entirely concealed by the rubbish. The ceiling of the chamber is flat, and decorated with an ornamental panel, and a Greek moulding as a cornice. The obstructed state of the lower part makes it impossible to see whether there be any provision for the reception of the dead in the recesses, which, to judge by the upper parts, are deep enough to receive a body; the northern one being two feet three inches. It is probable, from the usual lowness of these sepulchral chambers, that another apartment exists below this with a more ample entrance, if indeed this entrance has not been walled up. In the chamber that remains above-ground there is no apparent means of introducing a dead body, much less a sarcophagus.

But my principal reason for introducing this monument, besides the pleasure of presenting to the public, for the first time, these accurate drawings of Mr Scoles, is, that it affords to us, close to the walls of Jerusalem, an example of the very system which appears to have been pursued by the architects of Constantine in the decoration of the Holy Sepulchre; with this difference, that in the latter case, the cave had existed for centuries before they began their external operations; whereas in the former case, the chamber and the external form were probably parts of one design. Moreover, Constantine clothed the rock with an artificial casing of rich marble, and in our present example, the ornaments are worked out of the solid limestone. But they each exhibit an example of the detaching of a complete monolithic representation of a structure, by the levelling

away of the original rock on all sides. The unmerciful ridicule and contempt which has been cast upon those who have ventured to suppose such a process possible, in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, is at once disposed of, by thus shewing that examples of this process exist in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem; for the tomb of Zachariah is exactly formed in the same manner. And whatever may be the age of these works, they certainly are prior to the time of Constantine. But away from Jerusalem there are many examples, especially in Asia Minor[1]. Robinson also found "several isolated monuments, the counterparts of the monolithic tombs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat" at Petra[2].

VI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

The Holy Sepulchre itself is in its present state, as I have already stated, a small chapel or edicula in the centre of the Rotunda, about twenty-six feet long and eighteen broad. As the diameter of the interior of the Rotunda is sixty-seven feet, the chapel stands quite free in the midst of it.

The Eastern end is square, and the Western polygonal. The external aspect of it has been completely altered by the repairs that followed the fire of 1808; for the original exterior casing of marble, greatly damaged by that fire, has been of necessity entirely removed, and a new one substituted of a totally dif-

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[1] Vide especially Texier, Pls. 197, 198, for a monolithic tomb, detatched from the rock precisely in the same manner as that of Absalom, and wrought into the form of a Doric temple.

[2] Robinson, Vol. I. p. 521. They are sketched in one of Roberts's views of the Necropolis of Petra.

ferent design. The comparison of its present plan with that of its former state proves also, that at least the Eastern half of it has been completely rebuilt, so as also to change the interior[1].

But, in fact, the interior of the Chapel is divided into two apartments. The only entrance is at the East, where a small door admits to the first apartment, which is called the Chapel of the Angel; for here, as they say, the Angel sat upon the stone that was rolled from the door of the Sepulchre. And, accordingly, a stone about a foot high and two feet square is exhibited in this Chapel, as the identical stone in question, or rather as a piece of it.

At the Western extremity of the Angel's Chapel, a narrow low door opens to the second or inner apartment, which is the Sepulchre itself, a quadrangular room, about six feet by seven, and eight or nine feet in height.

This inner apartment is asserted to be the original

[1] Figs. 6, 7, 8, Plate 2, shew the Chapel of the Sepulchre, as it has appeared at different periods; Fig. 6, the supposed original arrangement of Constantine; Fig. 7, is that of the Crusaders, as given by Bernardino and as it remained until 1808. Fig. 8 is its present plan; for which I am indebted to Mr Scoles.

In these three figures the same letters of reference are used: A, the altar of the Sepulchre, B the rock-chamber, C the low door, D the Chapel of the Angel, having the *stone* in the midst, EE stone benches, FF candelabra introduced into the present structure, G a platform of approach to the Sepulchre, raised three steps above the floor of the rotunda, H the Chapel of the Copts.

The probable rocky part of the structure is distinguished from the masonry and marble covering by different shading. In Fig. 6, the sepulchral chamber, not having been lined with marble, appears larger than in the others. In Fig. 8 a narrow staircase is shewn to the right and left of the entrance of the Angel Chapel, which serves to give access to the roof. For this information I am indebted to a Russian plan. It is probable that a similar staircase existed in the earlier building, although Bernardino has omitted it.

Rock-cave, which was shaped and pared down on the outside by Constantine's architect, and the surface of the rock levelled all round it, so as to leave it standing up in the midst, like an artificial construction. The outside was then also decorated with a marble casing and with columns, which casing has been destroyed and reconstructed in various forms, until it has assumed its present appearance. As for the Angel's Chapel in front of it, it is confessedly a building of stone, and has never been described as a rock-cavern, like the inner room, by any writer of authority, although some travellers have assumed this, and perhaps the inferior priests who shew the Sepulchre may say so. But in examining the traditional accounts of the whole of these buildings, and the pretences that are put forth by their guardians with respect to them, it is quite necessary to confine ourselves to the writings of educated men. The marvellous tales of the priests who shew the wonders of the spot to the pilgrims, are about as worthy of attention as the histories that are delivered by a Cathedral verger in our own country, some of which are nearly as preposterous as the legends of the Holy Land, although not so revolting, because the subjects of them are not so sacred.

The wood-cut at the beginning of this volume shews its present appearance, which is that of a Russo-Greek Chapel, in a very bad taste, surmounted by a swelled dome, of a form, happily, peculiar to the Russian Churches. In the drawings of Breydenbach, and others from his time down to the fire of 1808, the Western part of the Chapel has a simple arcade against its sides, the columns of which are seen in the Plan, Fig. 7, from which it appears that there were nine

arches. These arches are not only drawn as pointed arches by Bernardino (who very rarely represents pointed arches,) but he mentions one of them expressly (that over the Eastern door) as a pointed arch, "*arco ottuso.*" (p. 44). But Breydenbach, Le Brun, and others, draw them as semicircular arches. Nevertheless I incline to think, that the fact of one observer drawing the arches in the pointed form, is conclusive against all the others, who might so probably have missed that peculiarity at a period when the pointed arch had not been made an object of attention. The columns, as Bernardino tells us, were different in diameter and in form; some were cylindrical, some octagonal, some spiral, and their plinths were of different heights, as if they had been taken from the remains of other structures. The arcade only extended from K to K Westward, and the height of this part of the Chapel was little more than fifteen feet[1], and was surmounted by a single cornice. The part to the Eastward of K K was a foot lower, and had a similar cornice. The Eastern face contained the only door, and this was square-headed, but had a pointed arch or pannel over it, sunk a few inches. A platform G nine feet wide, shewn in the plan, and raised about a foot above the general pavement of the Rotunda, led to this door, and there was a stone seat E on either side of the doorway. The Eastern half of the Chapel has been now wholly rebuilt, and the Western re-cased, so as to alter its appearance entirely, and to increase its height. But this arrangement of the platform and seats has been preserved, as the plan, Fig. 8, shews, although they have been constructed in a more com-

[1] Twenty-one palms, (Bernardino, p. 44.)

modious and handsome form, and the platform is also now flanked by two large candlesticks at FF. But to return to Fig. 7, or to the Chapel at the period of that plan. The Western half was surmounted by a light pavilion, erected over the sepulchral chamber. This consisted of a plinth of white marble, on which were placed twelve small columns in pairs, of the finest porphyry, with white marble bases and capitals of metal, of irregular design, (according to Bernardino, which may be rendered as applying to mediæval work). Upon these stood six pointed arches of wood, and a cornice of multiplied mouldings, capped by a cupola of lead. This little fabric, nineteen feet high in all, and eleven in diameter, appears to have been of exceedingly mean design and disproportionately small dimensions, though perhaps scarcely deserving Dr Clarke's epithet of a "dusty pepper-box." The present dumpy dome which replaces it, is not worth much more consideration.

The original Angel Chapel was, as the plan (Fig. 7) shews, a small parallelogram, ten feet by five, with a semicircular apse to the West. The parallelogram was vaulted with a groined vault, the apex of which was only ten feet from the floor, and the apse was still lower. The Eastern door was eight feet five inches to the crown of its pointed arch, but the Western door, which gave admission to the inner or sepulchral chamber, was only three feet four inches in height, and the passage was cut obliquely on account of the arrangements of the Sepulchre within[1]. Its pavement and its walls were covered and lined with marble, and there were two small windows on either side, and an *ambry* in which

[1] The above measures are reduced from Bernardino's palms.

were kept some of the sacred vessels for the service of the Sepulchre[2].

The present Angel Chapel (D, Fig. 8) is an entirely new structure, of slightly increased dimensions, and of a different form. The principal interest of comparing the two plans, is to prove that the apse of the old one was certainly no part of the rock; for the present chamber completely encroaches upon that apse, and it is not likely that the rock itself would have been meddled with by the modern architect, if he had found it in his way. In the middle of the Chapel is fixed the stone whereon the Angel sat, upon which it is scarcely worth while to waste words, as it has been repeatedly changed. It is, manifestly, only a representation even of the one which Bede alludes to, as will be shewn below[3].

The inner apartment, or Cave of the Sepulchre, was not affected by the fire of 1808. It is a four-sided chamber very nearly square, six feet eight inches English in length, and six feet one inch in width, according to Mr Scoles. Its vault is eight feet six from the floor. More than half of this chamber on the North side is occupied by a kind of altar or pedestal, two feet ten inches in height, which covers and protects the real Sepulchral couch, where the body of our

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[2] Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 510, and Cotovicus.

[3] "The stone which now stands in the ante-room of the tomb, and which is set forth to be the great stone that was rolled to the door of the Sepulchre...is a square block of white marble, yet the holy fathers declare this to be the identical stone; and it is exhibited as a costly spectacle, and kissed, and venerated accordingly. When strictly questioned on the subject, however, the guide informed us that the true stone was stolen by the Armenians, and it is exhibited by them in a chapel that occupies the site of the palace of Caiaphas, on Mount Zion, but that the polished block of marble served their purpose equally well." Richardson, Vol. II. p. 335.

Lord was laid. The entrance to the chamber is on the East, and close to the side of this altar.

The sides of the chamber are not exactly at right angles to each other; its North-Eastern and North-Western angles being slightly acute, and the others the reverse, according to Bernardino's plan, and to his verbal description quoted below[1].

The chamber is asserted to be hewn out of a rock, but its surface is so covered with ornamental decoration, and blackened with the smoke of the lamps which are continually kept burning therein, that no part of the rocky surface appears to be visible[2]. Quaresmius, who is certainly not inclined to weaken or withhold evidence, and would have mentioned the rock if he could, says that the sides of the chamber within and without are clothed with squared slabs of marble of an ash colour, and the roof incrusted with rough mortar; but that he doubts not that it was once covered with the most elegant Mosaic work[3], of which traces and remains might be still seen, as far as the thick black smoke

[1] "Il vano del S. Sepolcro è per li suoi angoli acuti et ottusi pal. otto e mezo lungo, e otto larga..." p. 32. "Il S. Sepolcro è quattro palmi, e di quì alla volta sono otto; talche in tutto sono palmi dodici, e la porta è quattro palmi e mezo." Bernardino, p. 44. In Mr Scoles' plan (Fig. 8) this peculiarity is omitted; but that gentleman informs me that he thinks it probable it may exist, and that it may have escaped his observation.

[2] Cotovicus, for example, says the interior surface of the cave is hidden by its marble covering, and as for the roof, the smoke of the fifty lamps, which burn there day and night, has so obscured it, that no one can tell whether it be rock, or plaster, or marble covering. p. 180. F. Fabri however, in 1483, declares that he found rocky surface exposed about the door of the cavern, (see the next section below).

[3] Quaresmius, p. 504. Baldensel, in 1336, testifies to the existence of these ornaments, in his description of the sepulchre, the "parvula domuncula," into which, on account of the lowness of the door, which is to the East, it is necessary to stoop in entering. Above, it is vaulted in a semicircular form, and decorated with mosaic work, and with gold and marble, having no window. Canisii Thes. Tom. IV. p. 349.

of the lamps would allow. As to the Holy Sarcophagus itself, he informs us that it was covered with white marble slabs[4], by Father Bonifacius (A.D. 1555), after much consideration, in order to protect this sacred tomb from the droppings of lamp-oil and other uncleanness, and from the indiscreet zeal of the faithful, who were continually knocking off small particles to carry away. The upper slab was in one piece, but was marked across to make it appear as if broken, to deceive the Turks, who would certainly have appropriated so beautiful a piece of marble, if they had seen it entire[5]. It is used as an altar for daily mass. This is Quaresmius' account, and it is worth remarking, because it proves that the best informed writers do not pretend that the altar, which is shewn as the Sepulchre, is the real tomb, but only that it covers the real tomb[6]. What the form of the Sepulchre beneath really is, or was, is a curious subject of enquiry, which we shall presently examine. The inner chamber remains now much in the same state as it did before the fire of 1808; unless, indeed, the decorations have been renewed or repaired, which, comparing the plans, Figs. 7, 8, appears to be the case.

Modern travellers are too apt to assume that the altar exhibited in the inner chamber is asserted to be the original Sepulchre; and probably the priests who shew the wonders of the place, are not very careful to

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[4] It will be shewn in the next section, that the sepulchre was covered with marble for the first time, after the destruction of the church by the Caliph Hakem, and that the covering by Father Bonifacius was a mere repair.

[5] Quaresmius, p. 510; also Wilde's Madeira, Vol. II. p. 295; and Schultz, Jerusalem, p. 98.

[6] Cotovicus similarly tells us, that a marble altar occupies the greater part of the chamber on the North, and contains, shut up within it, the place where the Lord's body rested, "altare marmoreum id verò locum quo Christi corpus jacuit sepultum...occlusum continet." p. 181.

explain this, if they themselves are even aware of its history. But the effect of their exhibiting an altar, which is plainly a construction of marble slabs, as the representation of a tomb which we have the words of Holy Writ to assure us was hewn out of the solid rock, is, and always has been, to provoke incredulity, censure, and doubts as to the genuineness of the spot itself. William de Baldensel, a traveller, even so early as A.D. 1336, describes the "domuncula" or chapel in question, and the place of the Lord's Sepulchre, on the right hand. But he adds, that "it must be remarked, that the monument placed over that most holy spot is not the very one in which the sacred Body was originally laid, for *that*, according to holy Scripture, was hewn out of the living rock; even as many monuments of the ancients, and especially those in the neighbourhood, were formed. But *this* is made of numerous stones, put together with fresh mortar, and very rudely, so as to appear scarcely decent[1]." He then goes on to account for this

[1] "...In medio Ecclesiæ parvula domuncula est, in quam propter portæ demissionem versus Orientem, intrare oportet corpore incurvato: supra verò testudinata est ad modum semicirculi, opere Mosaico, auro et marmoribus deornata, nullam habens fenestram, candelis lampade illustrata. In hujus domunculæ parte dextra locus est Dominicæ Sepulturæ, attingens extremitates prædictæ casæ in longum, scilicet ab Oriente versus Occidentem, cujus longitudo novem communium palmarum est, latitudo verò tam *monumenti*, quam spacii cæteri ipsius domunculæ residuum, in latitudine circa sex palmas communes utrobique se extendit; circa 12 palmas potest esse altitudo domunculæ supradictæ. Illud verò advertendum est, quod *monumentum* illi sanctissimo loco superpositum, non est illud, in quo corpus Christi sacratissimum exanime primitùs est immissum; quia, sacro attestante eloquio, monumentum Christi erat excisum in petra viva, scilicet, quomodo antiquorum monumenta, et præcipuè in his partibus fieri communiter consueverunt; illud verò ex petris pluribus est compositum, de novo conglutinato cæmento, minus artificialiter et minus quàm deceat, ordinatè...Veruntamen quicquid sit de hoc, ipse locus sepulchri Christi formaliter moveri non potest, sed remansit et remanebit immobilis in æternum." Guilielmi de Baldensel, Hodœporicon ad Terram Sanctam. A. D. 1336. Canis. Thes. Tom. IV. p. 348. From the man-

in his own way, by saying that if any part of the original monument had remained, the Christians never would have abandoned the spot to the Pagans, and so on; and that, after all, if the Sepulchre be gone, the place where it stood can never be moved.

Clarke visited Jerusalem in 1801, therefore before the fire. He relates that "there are no remains whatsoever of any ancient known Sepulchre, that with the most attentive and scrupulous examination he could possibly discover. The sides of the chamber consist of thick slabs of that beautiful breccia vulgarly called verd-antique marble, and over the entrance, which is rugged and broken owing to the pieces carried off as relics, the substance is of the same nature[2]."

Richardson, a very intelligent describer, who visited the Church in 1822, states that "the tomb exhibited is a sarcophagus of white marble, slightly tinged with blue, six feet one inch and three quarters long, three feet three quarters of an inch broad, and two feet one inch and a quarter deep, measured on the outside. It is but indifferently polished, and seems as if it had been at one time exposed to the pelting of the storm, &c.... The sarcophagus occupies about one half of the sepulchral chamber, and extends from one end of it to the other. A space about three feet wide in front of it, is all that remains for the reception of visitors, so that not above three or four can be admitted at a time[3]."

The North side above the altar or tomb was occu-

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ner in which the word *monumentum* is used (which I have marked in Italics), it is plain that he employs it for the altar or loculus only, and does not intend to apply it to the entire sepulchral chamber.

[2] Clarke's Travels, 4to. Vol. II. p. 544.

[3] Richardson's Travels along the Mediterranean, &c. 1822, Vol. II. p. 322.

pied by a picture representing the Resurrection[1]. In the interior view of the Sepulchre, which Le Brun has engraved, this picture is shewn, and the altar appears detached from the ends of the apartment by a small space; but this is inconsistent with the accounts of other travellers. He shews the roof in the form of a common groined vault, and states that there were forty-four silver lamps kept constantly burning, and all suspended from the roof. Of these lamps thirteen belonged to the Latins, twenty-one to the Greeks, four to the Armenians, and four to the Copts. The smoke was let out by three holes in the vault. And as there was no opening from the chamber but these holes and the little door of entrance, the heat and closeness of the atmosphere were overpowering[2]. At present these openings are replaced by some open work of marble, of the most chaste and elegant workmanship, according to Mr Wilde, who adds, that the top of the chamber is evidently of modern construction, but that the sides of the door as well as the part above it are hewn out of the solid grey limestone-rock, which is there distinctly seen. If this be correct, the marble lining described by Quaresmius and others has been removed since the fire[3].

VII.

THE FORMER STATE AND HISTORY OF THE SEPULCHRE.

Comparing the above account with the description of the rock-tombs given in the previous sections, it

[1] Zuallardo's and also Le Brun's engravings.

[2] Le Brun. Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 511.

[3] See Wilde's Madeira, &c. Vol. II. p. 203. He is wrong in saying that the altar was cracked in 1808; Quaresmius has told us it was marked or cracked even in his time to deceive the Turks. See above, p. 167.

must certainly be concluded that the appearance of the Holy Sepulchre at present, and as it existed before 1808, as little resembles a genuine Jewish cave-sepulchre as possible. But it was not always so miserably metamorphosed. If we trace its history through the writers that mention it from Eusebius downwards, it will appear, that although its exterior was by Constantine's orders disguised under a mask of architectural ornament to do it honour, yet that its interior was reverently left in its original cavern form, and that the present state of the interior is not earlier than the time of the Crusades. I shall have occasion below to refer fully to the principal writers and pilgrims for the explanation of the history of the entire group of buildings around the Sepulchre; but I have thought it best, in the first place, to extract from them all that relates to the Sepulchre itself, in order to keep the history and description of that principal object entirely distinct.

Notwithstanding the importance which Eusebius attaches to the sacred cave, his information with respect to its decoration is very scanty, for he merely says that "the Emperor's magnificence decorated it, as the head of the whole work, with choice columns, and he ornamented it with great care in every possible manner." From the Lectures of St Cyril we learn that the rock was pared and shaped down by the Emperor's orders: "The entrance which was at the door of the Salutary Sepulchre... was hewn out of the rock itself, as is customary here in the front of Sepulchres. Now it appears not; the outer cave or vestibule having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; but before the Sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal, there was a cave in

the face of the rock." (Lect. xiv.) In another place he appeals to the "stone which was laid at the door of the Sepulchre, which lies to this day by the tomb." (Lect. xiii. 39.) This is all the information which we possess of the state of the Sepulchre from the time of its arrangement by Constantine, to the first attack upon it, which was that made by the Persians, (A. D. 614). But we know, from the innumerable examples that remain, that the practice of both Romans and Greeks was to make the most remarkable of their sepulchral monuments in the form of a small edifice or temple, either wholly constructed of separate stones, or else wholly or partly monolithic.

It was therefore in perfect accordance with their usual habits, that the artists first commissioned to do honour to the Sacred Cave, then a mere excavation in the face of a cliff, should conceive the design of converting it into an isolated *edicula*, and shaping it by paring down the surrounding rock, so as to leave it standing up in a manner that admitted of an architectural casing. We are told that it was decorated with choice columns. From the form of the Western part, it is pretty certain that it was a circular or polygonal building, probably consisting of two stories, in accordance with the usual practice[1].

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[1] In the plan, Plate 2, Fig. 6, which is a conjectural representation of its state at this period, I have shewn it as decorated with columns in the simplest manner; namely, by converting it into a dodecagonal temple with a peristyle. The West end of the chapel, in Figs. 7 and 8, indicates that the rock was hewn into a portion of a dodecagonal figure. The apse, which appears in its Eastern side, being a classical form, is not improbably a reminiscence of Constantine's architecture, or erected on his foundation, and the number twelve, in accordance with that of the apostles, is also a very probable number to have governed not only the form of the rocky polygon, but also the number of the

The particular effect of the sacking of Jerusalem by the Persians, upon the condition of this little edifice, is not related by the historians. Eutychius, however, informs us that the destruction of the sacred buildings was systematically carried out, and that the Jews in enormous numbers had followed the Persians, to gratify their vengeance against the Christians, by assisting in this work. The Church of the Sepulchre was destroyed by the help of fire, and it is needless to say that it was plundered of its riches, and that the edifice in question must have been reduced to a misshapen and ruined block. In the subsequent restoration by Modestus, it seems to have preserved its character of a little sepulchral chapel. The earliest description of it that follows this restoration[2], is that of Arculfus, (A. D. 697), which is sufficiently

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columns that surrounded it. Indeed, Eusebius mentions twelve columns, the number of the apostles, as having been placed by Constantine round the apse of the Basilica, as will be seen below.

[2] The credulous narrative of Antoninus Placentinus is of uncertain date, lying between the time of Justinian, whom he mentions, and the Mohammedan conquests, to which he does not allude. But it appears doubtful whether it is to be placed before or after the Persian sack of Jerusalem. His entire description of the buildings about the Sepulchre corresponds in so many particulars with that of Arculfus, that I am inclined to place him after Modestus. His account of the Sepulchre is as follows: "The monument, in which our Lord's body was laid, is hewn out of the natural rock....The stone which closed the Sepulchre still lies before it. The colour of the stone, which was hewn out of Golgotha, cannot be distinguished, for it is ornamented with gold and gems. The rock of the Sepulchre itself is like millstone, and prodigiously decorated with gold and gems, crowns, girdles, belts, and other ornaments suspended from iron rods. The Sepulchre itself is in the fashion of a church, and covered with silver, and before it is placed an altar." This *Itinerarium* is to be found in the Acta Sanctorum. Maii, Tom. II. p. xii.; and in Ugolini Thesau. Tom. VII. I subjoin the original text...." Ingressi sumus in sanctam civitatem, in qua adoravimus Domini monumentum.... Ipsum monumentum, in quo corpus Domini positum fuit, in naturalem excisum est petram. Lucernæ hydria, quæ illo tempore ad caput ejus posita fuerat, ibidem ardet diu noctuque:... Lapis vero, unde clausum fuit monumentum ipsum, est ante illud monumen-

minute, and shews that it then was very different from the chapel in its more modern form. Having described the round church, he proceeds to state that in the middle of it is situated "a round cabin (*tegurium*)[1], cut out of a single piece of rock, within which there is space for *nine men* to stand and pray. The vaulted roof is about a foot and a half above the head of a man of no short stature. The entrance of this little chamber is to the East. The whole of its *exterior surface* is covered with choice marble, and the highest part of its outer roof, ornamented with gold, sustains a golden Cross of no small magnitude. The Sepulchre of the Lord is in the North part of the chamber, and is cut out of the same rock as it, but the pavement of the chamber is lower than the place of sepulture; for there is an altitude of about three palms from the pavement to the lateral edge of the sepulchre.....By the *Sepulchre*, properly so called, is meant that place in the north part of the monumental chamber, in which the Body, wrapped in linen clothes, was deposited, the length of which Arculfus measured with his own hand as seven feet. Which sepulchre is not, as some erroneously imagine, hollowed out into a double form, (*i. e.* in the shape of the body), having a projection left from the solid rock, between and separating the legs and thighs,

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tum. Color vero petræ, quæ excisa est de Golgotha (non dignoscitur): nam petra ipsa ornata est auro et gemmis: et postmodum de ipsa petra factum est altare, in loco ubi crucifixus est Dominus. Petra vero monumenti velut molaris est et infinite ornata: virgis ferreis pendent brachialia, dextroceria, (*Dextrocherium*, vide Du Cange, Gloss.) murenæ, monilia, annuli capitulares, cingella, baltei, coronæ, imperium ex auro vel gemmis, et ornamenta plurima. Et ipsum monumentum in modum ecclesiæ coopertum ex argento: et ante monumentum altare positum."

[1] TEGURIUM. Locus seclusus ac superne tectus, a *tegere* voce deducta. Du Cange, Gloss.

but is simple and plain from the head to the feet, and is a couch affording room for one man lying on his back. It is in the manner of a cave, having its opening at the side, and opposite the South part of the monumental chamber. The low roof is artificially wrought above it.

"In this sepulchre twelve lamps, according to the number of the twelve holy Apostles, burn day and night continually, of which four are placed below in the inner part of that sepulchral couch, and the other eight above, over the margin on the right side.....This chamber of the Lord's monument, not being covered within by any ornaments, exhibits to this day the marks of the workmen's tools by which it was excavated. The colour of the rock of the monument and sepulchre is not uniform, but a mixture of red and white[2]."

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[2] "In medio spatio hujus interioris rotundæ domûs rotundum inest in una eademque petra excisum tegurium, in quo possunt ter terni homines stantes orare, et à vertice alicujus non brevis staturæ stantis hominis, usque ad illius domunculæ cameram, pes et semipes mensura in altum extenditur. Hujus tegurioli introitus ad Orientem respicit, quod totum extrinsecùs electo tegitur marmore, cujus exterius summum culmen auro ornatum, auream non parvam sustentat crucem. In hujus tegurii aquilonali parte sepulchrum Domini in eadem petra interiùs excisum habetur, sed ejusdem tegurii pavimentum humilius est loco sepulchri. Nam à pavimento ejus usque ad sepulchri marginem lateris, quasi trium mensura altitudinis palmorum haberi dignoscitur...

...Sepulchrum verò propriè dicitur ille locus in tegurio, hoc est, in aquilonali parte monumenti, in quo dominicum corpus linteaminibus involutum conditum quievit, cujus longitudinem Arculfus in septem pedum mensura propria mensus est manu.

Quod videlicet sepulchrum non (ut quidam falsò opinantur) duplex est, et quandam de ipsa maceriola petram habens excisam, duo crura et femora duo intercedentem et separantem: sed totum simplex à vertice usque ad plantas, lectum unius hominis capacem super dorsum jacentis præbens spatium in modum speluncæ, introitum à latere habens ad australem partem monumenti è regione respicientem, culmenque humile desuper eminens fabrefactum: in quo utique sepulchro duodenæ lampades, juxta numerum duodecim sanctorum Apostolorum semper die ac nocte ardentes lucent, ex quibus quatuor in imo illius lectuli

He adds, that the stone which was rolled from the mouth of the cave was then broken in two pieces, of which the smaller part, bound with iron, stood in the great Rotunda before the door of the tegurium or chamber, serving for the purposes of an altar, while the larger part, similarly iron-girt, and as an altar, was fixed in the Eastern part of the same Church.

Willibaldus[1], in A. D. 765, describes the Sepulchre

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sepulcralis loco inferiùs positæ; aliæ vero bis quaternales super marginem ejus superiùs conlocatæ ad latus dexterum, oleo nutriente præfulgent...supradictæ igitur Ecclesiæ formulam, cum rotundo teguriolo in medio ejus conlocato, in cujus aquilonali parte dominicum habetur sepulchrum, subjecta declarat pictura, nec non et trium aliarum figuras ecclesiarum, de quibus inferiùs intimabitur....Sed inter hæc de illo suprà memorato lapide, qui ad ostium monumenti dominici, post ipsius Domini sepultionem crucifixi, multis trudentibus viris advolutus est, breviter intimandum esse videtur. Quem Arculfus intercisum et in duas divisum partes refert; cujus pars minor ferramentis dolata est, et quadratum altare in rotunda supra scripta ecclesia ante ostium sæpe illius memorati tegurii, hoc est dominici monumenti, stans constitutum cernitur: major verò illius lapidis pars æquè circumdolata est, et in Orientali ejusdem Ecclesiæ loco quadrangulum aliud illud altare sub linteaminibus stabilitum extat....Illud dominici monumenti tegurium, nullo intrinsecùs ornatu tectum, usque hodie per totam ejus cavaturam ferramentorum ostendit vestigia, quibus dolatores sive excisores in eodem usi sunt opere: color verò illius ejusdem petræ monumenti et sepulcri, non unus sed duo permixti videntur; ruber utique et albus, inde et bicolor eadem ostenditur petra...." Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum. Sæc. 3. pars 2, p. 504.

[1] "Illud sepulchrum fuerat in petra excisum; et illa petra stat super terram, et est quadrans in imo et in summo subtilis. Et stat nunc in summitate illius sepulchri Crux: et ibi desuper nunc ædificata est mirabilis domus; et in Orientali plaga in illa petra sepulchri est janua, per quam intrant homines in sepulchrum orare. Et ibi est intus lectus, in quo corpus Domini jacebat; et ibi stant in lecto quindecim crateres aurei cum oleo ardentes die noctuque. Ille lectus, in quo corpus Domini jacebat, stat in latere Aquilonis intus in petra Sepulchri; et homini est in dextra manu, quando intrat in sepulchrum orare. Et ibi ante januam sepulchri jacet ille lapis magnus quadrans in similitudinem prioris lapidis quem Angelus revolvit ab ostio monumenti." (Hodœporicon S. Willibaldi, Canisii Thes. Tom. II. p. 111. The "quadrans in imo" refers to the square form of the chamber within, to which Arculfus does not allude, but merely describes the external form of the "tegurium" as round. "In summo subtilis" appears to allude to the pavilion

concisely, adding nothing of importance to the above description; and Bernardus in A. D. 870, refers for the description of the Sepulchre to Bede, who in his tract, "De Locis Sanctis," has merely abridged Arculfus. Epiphanius mentions, but does not describe, the Sepulchre. And these are all the authorities that exist previous to the destruction of the churches by Hakem in A. D. 1010.

It will at once be admitted, that the minute description which Arculfus has given of the interior of the chamber, shews it to have presented a very different appearance from the present one. It was then wholly uncovered in the interior, and exhibited the rocky surface of the cavern, and the sepulchral *loculus* in its original perfection.

Comparing the description of this *loculus* with the various kinds which I have endeavoured to describe in Section III., it must be concluded, that it was an arch-like receptacle sunk in the face of the rock, the bottom of which was either flat or only slightly hollowed as a couch, and its margin raised three palms, or about two feet, above the floor of the chamber. It resembled, in short, the *arco-solium* of figs. X, Y, Z, (Sect. III.) supposing the hollow *solium* to be filled up, so as to leave a level bed for the reception of the body[2]. And this

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of fine workmanship, which was erected over the Sepulchre, and was surmounted by the Cross.

[2] It is not very clear whether we are to understand from Arculfus that the bottom of the cavity was simply flat like a shelf, or whether a hollow place was sunk into it so as to form a shallow flat-bottomed chest to prevent the body from being displaced, which appears on the whole most probable, for Arculfus only contradicts the assertion that there was a sunk cavity in the shape of a human body. Quaresmius distinctly asserts that the bottom of the Sepulchre was like a chest, large enough to contain a human body, as he was told by those who had seen it when it was laid open (that is, during the repairs of Bonifacius in 1556): "Locus est ad instar arcæ, cujus amplitudo humanum corpus commode

form of *loculus* has been shewn to be of common occurrence in Judea and in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The pains which Arculfus takes to guard against misapprehension are very remarkable, stating that the *loculus* or Sepulchre proper is *not* hollowed to the *exact shape* of the body; that it is *cavern-like in form*, situated on the *north side* of the chamber, but yet having its opening *at its side*, and facing the *south part of the chamber*. All these particulars correspond with the common form above explained. And this explanation is confirmed by other authorities. Thus Paschasius Radbertus, who died A.D. 851, describes the Monument, in his Commentary on St Matthew's Gospel[1], on the authority of many who had

capere potest, ut intellexi ab illis qui ipsum viderunt antequam illis tabulis operiretur et quando fuit opertus." p. 510.

Mr Wilde, on the authority of Mr Nicolayson, relates that an old Greek priest told him, that on the morning after the fire of 1808 he went into the tomb, and that as the white marble coating was broken across and not yet replaced, he saw beneath it a plain trough or sarcophagus hewn out of the floor of the church. Wilde's Madeira, &c. Vol. II. p. 295.

Schultz also thinks that a hollow sunk cavity, like a sarcophagus, is under the altar-slab of the present Sepulchre. A cavity of nine inches or less in depth, would satisfy the above descriptions, provided we suppose, which is consistent with the Jewish practice, that the body was not to have been covered with a horizontal lid.

[1] "Monumentum Christi non ita fuit præcisum ut hac in terra monumenta formantur, eo quod ostium habuisse memoratur. Hinc verum esse credimus, quod multi tradiderunt qui eum viderunt, quod domus fuerit rotunda, post ostium monumenti intus, infra rupem vastissimam præcisa, tantæ altitudinis ut intra stans homo vix manu extenta possit ejus culmen attingere, et est illud ostium ab Oriente, cui lapis ille magnus valde advolutus atque oppositus fuit. Non multi siquidem lapides sed unus et ipse magnus....Cujus monumenti, quia cœpimus formam et modum positionis ad intelligentiam narrare visionum, necesse est explicemus. Erat enim, ut dixi, introitus ejus ab Oriente, ac deinde illuc ingredientibus, erat a dextris ille locus in parte Aquilonis, qui specialiter Dominici corporis receptu paratus est; septem quidem pedibus longus, trium vero mensura palmarum reliquo pavimento eminentur. Qui non vulgarium more Sepulchrorum desuper patulus idem factus est locus, sed a latere me-

seen it, nearly in the words of Arculfus, and is careful to explain that the Sepulchre differed from those which were employed in his time. For, in the first place, it had a door, that it was a "round house," and within excavated from a mighty rock, and so on; then, after describing the *loculus*, he adds, "This is not formed after the common manner of Sepulchres, with the opening above, but the opening is entirely along the side, by which the body can be laid therein[2]." The capacity of the chamber was somewhat greater in Arculfus' time than it now is, but perhaps not more than may be accounted for by the space occupied by the artificial lining of the chamber, and the construction of the altar which covers the *loculus*. A space of about three feet wide in front of the altar, at present, as we have shewn, admits three kneeling persons and the attendant priest. And this, with the additional eight inches that would probably be given to each dimension were the lining removed, might have contained the nine men of Arculfus, who prayed in a standing position.

The round form which Arculfus gives to it can only apply to the exterior, although he does not allude to the square shape of the chamber; for it cannot be supposed that its form would have been so completely changed by the artificial lining; and indeed Willibaldus alludes to the square shape.

The difference between its ancient and present state may therefore be summed up as follows. It was originally somewhat more capacious, had no lining of

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ridiano, per totum a qua parte Corpus posset imponi." (Mag. Bibl. Vet. Patrum. Col. Agr. 1618. t. 9. n. 2. p. 1229.)

[2] Later writers use exactly the same phrases. Marinus Sanuto, in 1321, has "Qui locus non desuper sed a latere meridiano totus patulus est, unde corpus inferebatur." L. iii. p. 7.

marble, and the receptacle of the body was an arched recess hewn out of the side of the room: whereas, now it is wholly lined with marble, and the so-called receptacle of the body is an altar, within the room, and constructed of marble slabs. I say *within* the room, for the vault or ceiling extends over the altar, as may be seen in the drawings of Le Brun and of Bernardino. It must also be remarked, that Arculfus makes no allusion to the Ante-chapel of the Angel; and it will appear, by comparing his descriptions with some of the succeeding ones, that this Angel Chapel was a subsequent addition.

The event which affected the ancient arrangements of the Sepulchre described by Arculfus, was the demolition of the Church by Hakem[1]; and this was not, like the former destruction by the Persians, part of an indiscriminate and furious attack upon the entire city, by a victorious and barbarian army, but was the deliberate and systematic purpose of a Mahommedan ruler to annihilate the great Christian sanctuary; and his orders were carried out so minutely, that an attempt was even made to eradicate the rock-chamber and its Sepulchre, which are the immediate objects of this chapter. The cotemporary historian Glaber relates that the agents of Hakem "endeavoured to break in pieces even the hollow tomb of the Sepulchre with iron hammers, but without success;" and Ademar states that "when they found it impossible to break in pieces the stone of the monument, they tried to destroy it by the help of fire, but that it remained firm and solid as adamant[2]."

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[1] See Part I. p. 348, above.

[2] "Ipsum quoque concavum Sepulchri tumulum ferri tuditibus quassare tentantes minime valuerunt." Gla-

Soon after this, the capricious humour of the tyrant was utterly changed, and he ordered the demolished structure to be rebuilt and restored as well as it could be[3]. This was undertaken in the very year of its destruction, A.D. 1010, according to some authors, but William of Tyre places the rebuilding in 1048. We have, however, no accounts of it from the pens of any travellers who visited it, until after Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Crusaders in 1099. They undertook a complete rebuilding and rearrangement of great part of the Church, which will be fully considered below. The changes which were made in the Sepulchral Chapel will appear from the passages of various writers which follow.

Sæwulf describes the whole group of edifices in 1102, evidently before the Crusaders had begun their alterations; and of the portion in question he says, "In the midst of the Church is the Lord's Sepulchre, girt about with a strong wall and covered over, lest rain should fall upon the sacred Sepulchre, for the Church overhead is open to the sky[4]."

But the words of Phocas[5] (A.D. 1185) are, "The cave which was employed for the Sepulchre of the Lord's body is *divided into two parts*, in one of which is deposited the stone which was rolled away from the door; in the other, on the North part, a polished stone

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bri Rod. Hist. Bouquet, Tom. x. p. 34. "Lapidem vero monumenti cum nullatenus possent comminuere ignem copiosum superadjiciunt, sed quasi adamas immobilis mansit et solidus." Ex Chron. Ademari. Bouquet, Tom. x. p. 152.

[3] See Part I. p. 351, above.

[4] "In medio autem istius ecclesiæ est Dominicum sepulchrum muro fortissimo circumcinctum et opertum, ne dum pluit pluvia cadere possit super sanctum Sepulchrum, quia ecclesia desuper patet discooperta." Relatio de Peregrinatione Sæwulfi. Tom. IV. Recueil de Voyages. Par. 1839.

[5] Apud Leonis Allatii Συμμικτα. Lib. I. p. 21.

as long as the apartment is raised a cubit: upon this the Giver of Life was laid....This is ornamented round about with pure gold, the gift of my noble master the Emperor, Manuel Porphyrogenitus Comnenus."

A writer, describing Jerusalem as it existed before it fell into the hands of the Saracens in 1187, proceeds to the Sepulchre. And after stating that round about the monument was the circular Church open above, he adds, "And within this monument was the rock of the Sepulchre, and the monument was covered with a vault at the *chavech* of the monument, and so also above the altar without, which was called *chavec;* and there they chanted always at break of day[1]."

Willibrandus ab Oldenborg in 1211 gives some useful particulars respecting the state of the interior of the Sepulchral chamber, which he says was covered on all sides with white and polished marble, and had within it the very stone upon which the Holy Body was laid; which, entire *and covered with marble,* is open in three places to the touch and kiss of the pilgrims[2]. The

[1] "Et dedans cest le monument estoit la pierre dou sepulcre, et li monumens couvers a voute au chavech de cel monument, ausi com au chief de l'autel par dehors, que l'on apeloit chavec; là chantoit en chascun jour au point du jour." In Beugnot's "Assises de Jérusalem," Tome II. p. 531. *Chavec* (or *chevet*, the apse or round termination of a church,) is here, in the first place, applied to the western end of the Sepulchre, and secondly, to the apse in the Angel Chapel.

[2] In cujus medio, (sc. Ecclesiæ Sancti Sepulchri) quia tota est rotunda, intravimus monumentum Dominicum; quod admodum amplæ et quadratæ cistæ depositum, ex omni latere albo et polito marmore contectum, in se habet ipsam petram, cui illud sacrosanctum corpus Domini, in ara crucis torridum, fuit impositum; quæ etiam, integra et marmore contecta, in tribus locis patet tactui et osculis peregrinorum, de quo Marcus ait, *et posuerunt eum in monumento de petra exciso.* In illo etiam vidimus locum ad dexteram, in quo Angelus apparuit tribus Mariis, et tangit Sanctus Marcus dicens, *Et introeuntes in monumentum, viderunt juvenem a dextris sedentem coopertum stola candida.* Et nota, quia, erga monumentum ipsa ecclesia nec habet nec unquam habuit tectum: ita

latter arrangement is also mentioned by the Russian Abbot, Daniel, who visited Palestine about 1125, and relates that the rocky ledge, a slab (cut out of the same rock as the cave) upon which the Body of our Lord was laid, is now covered with marble, and there are in the front three circular openings, by means of which you may see and kiss the holy stone. He adds, that the outside of the cave is wrought with marble and with *twelve* columns; and that it has a fair upper story upon columns, with a dome covered with cloth of silver, gilded over, and surmounted by a silver image of Christ, rather above the size of life, placed there by the Franks[3].

These descriptions compared with that of Arculfus and others prior to the operations of Hakem, prove that the Sepulchral chamber had now assumed an appearance not very dissimilar from that which it still bears, although it is impossible to say whether the Crusaders were the first so to fit up its interior with a marble lining, and a marble altar-like covering for the *loculus*, or whether they found this already effected

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ut ipsum tectum ad dispositionem et formam clericalis coronæ sit abrasum; ...sic et prædictum tectum est abrasum, ut inter ipsum monumentum et suum aliquando contectum, nullum medium esse videatur et cœlesti gratia custodiatur." Itin. Willebrandi ab Oldenborg. Ap. Leonis Allat. Συμμικτα, pars I. p. 147.

[3] Robinson informs us, that this Hegumen Daniel was a Russian abbot, (Ἡγούμενος) who visited Palestine in the beginning of the twelfth century. His journal is one of the earliest documents of the old Slavonic language, and was first printed at St Petersburgh in 1837. (Robinson, Bib. Res. Vol. III. App. p. 6.) I have been favoured with a translated extract from his description of the Sepulchre; but the obscurity of some parts of it make it very difficult to understand his entire meaning. Symeon Symeonis in his Itinerarium, A.D. 1322, relates that the Sepulchre is covered entirely with white marble, so that it can only be seen and touched by means of three small holes in its Southern side. (Itineraria Sym. Symeonis, et Will. de Worcestre. Nasmith, 1778. p. 70.) Rudolph von Suchem confirms this in 1336. (Reyssbuch, p. 845).

by those who had rebuilt the round Church before their arrival. The Angel Chapel, distinctly mentioned and for the first time by Phocas, (A.D. 1185) is not alluded to by Sæwulf, whose rough description of the strong wall and roof that protected the Rock-cave, without mention of columns or decoration, appears to shew, what indeed is most probable from the pointed arches, that the decoration, inside and out, of the cave, was the work of the Crusaders, and that moreover the Angel Chapel[1] was a subsequent contrivance. And although

[1] The plan, fig. 7. and the drawings of Bernardino and others, shew that the Angel Chapel was probably added as an after-thought, to the front of the apse, when the Western part of the Sepulchre was completed. The cornice of this Western part was higher than that of the Angel Chapel, and carried completely across from K to K, (fig. 7.) The position of the columns at this point, compared with that of the apse within, shew that the arcade was continued in front of the apse, so that two additional columns must have stood, one on each side of the apse; and the East front of this chapel, as it then stood, must have had an arcade of one large circular arch over the apse, and one small pointed one on each side. Thus the Sepulchre presented a form similar to that shewn in Fig. 6, with this difference, that instead of the open colonnade of large dimensions, which I have assigned as characteristic of the Constantinian period, the edifice was surmounted by an arcade in close contact with its sides, and supported by the diminutive shafts of mediæval architecture. Thus there were twelve columns and twelve arches, and this explains the description given above from Daniel, 1125. And it was also surmounted by the upper pavilion and its dome.

Instead of the Angel Chapel, it appears to have been protected by a wall of enclosure, as Sæwulf's description implies, and this may serve to interpret the somewhat obscure description which Edrisi gives of this building. His geography was written in the reign, and under the patronage of Roger, King of Sicily, and finished, A.D. 1154. I shall have occasion to refer to this author below, and will now only quote that, "Upon entering the Church, the spectator finds the Holy Sepulchre, a considerable edifice, having *two doors*, and surmounted by a cupola of a very solid construction, very strong, and made with admirable art." He had previously mentioned the great dome overhead, therefore this cupola is the smaller one, which surmounts the upper story of the Sepulchre. Of these two doors, it afterwards appears, that one faces the North and the other the South. It is not improbable, that such doors were placed in the wall of enclosure, for it will appear below, that

the two chroniclers, Glaber and Ademar, assert that the attempts to destroy and uproot the Rock were vain[2], the change of the internal arrangement of the loculus and the disappearance of the low arch above it, so

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the church itself had two doors, North and South, for the convenience of admitting and dismissing the pilgrims; and as these doors of the Sepulchre are stated by Edrisi to be placed opposite to the doors of the Church, they were probably contrived with reference to the same system, for the purpose of more readily marshalling the pilgrim-crowd. The Angel Chapel, as already stated, is distinctly mentioned by Phocas, the date of whose tract is unfortunately uncertain, but is fixed by his editor, Allatius, about A. D. 1185, that is, two years before the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin.

But every writer describes this little edifice after his own fancy, and hence great obscurity is introduced. For example, Felix Fabri, (A. D. 1483), an exceedingly minute and gossipping describer, takes it into his head to assign three entrances to the Chapel of the Sepulchre, which would have perplexed us exceedingly, if he had not proceeded to explain that by the first he understands the passage between the two low walls, or rather stone seats, which I have described as flanking the entrance to the Angel Chapel (EE, Fig. 7); and he denominates the space between these low walls an *atriolum* to the Chapel. His second door is thus the door of the Angel Chapel, and his third door, the entrance from the latter Chapel to the cave itself. I mention this merely as an example of the fanciful ideas which we have to guard against in investigations of this kind. I subjoin the passage, as the book is rare. A very limited impression has been lately printed by a literary society at Stuttgart.

"Tria quodammodo habet ostia Sanctum Sepulchrum. Primum est in atriolo, mihi spelunca prima, quod atriolum habet murum non altiorem, nisi quod homo intus existens potest super ventrem jacere in muro, et per ecclesiam circumspicere. Unde aliquoties super ipsum murum sedi, et merces negotiatorum in pavimento inferius perspexi. Verum introitus in atriolum non est prope ostium, quia super caput ingredientis nihil est, cum careat superiori limine. Sed inter duos muros se respicientes est ingressus, qui si essent altiores et limen superponeretur ostium fieret. Secundum ostium est de atriolo in primam speluncam monumenti. Et hoc ostium janua clauditur et seris obfirmatur.....Tertium ostium est de illa capella vel prima spelunca in secundam speluncam, in qua est Dominicum sepulchrum." (Vol. I. p. 330.)

[2] The Mohammedan rulers, during the Crusaders' siege of Jerusalem, did not believe that the rock had been previously obliterated by Hakem; for they seriously deliberated upon the policy of destroying it utterly at that time, by rooting up the very rock of the Sepulchre, so as to remove for ever the object for which the Christians strived to obtain possession of the City. This was about ninety years after the attempt of Hakem to effect the same thing. See above, Part I. p. 367.

distinctly described by Arculfus, must lead to the conclusion, that if the agents of Hakem did not succeed or persevere in actually levelling the rock, they could scarcely have failed so to have disfigured and damaged it, as to make it necessary, even for the sake of decency, to cover it with marble. The arched recess above the loculus was probably knocked to pieces, or at least so much so as to admit of the vaulted roof above being carried clear over the whole apartment, thus obliterating the recess-form altogether. And by covering the actual stone couch with marble slabs, it became converted into the appearance of an altar, and indeed was from that time employed for mass[1]. Father Fabri, the most minute of all describers, relates that during his vigils in the Church of the Sepulchre in the year 1480, he determined to examine carefully whether any rocky surface remained uncovered in any part of the Sepulchral Chapel or chamber, and for this purpose he took a lighted candle, and curiously scrutinized every part of it within and without. He found the outside wholly covered with marble. Similarly, the door of the Angel Chapel and the walls on each side within presented a marble surface. But he found the wall, which is opposite to the entrance of this Chapel, and in which the little door to the Sepulchre is formed, to be a naked rock, in one piece without joints, and still shewing the marks of tools. In its upper parts, indeed, it was broken, and repaired with stones and cement. Whence he draws the conclusion, that the Holy Sepulchre had been

[1] Another hypothesis may be, that the recessed loculus actually exists, in whole or in part, behind the North side of the present casing, and that the altar now exhibited is vacant, and stands not over, but in front of, the true Sepulchre.

formerly destroyed, but not altogether rooted up, and then had been repaired, and covered with marble to prevent the pilgrims from knocking off little pieces to carry away as relics, and that for the same reason the slab with three openings, already described, was placed in front of the sepulchral couch to hinder the pilgrims from boring holes in it with iron tools, as they were wont to do in order to get off portions. He lays great stress upon this indiscreet zeal of the pilgrims, which he tells us was carried to so great an excess in all ages, that many people think it impossible that they can have left in that place a piece of the true rock so big as a grain of millet[2]. The presence of uncovered rocky surface in the sides of the door is also testified by Mr Wilde, as I have already mentioned, and indirectly

[2] I subjoin the entire original passage, from the Stuttgart Edition, Vol. I. p. 335, 6. "Accepi candelam accensam in Ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri, dum in ea vigilarem, et ad Dominicum monumentum accessi, curiosissime perscrutans, an aliquid non marmore tectum possem videre, et ab extra per circuitum, totum inveni marmore tectum. Ingressus per primum ostium anterioris capellæ parietes utriusque lateris marmore vestitas inveni, sed parietem ante faciem meam, qui dividit speluncam anteriorem ab interiore, in quo est ostiolum ad Dominicum sepulchrum, nudum inveni, et adhibito lumine petræam parietem vidi, non quadris compositam, sed integram, in qua instrumentorum ferreorum signa manifeste apparent. In superiori tamen parte videtur ruptura fuisse, quæ lapide et cæmento est resarcita. Ex quibus videbatur mihi, quod Dominicum sepulchrum fuisset aliquando destructum, sed numquam ex toto erutum, et jam stat reparatum, et sicut hodie stat, ita stetit plus quam ducentos annos, nisi jam est diligentius marmore vestitum, ne peregrini de parietibus lapillos eruant pro reliquiis, et propter eandem causam deposita fuit a Sancto Sepulchro tabula cum tribus foraminibus, de quo supra habetur, quia peregrini foramina cum instrumentis ferreis forabant ad accipiendum aliquid. Quamvis peregrini semper conati fuerint recipere particulas de Sancto Sepulchro, numquam tamen admissum est eis, sed alii lapides porriguntur loco veræ petræ. Semper enim assunt Dominico sepulchro custodes; qui prohibent corrodere volentes. Ideo non valet, quod illi dicunt de indiscreta devotione fidelium, qui, et si habeant illam indiscretam devotionem, tamen non admittitur eis ut indiscrete agant."

by Dr Clarke, who mentions the rugged and broken state of the entrance, but describes it as arising from the pieces knocked off as relics from the marble covering.

It is clear, however, from the words of Fabri, that there was a prevalent opinion in his time that the rock-cave under its marble covering was in a very mutilated condition, which appears to me to be very probable. I suspect that the original rocky roof of the cavern has disappeared. But as the real extent of the damage done, and the state of the rocky nucleus of the present building cannot be ascertained without uncovering it, more words need not be wasted upon this discussion; the only purpose of which has been to shew, that the present improbable Sepulchre is a mere casing of the twelfth century, and that its form, as described by earlier witnesses, was in perfect accordance with the other sepulchral monuments of Judæa.

The inroad of the Charismians, in the thirteenth century, was productive of fresh acts of violence and injury to this Church, and especially to the Sepulchre itself. The letter which was sent by the Patriarch of Jerusalem to Europe, contains the following passage, dated Acon, Nov. 25, 1244.

"With sighs we inform you that sacrilegious hands have inflicted manifold defacements upon the Sepulchre of the Resurrection. The marble pavement that encircled it has been torn up. The mount Calvary, where our Lord was crucified, and the whole Church, has been defiled beyond description. The sculptured columns, which were placed for ornament against the Sepulchre of the Lord, they have carried off, and sent, in token of victory and contempt for the Christians, to the Sepul-

chre of the wicked Mahomet. And they have violated the tombs of the kings in the said Church, and have scattered their bones[1]."

This curious anecdote may serve to explain the irregular form of the columns shewn in Breydenbach's cut, and mentioned by Bernardino, as they were probably taken from other ruined structures to replace those that were carried off as above related. The rough state in which Baldensel found this monument in 1336, and which excited his disgust, may perhaps have arisen from this or similar assaults which had not then been repaired, or from the gradual state of ruin, which the difficulty of obtaining permission to repair it from the Mohammedan rulers, would necessarily have brought it to.

The last repair, (always excepting the Greek works in 1810), was by Father Bonifacius in the sixteenth century. A letter written by himself is extant, giving an account of this, and it may be found at length in Quaresmius[2]. This Bonifacius, as he himself says, being

[1] "Cum suspiriis intimamus, quod in sepulchrum Resurrectionis Dominicæ manus sacrilegas extendentes, illud multipliciter deturparunt. Tabulatum marmoreum quod circumcirca erat positum funditus evertentes, et montem Calvariæ, ubi Christus extitit crucifixus, et totam ecclesiam, ultra quam dici valeat, in omni turpitudine quantum in se fuerat, fœdaverunt. Columnas vero sculptas, quæ ante sepulchrum Domini erant ad decorem positæ, sustulerunt: illas in Christianorum contumeliam ad sepulcrum sceleratissimi Machometi in signum victoriæ transmittentes, et violatis sepulchris felicium Regum in eadem ecclesia collocatis, eorum ossa in Christianorum injuriam disperserunt." Letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, &c. to Europe, describing the inroad of the Charizmians, dated Acon, Nov. 25, 1244. Matt. Paris, p. 557. Wats.

[2] "Pater Bonifacius Stephanius, Dei dono et Apostolicæ sedis gratia Stagni Raccusini Episcopus, universis has litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum anno salutis nostræ MDLV. fabrica illa celeberrima ab Helena Sancta, Magni Constantini matre, jam olim structa S.D.N.R. Sepulchrum in orbem claudens, non sine Christianæ pietatis injuria, ruinam minaretur, ac jam fermè collapsa esset, fe. re. Julius Papa tertius (quem ad hanc rem perficiendam æterni nominis ac perpetuæ memoriæ invictissimus

in the year 1555 Prefect of the Convent of St Francis at Jerusalem, it happened that "that celebrated fabric, formerly constructed by St Helena, which encloses the Sepulchre of the Redeemer, was then threatening ruin, and, in fact, was nearly falling," whereupon Pope Julius III., at the request of the Emperor Charles V. and of his son Philip, commissioned him to repair the sacred place; the Emperor having assigned for the purpose a considerable sum of money, and the permission of the Turkish Sultan having also been obtained at great expense, and after much negotiation. "It plainly appeared necessary that the structure should be taken down to the very ground, in order to make an effectual and enduring restoration. And when it was destroyed, the Sepulchre of the Lord, cut in the rock, appeared openly before our eyes: on which two Angels were seen painted above, of which one was saying (in an inscription), *He is*

Carolus quintus Romanorum Imperator, nec non Deo gratus Philippus ejus filius inclytus precibus pulsarunt) instantem ruinam dolens, nobis, qui id temporis Conventus Sancti Francisci de Observantia Ierosolymis Præfectum Apostolica auctoritate agebamus, obnixè præcepit, ut sacrum collabentem locum quamprimùm refici instaurarique curaremus.....Cùm igitur ea structura solo æquanda necessario videretur, ut, quæ instauranda denuò moles erat, firmior surgeret, diuturniorque permaneret, ea diruta, sanctissimi Domini Sepulchrum in petra excisum nostris sese oculis apertè videndum obtulit: in quo Angeli duo depicti superpositi cernebantur; quorum alter scripto dicebat: *Surrexit, non est hic;* alter verò Sepulchrum digito notans, *Ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum.* Quorum imagines, ubi primùm vim aëris senserunt, magna ex parte dissolutæ sunt. Cùm verò lamina una alabastri ex iis, quibus Sepulchrum operiebatur, et quas Helena sancta ibi locaverat, ut super iis sacrosanctum Missæ mysterium celebraretur, necessitate urgente, commovenda esset, apparuit nobis apertus locus ille ineffabilis, in quo triduo Filius hominis requievit; ut planè cœlos apertos videre tunc nobis, et illis, qui nobiscum aderant, omnibus videremur, &c. &c. &c. Datum Stagni in ædibus nostris, sub die 13 Maii, anno à Christo nato supra septuagesimum millesimo quingentesimo." (Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 512. He copies it from Gretser's "Apologia pro sancta Cruce." Op. Gretseri, 1734. Tom. I. p. 64.)

risen, He is not here, and the other, pointing with his finger to the Sepulchre, above the inscription, *Behold the place where they laid Him!* But when these figures were exposed to the air for a little while, they faded away almost entirely. It was found absolutely necessary to remove one of the alabaster slabs with which the Sepulchre was covered, and which Saint Helena had placed there to enable the mystery of the Mass to be celebrated. And when this was taken away, there appeared open to us all who were present, that ineffable place in which the Son of Man rested for three days."

He goes on to relate that he found therein a piece of wood carefully wrapped in a *sudarium,* which latter, however, fell to dust as soon as it was exposed to the air: this wood, he supposes to have been a piece of the true Cross, and he placed a part of this in the Chapel of the Apparition near the Sepulchre, where it was long preserved. It is very clear that the fabric which was the subject of this repair, was not the great Rotunda, but merely the little chapel which encloses the Rock-tomb, or rather as much as remains of it; and it is evident that the works, which he attributes to S. Helena, are simply those of the Crusaders. It is not so easy to determine how much, after all, was done to this little building upon this occasion. If it was wholly taken down and rebuilt, its original form was exactly preserved, for a rude wood-cut given by Breydenbach in his travels (A. D. 1502), corresponds exactly with the drawings of Zuallardo, Bernardino, and Le Brun, making due allowance for the style of execution; and this cut represents even the wooden chapel which the Copts had set up against the western end of the structure. Probably the part that was entirely taken down and recon-

structed was the Angel Chapel, which has been shewn to be an artificial structure, without a rocky nucleus; and also the marble lining of the rock-sepulchre must have been reset. The slab with three openings in front of the tomb is not mentioned after the time of Bonifacius, and seems then to have been replaced by an unpierced one, as at present.

But it is a curious fact, that Father Bonifacius, when describing the rock sepulchres that still exist in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, relates, that among them he found one in all respects similar to the Holy Sepulchre, which he shewed to his Franciscan brethren, that they might rejoice therein, and exhibit it to their successors and the pilgrims; "and I must know the truth of this resemblance," adds he, "because I saw the very spot where the Holy Body was laid, when I restored that sacred place from its very foundations, and decorated it with the most brilliant marbles, under Paulus IV. and Charles V., &c.[1]" This cave, he says, was amongst a number, which were termed the Retreat of the Apostles; and Zuallardo describes certain cave-sepulchres on the Mount of Offence, opposite to Sion, on the north side of Jerusalem, one of which he asserts to be that which Bonifacius had pointed out; and he has given a sketch of it, from which and from his description it appears that the loculus or receptacle of the body is not in the form of a chest or modern tomb, but is a cavity cut out of the side of the chamber, extending from one end

[1] P. Bonifacius, De perenni cultu Terræ Sanctæ lib. 2. as quoted by Quaresmius, p. 283. The book itself is very scarce, and I have not been able to obtain a sight of it. Robinson was equally unsuccessful. (Bib. Res. Vol. III. App. p. 13.)

Pope Julius III. reigned from 1550, and Paul IV., from 1556. Philip II. succeeded his father Charles V. in 1556, and 1556 is the year when the repairs began.

to the other, its bottom being flat and raised about two feet above the floor, and its upper surface or soffit also flat and parallel to the lower one, with just space enough between them for the body to be pushed into its place. In fact, it precisely resembles the form of the ordinary receptacles for bodies, which are to be seen in the Christian catacombs of Rome. This, if the upper surface were curved into the form of an arch, would correspond exactly with the descriptions of Arculfus and other early writers, which, as I have already shewn, certainly represent the sepulchral cavity as a cavern-like opening excavated out of the rocky wall of the chamber, and not as an altar-tomb, *standing within it*, as the present structure is arranged[2].

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[2] Cotovicus (p. 181) completely adopts this view, and even borrows Zuallardo's cut of the said Hill Tomb to represent the Holy Sepulchre, adding, that it is evident that it was not after the fashion of a square tomb open at top, as many think, and as it is always represented; but was cut in the north side of the cave, and open to the south, where the body was inserted so that those who looked in through the small door of the cave, might easily see the place where the body had lain, and also the linen clothes and the napkin, all which they could not have done if it had been a hollow tomb. In describing the rock tombs of Macri, the ancient Telmessus, Clarke says, (Vol. II. p. 252), "A small rectangular opening, scarcely large enough to pass through, admitted us to the interior—where we found a square chamber with one or more receptacles for dead bodies, shaped like baths, upon the sides of the apartment, and neatly chiselled in the body of the rock:" and afterwards (p. 549), relates that on the sides of the Hill of Offence, facing Mount Sion, he found a number of excavations in the rock, similar to those of Telmessus (described in the above passage), each chamber containing one or many repositories for the dead, like cisterns carved in the rock upon the sides of those chambers. "The sepulchres themselves *are stationed in the midst of gardens.*" "One particularly attracted our notice, from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances attaching to the history of our Saviour's tomb: the large stone that once closed its mouth, had been, perhaps for ages, rolled away. Stooping down to look into it, we observed within, a fair sepulchre, containing a repository upon one side only, for a single body, whereas in most of the others there were two, and in many of them more than two." (p. 555). The tomb which Bonifacius indicated as the likeness of the Holy Sepulchre, as

Before I quit the subject of Rock-tombs, I must describe another, which still remains in the neighbourhood of the Holy Sepulchre, and which affords important collateral evidence for its genuineness. This rock-tomb (or rather as much of it as remains), is now included within the Church (see Plan, Fig. 4, No. 6). At the extreme west end of the Rotunda, in the wall of the side-aisle, there is an apse, and from the south side of this apse a low door opens to a small apartment, so low that there is scarcely room to stand upright, and which may perhaps hold three men at once; the eastern side of it is the wall of the Rotunda[1], but the other sides are hewn out of the natural rock, and in this rock sepulchral cavities are excavated horizontally in the sides. On the floor also are the openings of graves sunk downwards in the earth. These tombs have been attributed to Nicodemus and to Joseph of Arimathæa. Some later writers suggest them to have belonged to the time of the Crusaders. But Schultz, from whose "Jerusalem" I have transcribed the description of this cavern, sagaciously remarks, that although the graves on the floor may probably be due to the Crusaders, the sepulchres in the face of the rock are so precisely like those which are to be seen throughout the Necropolis in the environs of Jerusalem, that there can be no doubt that they are the remains of a rock-tomb, formed long before the Church was built, and probably belonged to an old Jewish sepulchre of an age prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

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he had seen it during the repair, was amongst this very group, and perhaps the identical one that Clarke selected from observation alone, as the sacred cave itself.

[1] A view of this tomb is given by Lord Nugent, Lands Classical and Sacred, Vol. II. p. 34.

The rocky sides of this chamber are not exactly in the direction of the cardinal points, and it appears to be a portion of a rock-chamber, of which the Eastern parts have been cut away, and intruded upon by the process of hewing away the face of the rocky cliff in the brow of which it was originally excavated. For, as the section of the Church shews (Plate 3), the rock rises high against the external wall at the West, and the present level of the floor has been obtained by sinking into the rock. Thus an important corroboration is afforded of the history of the present disposition of the Holy Sepulchre. For instead of supposing the cavern to have been originally formed in a little hillock of rock, as some imagine, the very nature of the ground at present shews that the rock, which now rises behind the Western wall of the Church, was once extended so much farther Eastward as to bring the natural brow of its cliff to the front of the Holy Sepulchre, which was thus naturally formed in the face of this cliff in the usual manner. The Sepulchre just described under the name of Joseph of Arimathæa, was possibly part of a catacomb with many apartments and vestibules like that of the Judges, and at all events its entrance was formed in the face of the cliff, South-west of the entrance of the Holy Sepulchre[2].

[2] I have already stated, that throughout this dissertation I have applied the term Holy Sepulchre to that which is exhibited under this name in the church, without intending to assume its identity with the Sepulchre of the Gospel narrative, which must principally be determined by topographical considerations. To shew that the arrangements of this Sepulchre are not inconsistent with Sacred history, may afford some slight arguments in its favour, but it could hardly be supposed that those who first asserted this cave to be the genuine one, would have selected one which was at variance with the gospel account. From the sacred narrative, however, we gather that the true Sepulchre was an apartment hewn out of the rock, and not a mere grave in the rock;

But as this question of the original form of the ground can hardly be made intelligible until the whole

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for the disciples are described as "entering into it," in a manner that shews the entrance to have been perfectly easy, when they were not hindered from going in by feelings of awe and reverence. But those who were so hindered were compelled to stoop, (John xx. 5, 11) in order to look in, whence we may either infer that the door was low, or that the stooping posture was necessary to allow the light to enter; but not that the cave was at a lower level than the entrance, for then the disciples would have been said to have "gone down into" the Sepulchre, instead of simply "entering it," which is the phrase always used. The vision of angels "sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain," (John xx. 12) is sufficient to shew that the Sepulchre was of that form in which the body was laid parallel to the side of the apartment. Also it was, more probably, deposited upon a stone couch, than in a hollow *soros*, or sarcophagus. For as the linen clothes appear to have been folded and laid in the place where the body had been, they could hardly have been seen by the disciple, who merely stooped down and looked in at the door, (John xx. 5) if they had been placed at the bottom of a stone chest, but would easily have been seen, if lying upon a stone couch. The vision of angels sitting may be thought to contradict the arched recess above the stone couch; at all events this recess could not have been very low, but in many of these rock tombs it is sufficiently high to allow space for persons to sit, as for example, in the arches represented in the Tombs of the Judges. Plate 4.

There is no allusion in the scripture to a vestibule or outer cave, but on the other hand there is nothing to contradict its existence, and the common arrangement of the Jewish sepulchres makes it probable that there was one.

The cave in the Sakhrah under the dome of the Mosk of Omar, which Mr Fergusson supposes to have been the true Sepulchre, has no resemblance to any sepulchral chamber, either in Jerusalem or elsewhere. It is in form an irregular trapezium, the average height seven feet and superficial area about 600 feet. In the centre of the rocky pavement is a circular slab of marble which when struck returns a hollow sound, clearly indicating a well or excavation beneath, (Bartlett's Walks, p. 154) and there is a corresponding opening in its rocky roof. It is wholly below the surface, and the access to it by a flight of steps; there is no provision for the reception of a body either in the form of recess, or stone couch, or any other of the wonted indications of sepulchral purpose which characterise such chambers. But, on the contrary, the aperture in the roof corresponding to the other in the floor shew a purpose which it would be difficult to connect with a sepulchre, but which I shall endeavour to explain in the Essay on the Temple.

It does not seem to have occurred to Mr Fergusson that sepulchral caverns have characteristic arrangements and forms that mark their destination, and

Church, and especially Mount Calvary, has been described, I will reserve its fuller explanation for a separate section, and will now proceed to describe the group of buildings that surround the Sepulchre.

VIII.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

I HAVE in the preceding sections entered at great length into the history and description of the Chapel of

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that therefore it is not enough to produce a mere hole in a rock, like that of the Sakhrah, which is not only deficient in any of the usual indications of such a purpose, but is even contradictory in many particulars to the examples of rock sepulchres with which it is surrounded.

Moreover, Mr Fergusson (Jerusalem, p. 88) asserts that the Evangelists all agree that those that came to look for the body of Christ, "looked down into the Sepulchre," and he marks these latter words as if he were quoting the exact words of holy writ, which I need hardly say is not the case. To "stoop down," in order to look into an apartment is not necessarily to "look down into." Again, he says with equal recklessness, that in the modern building the tomb is several feet above the pavement of the Church, and if that pavement and the filling-up were removed they must have stood on tiptoe to have looked in. Bernardino's drawings, which appear to be this gentleman's authority, are partly in section and partly in elevation, and his wood-engraver by converting the outside into modern strict elevation and exaggerating the inside has contrived to raise the floor of the cave about two feet above the pavement of the Church; but Bernardino's figures (32, 33) represent the matter very differently. If the fact were so, it has no bearing upon the question, for the rough rock about the Sepulchre must have been so levelled as to change the relation of the outside to the floor of the chamber, which after all, like most of these sepulchres, was probably about the same level as the sill of the outer door.

Mr Fergusson has thus utterly failed in shewing either the probability of the Sakhrah cave having been intended for a sepulchre, or in demonstrating the absurdity of supposing the so-called Holy Sepulchre to be other than an artificial construction. His opinions concerning the architecture of the Mosk of Omar, which he believes to be the church of Constantine, shall be considered in their proper place.

I will only remark upon the total absurdity of locating a place of common execution and sepulture close under the walls and upon the same platform as the Sacred Temple of the Jews.

the Holy Sepulchre. The buildings that are attached to and partly surround it, will be understood by a comparison of the plans (Plate 2), with the sections (Plate 3) which represent the Church as it appears to have remained from the expulsion of the Crusaders in 1187 to the fire of 1808, which I have termed the fourth period of the buildings. But it will be remembered that the Crusaders found the Rotunda and some other buildings already erected, and that their works consisted of additions to those which already existed, and in some necessary alterations. The works of the Crusaders are therefore distinguished from the earlier ones by a different and lighter tint on the Plan.

The Holy Sepulchre (1, 2, Plate 2)[1] stands in the midst of the Rotunda, which was about seventy-three feet in diameter[2], and the height of its walls about

[1] The numbers which are introduced in parentheses in the text, are references to the plan, Plate 2.

[2] The diameter of the central part is at present sixty-seven feet English, and the total interior diameter, measured from the walls of the surrounding aisle, is one hundred and twelve English feet. These are the measurements of Mr Scoles. The interior wall was so damaged by the fire of 1808 that it has been rebuilt, but this rebuilding appears to have consisted in a mere casing of the interior surface, retaining the old vaults and triforium around; hence the present diameter is less than the original one. But the diameter of the side-aisle was unaffected by the fire. Bernardino assigns 156 palms to this diameter (p. 33), and declares (p. 1) that he employs the "canna ordinaria" which is used in the kingdom of Naples. If 156 palms are equal to 112 English feet, it follows that his palm is equal to .718 English feet. The nearest value to this in the ordinary tables is the Roman canna d'architettura = .733 English feet, which appears to have been the measure employed by him. The difference is easily accounted for by the inaccuracy in the length of his measuring-rod. The scale which is engraved on his plate is wholly at variance with the measures stated in his text, and is clearly an engraver's blunder; but if a new scale be drawn, by dividing the diameter of the round church upon his plan into 100 palms, it will be found to correspond with all his measures. The diameter of the central rotunda is stated to be one hundred palms by Bernardino, that is, seventy-three English feet. The diameter of the present one is only sixty-seven. If

sixty-eight, so that probably the height and diameter were intended to be equal. The walls are divided in the usual manner into three stories, ground-floor, triforium, and clerestory.

The number of piers on the ground-plan are eighteen, some of which are round pillars with capitals, bases, and pedestals, and the others simple square piers. These two different forms are disposed of as follows. On the North, the West, and the South, respectively, are placed a pair of square piers upon which rests an arch of a rather wider span than those that are interposed between them, and which are sustained by the pillars. The East is distinguished by a pair of larger and loftier piers of a more complex character, sustaining a wider arch (4) that rises into the triforium of the Church, and now serves as an arch of passage between the Rotunda and the Choir; which latter part was erected by the Cru-

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we reduce Bernardino's measures to English, we find that the lower pillars stood on pedestals five feet high; and the pillars, including base and capital, were seventeen feet high. The entire height from the pavement to the floor of the triforium was thirty feet, and as the whole height of every upper story was three-quarters of the one below it, the triforium-space was twenty-two feet, and the clerestory-space sixteen feet; the total height from the pavement to the top of the wall was therefore about sixty-eight feet. The precept for making a superior order of columns one-quarter less in proportion than the inferior order, is borrowed from Vitruvius (l. 5. c. 1, and c. 7). Whence we may infer that the good father Bernardino only actually measured the lower story, which he gives in detail, and that he guessed at the height of the others by assuming them to have been erected upon a Vitruvian principle; a very common assumption with the architectural writers of his age.

"I pilastri dunque della cupola maggiore sono alti da terra palmi sei e tre oncie. Le base due, le colonne sedici, e otto oncie, li capitelli quattro, e dieci oncie, e dalla superficie de capitelli insino alla cornice sono palmi nove, e tre oncie, la cornice è palmi due, talche in tutto son palmi quarant' uno, e de gl' altri ordini la quarta meno à proportione.....la cupola è alta palmi cinquanta.....e in tutto sono di altezza palmi cento quaranta quattro." p. 36.

saders, whereas the Rotunda is the work of the Greek Emperor Monomachus, and was in existence before they obtained possession of Jerusalem. The large arch in question, in the original building, probably opened into a short chancel terminated by an apse, which apse the Crusaders removed, and erected their piers against the chancel-walls, in the manner shewn by the Plan, and which will be explained more fully below.

The western face of this arch which fronted the Holy Sepulchre, appears to have been more highly ornamented with columns than the rest of the Rotunda. Unfortunately, the only view of the decoration of the arch is that given in the Travels of Zuallardo[1], which is evidently very inaccurate; but it may be concluded that the piers of the arch were ornamented with tiers of columns in a manner somewhat analogous to the lower part of the West front of St Mark in Venice[2], a Church erected in the Eastern style like that of our Rotunda, which resembles it also in the alternate disposition of single arches on plain piers, and of groups of arches on pillars having bases and capitals. The Plan and Elevation will shew the order in which these pillars and arches are set between the piers. The pillars are represented in Le Brun's engraving with regular pedestals and Corinthian capitals; but from the usual inaccuracy with which the artists of his time repre-

[1] This view appears in the Travels of Furer, A.D. 1565. It has been suggested to me that this and other similar engravings of the holy places were made for sale to the pilgrims, and thence copied into books of Travels.

[2] S. Mark was founded A.D. 977 or in 1043, and was finished in 1071, excepting the upper part of the West front. The rotunda of the Sepulchre was begun soon after 1010, and carried on to its completion about thirty years after.

sented mediæval buildings, we may infer that this only means that they had foliated capitals and pedestals of some kind or other[3].

The number of arches in the triforium are exactly equal to that of the pier-arches below, each over each, but the alternation of square piers and round pillars follows a different law. A plain arch, on piers, stands over each similar plain arch below, at the cardinal points, west, north, and south. Between these, however, the arches are disposed in pairs, with a pillar and pier alternately, as shewn in Plate 3, so as to make up, on the whole, ten square piers and eight round pillars[4]. Above the triforium is a clerestory-wall, in which are sunk arched panels, one over each of the arches below. These panels were ornamented with figures in mosaic, on a gilt ground[5], having their names inscribed over their heads, and holding tablets in their left hands, on which certain sentences were written, which may be found in Quaresmius. On the east and west sides, in this writer's time, the figures had all fallen to pieces; but on the south, towards the west, there remained the story of Tobias and the fish; and thence followed in order the Prophets Ezechiel,

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[3] Pedestals sometimes occur in Greek churches, as in St Sophia and the church at Mistra. See Couchaud, Eglises Byzantines de la Grèce.

[4] The ten piers are exclusive of the piers of the eastern arch. This arrangement of piers and pillars is described in the Italian original text of Zuallardo, who states that the church has "due chiostri, ò anditi, l' uno sopra l' altro; hora di due colonne quadre et un pilastro in mezzo, et hora di due o tre, et una colonna." p. 188, ed. Rom. 1587. But the sense is quite perverted in the French translations of this author.

[5] "Fatte di lavoro mosaico indorato," Zuallardo, p. 190. In Canina's great work, Dei Templi Christiani, a restored view of this church is attempted, but evidently very hastily and rashly executed. Amongst other unwarrantable features he has inserted windows instead of the mosaic pannels of the Rotunda.

Daniel, and Hosea; the Emperor Constantine, in a niche, in imperial robes, bearing in his right hand a cross and in his left a globe marked with a cross; the Prophets Joel, Amos, and Obadiah. On the north side were the shattered remains of some effigies of the Apostles, with their names, as SS. Thomas, James, Philip, Matthew, Bartholomew, and Simon; and in a niche in the middle, opposite to the Emperor Constantine, was the Empress Helena, similarly robed in a royal dress, bearing the cross and the globe, and having an Angel above. The names of the Emperor and Empress were repeated in Latin and in Greek. Those of the other figures and their accompanying sentences were in Latin only[1].

The roof of the Rotunda was of wood, built of 131 squared cedars, in the form of a single cone truncated at the top, where the light was admitted through a circular aperture, twelve feet, or perhaps more, in diameter. And this was the only opening through which light entered into this part of the Church; but the example of the Pantheon at Rome shews that such a mode of admitting light from a single aperture at the crown of a dome, is amply sufficient. The woodwork of the roof had been ornamented with gilding and silvering. The top of the roof, or margin of the aperture, was 106 feet above the pavement. The ravages of the unhappy fire of 1808 were especially destructive to the Rotunda, for its wooden roof fell a prey to the flames, and excited their fury to such an extent, by

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[1] I copy this description from Quaresmius, (p. 368) who describes the decorations of the whole church, as far as they remained, very minutely; other travellers merely allude to them; but his residence at Jerusalem enabled him to collect these particulars at leisure.

enabling them to calcine and split the stone-work and marble columns, that it became necessary wholly to rebuild the inner wall which we have been considering. Probably this rebuilding is a mere casing of the old nucleus; and an experienced observer may yet find in the aisles and triforium traces enough to discover the exact dimensions of the parts I have been describing; for the diameter of the new Rotunda is about six feet less than that of the old one. The design is unfortunately wholly different, and of a most heavy and barbarous character, as may partly be seen in the vignette at the beginning of this volume, which shews the wall of the Rotunda in the back-ground. This heaviness may be due to the fact of its being a casing of the old work.

A vaulted side-aisle encircles the Rotunda, but is cut off eastward by a straight wall that extends north and south from the piers of the great eastern arch in the manner shewn by the Plan. The aisle is concentric to the Rotunda for rather more than a semicircle westward, and this portion of the aisle is bounded by a thick wall containing three small apses (5, 7, 8) about twenty-three feet in diameter, of which the northern and southern are not placed exactly upon the diametral line, but so that the whole apse lies to the west of that line. This wall appears to have remained from a very early period, as it naturally would do, and may be supposed to have belonged to the church of Modestus, if not even to the original Basilica of Constantine. The three apses are expressly mentioned by Arculfus (A. D. 697) as also containing altars, but when the altars were removed or abandoned does not appear. The southern apse (5) was in the last century assigned to the Abyssinians, and

is now, together with the adjoining aisle, in possession of the Armenians.

The western apse (7), with the adjacent tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa (6) already described, is in the hands of the Syrians. The northern apse (8) has a door opened in its wall, and serves as a passage to the offices outside the Church, as well as to a cistern (10), termed the well of St Helena, which furnishes an abundant supply of water without any apparent spring or well, as Quaresmius relates[1]. Near this door stands (or did stand before 1808) a marble font (9), square on the outside, but cut into the form of a rose within, the *baptisterium* of the old Church, in the words of Quaresmius[2]. In the triforium at the extreme west point was the original west door of the Church, by which it was entered from the contiguous street, before the Mohammedans obtained possession of the city. When they converted this Church into a source of revenue, by taxing the pilgrims, they carefully walled up every entrance to it excepting one door (56) in the south transept, to enable them more conveniently to collect the tax and prevent any person from evading it. The level of this western street is so much higher than the floor of the Rotunda, that it was found more convenient to make the entrance into the triforium at once, than to descend to the lower level by steps from the street. The arch of this doorway may still be seen in Patriarch-street; and is marked in the plan of Jerusalem which accompanies this work. A sketch of it by Mr Arundale, which is lying before me, shews the southern

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[1] "Nullus est fons vel puteus." Quar. 371.

[2] "Præ foribus ostii est marmoreum vas quadrum, formam rosæ intus præ se ferens." Quar. 371. It is marked in Bernardino's Plan (24) as the Greek font.

half of the hood or porch supported partly on corbels and partly on a column, the lower part of which is enveloped in masonry; and the northern half of this porch is also walled up and concealed by a bridge which crosses the street at this point, connecting the two halves of the Greek convent. My section in Plate 3 exhibits its probable original arrangement.

This doorway is mentioned by Quaresmius (p. 370), and also by Edrisi, in whose time it was in use, and as he says, "The Church is lower than this door, and there is no descent to the lower part from this side; but on the north side is a door which is called the door of St Mary, leading to a staircase of thirty steps[3]." The exact position of the staircase I have not been able to discover; but it was plainly required for the purpose of affording access from below to the triforium, as well as to enable persons who came in at the upper west door from the street, to descend and enter the church at the door below.

The side aisle of the Rotunda has been already described as being concentric only in its western half; for the portions of this aisle immediately in contact with the straight wall which bounds the whole to the east, are of a square form, evidently contrived with respect to the

[3] From the French translation of Edrisi by Jaubert, Paris, 1836. A north triforium door and staircase are mentioned by Bernardino, p. 36. Part of the triforium on the north was in later times fitted up for the use of the Latins, with four apartments, one of which contained an altar of St Didacus; behind which were two rooms, one for the accommodation of pilgrims, and another which served as a sacristy in which they kept their tapestry, lamps, and other matters of value for the service of the church. These particulars appear from the account of the fire in 1808. (See W. Turner's Journal of a Tour in the Levant, 1820. Vol. II. p. 597.) The southern part was, and still is, enclosed to serve as the great church of the Armenians; and here the fire of 1808 began. There is a staircase (67) in the south-east corner of the aisle of the Rotunda, which leads to this Armenian church.

chapels, which are erected both on the north and south extremities of the aisle. On the north wall a door (16) opens to a single chapel, but from the south wall projects a range of three chapels (65, 62, 61), the access to which from the Church is now blocked up, but it was formerly maintained by a door (66) in the south wall of the aisle, exactly opposite to that in the north wall (16) which still leads to the north chapel.

This north Chapel is termed the *Chapel of the Virgin Mary of the Apparition*[1], because the tradition of the place is, that on this spot our Saviour appeared to his mother after the Resurrection. The floor is three or four steps higher than the pavement of the Rotunda, and it has a recess to the east which was furnished with an apse, previously to the late repairs, as shewn in my Plan, but is now square, and in this recess is placed the Altar, which is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and serves as the High Altar of the Latins in this Church; for the Greeks have possession of the real High Altar in the Choir of the Crusaders. The apse was semicircular within, but polygonal without, in the usual form of the Greek apses; and in fact this Chapel is mentioned by Sæwulf in 1102; and being therefore in existence before the Crusaders began their buildings, was evidently the work of Greek architects.

On each side of the above-mentioned Altar is placed a subordinate Altar, with a recess or niche in the wall above it[2]. The niche over the northern side altar is

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[1] Sacellum Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis de Apparitione (Quaresmius, p. 568). It is a quadrangular apartment, twenty-one feet four inches broad, and twenty-eight feet long, according to Mr Scoles, exclusive of the altar recess, which is nine feet broad, and seven feet deep.

[2] These recesses are about three feet high, and two wide. (Bernardino, 31.) The side altars also recal Greek ar-

said once to have contained a piece of the true cross[3]. The niche above the southern side-altar contains a portion of a column, nine inches in diameter, and about three feet high[4], of fine porphyry, which goes by the name of the *Column of the Flagellation*, professing to be a piece of the column to which our Saviour was bound and scourged by the order of Pilate[5].

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rangements, and were probably the usual side-tables of the Eastern ritual. In the middle of the chapel there is a round grey marble slab of three feet diameter, inserted in the pavement, to mark the traditional spot where the three crosses were laid after their discovery by St Helena, and where the miracle was wrought by which the true Cross was distinguished from the others. (Quaresmius, p. 383.)

[3] Quaresmius relates that this piece of the true Cross was left there by the Emperor Heraclius, when he brought back that relic from Persia, in the year 628, upon which occasion it was divided into pieces, and variously distributed, one of them being left at Jerusalem. But this piece was lost at the battle of Tiberias; and when Father Bonifacius found, as already related, a relic in the Sepulchre during its repair in 1555, which he fancied to be a piece of the true Cross, he deposited it in this niche, whence, as they say, it was stolen by the Armenians. At all events, it is not there now. (Quaresmius, pp. 383, 514.) The existence of the chapel is not mentioned before 1102; and the above-mentioned traditions concerning the deposit of the Cross here by Heraclius, the place where Helena caused the three crosses to be laid after they were dug up, &c.; are manifestly of subsequent invention, as well as the tale which Fabri tells, that this chapel stands on the site of a house in which the Virgin took refuge after the Crucifixion. (Vol. I. p. 286.)

[4] Alta palmi tre e mezo, e di diametro un palmo. (Bern. p. 31).

[5] A column, which was part of the structure of the Church at Mount Sion, is mentioned with the legend in question by St Jerome, by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, Arculfus, and others. It was broken by the Mohammedans, but the pieces are said to have been carefully collected about the year 1556, presented respectively to Pope Paul IV., Ferdinand the Emperor, Philip II. of Spain, and to the Venetian Republic, &c. &c. One fragment, however, was at the same time reserved at Jerusalem, and located in the niche where it is now to be seen. A rival column of flagellation is preserved at Rome, in the church of S. Praxede; but I must refer my readers to Quaresmius for a discussion of their respective claims to authenticity. Sæwulf, in 1120, immediately after the Crusaders' conquest, mentions a column of flagellation which was then placed between the *Carcer Christi* and the place of the Invention of the Cross.

The whole chapel of the Apparition is the chapel of the Latin convent of the Franciscan Friars, and is fitted up with seats as a choir for them. Their dwellings are immediately in contact with the northern and western sides of it, as the Plan shews. They took possession of this locality in 1257[1], but were not fully established until 1342, when permission for their residence was obtained of the Sultan, at the intercession of Robert, king of Sicily, and his queen. The Greeks had previously established themselves in the large church, of which they have retained their hold to the present time[2].

But to return to the square vestibule of this chapel. On its East side was a small chapel of St Mary Magdalen, fitted up in what appears to have been originally a doorway (17), and has in the late repairs been made to return to that purpose. Next to this follows an arch (18), which opens to a long corridor (21) running Eastward and in contact with the North transept of the great Church, but evidently belonging to an earlier period, for it has pillars and arches on its Southern side, the spacing and arrangement of which are totally at variance with those of the greater building with which it is in contact. This appears at once by the plan, and there can be little doubt that this is the remains of a cloister which bounded the open area upon

[1] Quaresmius, Lib. I. p. 176.

[2] Willibrandus ab Oldenburg, in 1211, found the Church with the Holy Sepulchre, and all that it contained, under the charge of four Syrian priests, who were not allowed to leave the walls, but were left unmolested by the Saracens, (p. 148, Leonis All. Opusc.) In fact, the whole City was under the rule of the Eastern Church, until the Latins wrested it from them at the time of the Crusaders' conquest, and when the latter were driven out, the Easterns resumed possession of the Holy places.

which the Crusaders' choir and central cupola was afterwards erected. This cloister leads to a small, low, dark apartment (23), wherein our Saviour is reported to have been confined during the preparations for the crucifixion, whence it is called the Prison of Christ. The earliest writer that notices this prison is Sæwulf (A. D. 1102), who, enumerating the Holy Places which are to be seen in the atrium of the Church, mentions the "prison where our Lord was confined, according to the Syrian tradition;" and the next is Epiphanius, a Syrian monk, whose description of the Holy Land is of uncertain date, but apparently about the end of the twelfth century. This prison however is not alluded to by any other authors of this period. In the sixteenth century and afterwards it becomes one of the ordinary *stations*. It is needless to add that there is not the slightest ground in Scripture, or even in probability, for supposing that such a prison was employed.

It is of an irregular form, nineteen feet long, and in width sixteen feet at the West end, and eighteen at the East. It is only eight feet in height[3], is three steps below the level of the corridor[4], has no window, and is described as being excavated in the rock:—I presume only the lower part of it, which, as Zuallardo tells us, seems to have been intended for a reservoir of water. Its roof is supported by two rude pillars which divide it into three aisles as it were, and an altar is fixed against its eastern wall.

The southern chapels, (65, 62, 61), which stand directly opposite to the Chapel of the Apparition, are in

[3] La volta è alta da terra palmi undici. (Bern°. 31.)

[4] Cotovicus, p. 161.

number three, and these are placed in a series; they have polygonal Greek apses, and their doors were so arranged that in the original state of this Church, as Sæwulf describes it, a person standing in the last or most southern chapel could see through all the *five* chapels in order from door to door, reckoning in the five the Rotunda, as well as the *three* southern chapels, and the northern Chapel of the Apparition. This account is perfectly consistent with the plan, which shews, supposing the doors to be now open, that a straight view might be obtained in the manner described[1].

The middle of these chapels (62) is named the Church of the Trinity both by Sæwulf and the writer in Beugnot, and both mention the baptismal font which it contains; the latter adding that all the women of the city were married in this Church, and all the children baptized there. Afterwards it became the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene, and is thus mentioned by W. Wey in 1447[2], and by Saligniaco, Breydenbach, Quaresmius, and others. It is now the parish-church of the Greeks, and called the Church of the Ointment-bearers, that is to say, of Mary Magdalene and her companions[3]. In the Pilgrim's Guide it is marked as the "Church of the Resurrection." The font (63) is indicated in the Plan in the latter volume.

The Chapel to the south (61) is termed by Sæwulf the Chapel of St James, as also in the Greek plan in

[1] In Plate 2, the eastern front of the chapels which form the west side of the court of the Church, is accurately laid down from Mr Scoles' measurements. The chapels themselves still exist, as do the doors, but I have no other authority for their interior arrangement than a wretchedly-constructed Greek Plan in the Προσκυνητάριον by Chrysanthus.

[2] Itinerarium W[i]. Wey, in the Bodleian. He says it was in possession of the Nestorians.

[3] Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiii. 56.

the Pilgrim's Guide. It appears to be only parted off from the chapel of St Mary Magdalene, and is therefore not mentioned by many writers. Quaresmius describes the latter chapel as having on each side altars of St Nicolas and St Andrew, and adds, that some have held that St James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, called the brother of our Lord, celebrated mass and was consecrated here[4].

The remaining chapel (65) of this group, which lies between the chapel of St Mary Magdalene and the south wall of the Rotunda, is, in fact, the lower story of the campanile of the church. Sæwulf mentions it as the Chapel of St John, and in connexion with the Chapel of St Mary of the Apparition, which is placed in a similar manner on the north side of the Rotunda. He supplies a key to the arrangements by saying, that even as S. Mary and S. John stood on either side of our Lord during his passion, so are their chapels placed on each side of the church. It is also called the Chapel of St John the Evangelist, and of the Forty Martyrs, in the Pilgrim's Guide[5]. Other writers term it simply the campanile.

This campanile, which seems to be gradually falling to decay, was a noble tower of five stories. Unfortunately, the drawings which are given by Breydenbach, Zuallardo, Bernardino, and Le Brun, differ so absurdly from each other in many respects, that it is scarcely credible that they are intended for the same object[6].

[4] Quaresmius, T. II. p. 576.

[5] A tract in Leonis Allatii Opusc. p. 91, by a member of the Greek Church, describes the three chapels of the Atrium as those of the Anastasis, the Forty Martyrs, and St James.

[6] The models in the British Museum appear to offer an exceedingly faithful representation of it. From them, and from Le Brun, I have principally derived the sketch in Plate 3. (Vide Appendix.)

The three lower stories still exist, and have been sketched by Roberts and other modern artists, from whose representation it appears that the arches of the windows are pointed. The lower story has been just described as the Chapel of St John, with a polygonal apse; the next story had on the sides that were free from buildings a single pointed arch, the space of which was occupied by three subordinate arches and a quatrefoil opening over them in the usual Romanesque manner. This arch is shewn in the modern sketches, but is walled up, so that the description of the filling-up is, in fact, conjecturally supplied from Bernardino and Zuallardo; the third story[1] rises clear of the roof, and has two plain pointed windows on each face, which still remain: the eastern face has shafts. The fourth and fifth stories have fallen down, but were standing in 1678, when Le Brun's sketch was made. The fourth had two large arches on each face, each arch being subdivided into two, which rested on a single shaft in the middle, and had a quatrefoil over. The fifth story had each face divided into three arches, of which the side ones were panels only, and the middle was open as a window, and was subdivided by a shaft like the arches of the fourth story. Breydenbach (1483) represents the tower complete with a corbel-table, a parapet rising and falling in steps, and the whole surmounted with a leaden octagon dome, having gables on each face. But whether this is supplied from his fancy, or whether the roof really existed in his time, it is impossible to say. The sketches that succeed Breydenbach's exhibit a gradual degradation. The roof

[1] The third, fourth, and fifth story appear, in Plate 3, rising above the roof. It is difficult to ascertain the exact height, but it could not have been less than 130 feet to the top of the parapet.

has disappeared in Zuallardo's view, 1586; Le Brun's, in 1678, appears to be in the same state; but now the two upper stories have fallen.

There are four buttresses, which project in the east and west direction only, and rise nearly to the top of the fourth story; the general style of the architecture appears similar to that of the churches in Sicily; for example, to the campanile of the church called La Martorana in Palermo[2].

I have now described the Rotunda with its adhering chapels, and with the corridor, which leads to the so-called Prison. All this group existed when the Crusaders entered Jerusalem, erected especially with reference to the great object which originated the whole mass of buildings, namely, the Holy Sepulchre. But three other principal Holy Places were situated in the immediate neighbourhood, besides several subordinate ones. To use the words of the cotemporary chronicler William of Tyre, "Previous to the entry of our Latin people into Jerusalem, the place of our Lord's Passion, called Calvary or Golgotha, and the place where the wood of the Life-giving Cross was discovered, and lastly, the place where the Lord's Body, when taken down from the Cross, was anointed, embalmed, and wrapped in fine linen, were exceedingly small oratories on the outside of the great Church. But after, by the Divine assistance, our people had obtained possession of the city, the aforesaid Church appeared to them too small. Having therefore augmented it with the most solid and lofty work, working in and

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[2] Engraved by Gally Knight, and by Gailhabaud in his Monuments Anciens et Modernes. See also Couchaud, Eglises Byzantines de la Grèce, for a view of the tower of the Church of the Virgin at Mistra.

connecting the old with the new, they marvellously contrived to include the aforesaid holy places[1]."

Of these places the Calvary or projecting rock, upon which it was believed the Cross was planted, is situated immediately to the east of 47 in the plan, and to the west of it is the place of Anointing (50). The place where the Cross was found by St Helena, is at the eastern extremity of the buildings (33), and on a much lower level, as the section (Plate 3) shews.

These places were brought into the present connected series of buildings in the following manner. Removing the apse, which I have supposed to have closed the short chancel (4) of the Rotunda, the present choir, furnished with its circumscribing aisle and radiating chapels, was erected to the east of it in the form then employed in many parts of western Europe, and with pointed arches. A central cupola was placed upon four piers, so adjusted in position that the south transept should include the place of Anointing, and range properly with the three south chapels, so as to form a court of entrance. Room was also then left on the eastern side to adjust the chapel of Calvary, in connexion with the new transept.

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[1] "Porrò ante nostrorum Latinorum introitum locus Dominicæ passionis qui dicitur Calvaria sive Golgotha, et ubi etiam vivificæ Crucis lignum repertum fuisse dicitur, et ubi etiam de Cruce depositum Salvatoris Corpus unguentis et aromatibus dicitur delibutum et syndone involutum, sicut mos erat Judæis sepelire, extra prædictæ ambitum erant Ecclesiæ, oratoria valde modica. Sed postquam nostri, opitulante divinâ clementiâ, urbem obtinuerunt in manu forti, visum est eis prædictum nimis angustum ædificium: et ampliata ex opere solidissimo et sublimi admodum Ecclesia priore, intra novum ædificium veteri continuo et inserto, mirabiliter loca comprehenderunt prædicta." W. Tyr. Lib. VIII. c. 3.

King Godfrey also instituted *Canons* with *Prebends*, and gave them habitations about the Church, Lib. IX. c. 9; and caused bells to be cast for the Church. Alb. Aquensis, Lib. VI. c. 40. (p. 285.)

The place of the Invention of the Cross was necessarily excluded from the new church, which however was so connected with the chapel of St Helena as to afford access to it by means of a door (28) and stairs leading from the eastern aisle or "procession path," in a manner that will be fully explained as we proceed, and which indeed is shewn by the different tints of the plan.

The great eastern arch (4) of the Rotunda communicates immediately with the central lantern (43) of the choir. This lantern stands upon four noble piers, the centres of which are distant forty feet from east to west, and forty-three from north to south.

The opposite faces of the piers were distant thirty-one feet ten inches, and their height including base and capital was fifty-two feet; which, being by a singular coincidence the very dimensions of the tower-arches of Winchester and Peterborough, may at once give a correct idea of the magnitude of this church, and shew that its proportions were Romanesque[2]. The form of these piers too was strictly Romanesque, having square pier-edges alternating with shafts in a manner that is sufficiently familiar now to the merest tyro in architecture; but seems sorely to have puzzled the draughtsmen and engravers of old, to judge from the various representations which are given of them. In Bernardino's plan the plinths only are seen. In Zuallardo's plan the

[2] The piers of Winchester tower are fifty-three feet in height, from the floor of the transept, and their opposite faces thirty-two feet asunder, which are also the dimensions of Peterborough. The church of S. Martin at Cologne has piers fifty-five feet high, thirty feet apart. Thirty feet, more or less, is a very common width for large churches, and may probably be derived from the twenty cubit width of Solomon's Temple; a cubit being about eighteen inches.

attached shafts are distinctly shewn, but not very accurately, and they appear in some of Bernardino's elevations, but not in others, evidently not being understood by the engraver. In Le Brun's interior view of the choir they are delineated as well as could be expected for that period, and his text describes them unmistakeably. "By grouped columns I understand great columns composed of several smaller ones attached one to the other; or rather, one great column which seems to have others attached to its outer surface. These are alternately square and round; and some of those in question are so large that they appear made up of ten, and even as many as sixteen, of these smaller ones[1]." The great eastern tower-piers have actually sixteen, if we reckon shafts and square edges, proceeding in order round its circumference[2].

Upon the pointed arches of these four piers was erected a circular tambour-wall or lantern, resting on pendentives, and crowned with a cupola. The wall was ornamented with an arcade, which, as shewn in the section, consisted of sixteen arches decorated with shafts, three to each pier, and forty-eight in all, as Le Brun describes. The arches are circular, at least they so appear in Le Brun's view, (grievously distorted by his bad perspective,) as also in the model in the British Museum. They were alternately pierced for windows, and the outside of the wall had four broad pilasters opposite to the cardinal points respectively, with two of these windows between each.

Breydenbach's view also shews the ruins of a small

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[1] Le Brun, p. 289. Ed. 1714.

[2] These piers still exist, as well as the four great pointed arches above them, but the cupola was destroyed by the fire.

arched lantern on the top of the cupola. This cupola was ascended by a spiral external stair formed upon its northern surface, as Le Brun's view shews it. The altitude of the crown of the cupola from the pavement was 156 palms or 114 English feet. The great tower arches were pointed and had three orders of voussoirs as well as all the arches and windows of this part of the Church. This character, which never appears in the arches of Greek mediæval buildings, effectually identifies these portions with the Crusaders, and separates them from the Rotunda and the chapel of Helena, in which the arches are simple.

The eastern tower-arch opens to the presbytery of the cruciform structure, which is terminated by an apse. The seats of the choir are placed under the central lantern. It must be remembered that this Church was erected for the Latin service; that when it was finished a convent of Augustinian Canons was placed in possession of the whole; and that after the Latins were driven out by Saladin, the Greeks obtained this choir, and have retained it ever since. Accordingly it is now fitted in their manner with a huge *Iconostasis*, or screen with three doors, cutting off the apse and half the remainder of the presbytery where the high altar is placed, and having its side tables against the piers from whence the apse springs. But, apart from these characteristics, the Altar (38) stands evidently on its Latin site upon the diametral line of the apse; and the Greek choral stalls under the lantern cupola are in the very position that the Latins would have placed them, and probably did so[3].

[3] The length of the choir and presbytery together, from the screen to the apse wall, is ninety-eight feet, and the breadth is forty feet, more or less.

The western screen is fixed under the western arch (4) of the lantern, and divides the choir from the Rotunda, communicating on the same level with the platform which leads to the Holy Sepulchre.

In the middle of the choir, the writer in Beugnot places a lectern of marble, called *le Compas*, where the Epistle was read. But Sæwulf tells us that the place called *Compas* was at the *Caput*, or extremity of the Round Church of the Sepulchre, and was held to be the centre of the world: an absurdity which is retained to the present day[1]. The extremity of the Rotunda, as it stood in Sæwulf's time, exactly coincides with the middle of the Crusaders' choir. This supposed centre is first mentioned by Bernardus (A.D. 870)[1].

The western arch (4) which connects the Rotunda with the choir, is described by Quaresmius as having been decorated with mosaic work, of which sufficient remained to shew that above it, to the west, was a representation of the Annunciation, apparently in the spandrils of the arch, one containing the figure of the Angel, and the other that of the Virgin. The soffit itself had a mosaic of the Ascension, with inscriptions in Greek and Latin. The eastern apse and the vault of the choir were also decorated with mosaics of figures on gilt grounds.

The apse had four double pillars sustaining pointed

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[1] This tradition appears to originate from a strange interpretation of the following passage of the Psalms, which is quoted by the various authors on this subject. Psal. lxxiii. 12: "Deus autem Rex noster ante sæcula, operatus est salutem in medio terræ;" or, in our version, Ps. lxxiv. 12: "For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth." Fabri tells an amusing story of one of his companions who paid a large sum for permission to ascend to the top of the cupola, in order to satisfy himself if he were really over the centre of the earth, by observing whether or no the sun gave him a shadow at noon.

arches and resting upon seven marble gradations, which occupied the whole semicircle like a theatre; and on their summit, at the eastern extremity, and under the eastern central arch, was placed the marble chair of the Patriarch. The pavement was of the best and most ornate workmanship, and had an altar in the midst, of elaborate construction, decorated with precious marbles and small columns, but these had been so battered by the infidels, that Quaresmius relates there were scarcely left fragments enough to shew what it had once been. A smaller Altar, after the Greek fashion (namely the Altar of Prothesis), was placed on the north side (39), near the pier in advance of the High Altar, and dedicated to the three Kings.

On each side, and against the eastern piers of the tower, were two platforms (40, 41), each ascended by four steps, and each originally intended to receive two (or, as some say, one) marble Patriarchal chair. These four chairs, according to the Greeks, were provided for the four Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

An aisle surrounds the presbytery and apse, communicating on each side with the transepts, and forming the usual procession-path of the Romanesque Churches. Three apsidal Chapels radiate from the aisle, and alternating with them are four doors, as shewn in the Plan[2]. Of the Chapels, the north-eastern (25) is dedicated to St Longinus; and here was formerly preserved a relic which was believed to be the actual title which Pilate affixed to the Cross[3]. The eastern Chapel (27) is called

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[2] The chapels are marked, 25, 27, 34, and the doors 24, 26, 28, 35.

[3] This relic however was removed to Rome, where it may be seen in the

the Chapel of the Division of the Vestments; and the south-eastern (34), the Chapel of the Mocking; in the latter of which is preserved under the Altar a column reported to have been brought from the house of Pilate, and upon which the soldiers seated the Saviour when they crowned him with thorns and derided him[1]. Of the four doors above-mentioned, the first on the north (24) was formerly the passage from the Church to the Dormitory and Convent of the Canons in the time of the Crusaders. The second (26), in its original state, was probably a window. The third (28) leads by a descending stair to the Chapel of St Helena. And the fourth, the last (35) on the south, to an ascending stair which conducts to the apartments occupied by the Greeks.

But to return to the third door. This conducts by a long descending stair of thirty steps in a narrow passage partly formed in the rock, to the large Chapel dedicated to St Helena, the floor of which is fifteen feet nine inches below that of the Rotunda[2]. It is nearly square, being forty-three feet in width, and fifty-one in length from the foot of the stairs to the spring of the apse, which apse is six feet deep. The Chapel is divided into three aisles by two columns on each

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church called "S. Croce in Gierusalemme." Quaresmius, T. II. p. 397. Longinus is the name given in the spurious Gospel of Nicodemus to the soldier who pierced the side of our Saviour, and is accepted by the Romish Church.

[1] Sæwulf, in 1102, enumerates the *locus* where the Cross was found, the marble column of Flagellation, the *locus* where the Lord was stripped of his garments, the *locus* where the purple robe and crown of thorns were put on, and where the soldiers cast lots for the vestments. As this passage was written before the Crusaders' Church was commenced, it appears that these *loci* are local, probably Syrian, traditions, and were accommodated by the Crusaders in the Plan of their apse, as explained above. They are not mentioned, however, by any other writers until the sixteenth century, as far as I have examined them.

[2] On the authority of Mr Scoles.

side. These carry pointed arches and a stone vault, but the central compartment rises into a cupola, having a low tambour and four windows, which are the only sources of light to the Chapel. There is an admirable view of the interior in Roberts' Palestine, which may be compared with one engraved in the "Univers." From these it seems that the architecture of this Chapel is massive, rude, and crypt-like, the columns of a dwarfish proportion, with capitals apparently of early Byzantine character, having the peculiar hemispherical form and reticulated ornament, surmounted by leaves, that often appears in that style. It was not affected by the fire of 1808.

This Chapel, in every respect in its plan, resembles a small Greek Church, having a narthex or vestibule at the west end separated from the rest of the Church by square cruciform piers, a cupola in the middle resting on four round pillars, and eastern apses (29, 30), which are in this case confined to two in number, on account of the steps (32) which descend to the Chapel of the Invention occupying the place usually assigned to the southern apse. Amongst Greek Churches many of a similar plan may be seen, as for example, La Martorana in Palermo, the Church of Kapnicarea at Athens, (Couchaud. Pl. 15), the Church of the Theotocos at Constantinople, and many others. The vaulting is, however, differently managed, and may have been reconstructed by the Crusaders. But I am of opinion that they found this Church in existence, and merely repaired and adapted it to their new building.

The want of symmetrical position with respect to the Crusaders' apse, and the intrusion of the stairs into

the narthex[1], also shew that this Chapel was in existence before the apse of the great Church was planned.

The central altar is dedicated to St Helena, and the northern altar to the Good Thief, or to his cross[2]. On the North (31) side is a patriarchal chair of marble, usually said to be that in which Helena sat while they were digging in search of the Cross.

The southern aisle of the Chapel, in lieu of an apse, has a descending stair (32) of twelve steps, and a doorway which leads to an irregularly-shaped apartment (33), about twenty feet across, excavated in the rock[3], the floor of which is eleven feet below that of the Chapel of St Helena. The sides are disposed in the form of an irregular pentagon, and the low roof is partly artificial and partly formed by the overhanging rock. Quaresmius describes it as appearing to have been a reservoir of water. This is the place where the three Crosses, the crown of thorns and the nails, the title, &c. are supposed to have been found when the rubbish which had

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[1] According to the minute Fabri, the sides of the passage, in which the descending staircase is placed, are cut in the rock, the surface of which still forms the walls thereof. But the steps themselves are of stone; also the walls of the chapel itself are rock. "Hæc capella est satis magna, alias parietes non habens nisi petras, in quibus est incisa; sicut et ipsi gradus de superiori ecclesia *inter parietes petrarum* descendunt," (p. 293.) He had just stated that this descent was by "*gradus lapideos.*" Quaresmius (p. 408) makes them 29 steps, "ex dolata marmore elaborati." In fact, the site of the chapel is a rectangular, dry cistern, as it were, sunk in the rock, and the passage formed in an artificial cleft, cut into the western side of this cistern. In the original construction, I imagine the stairs were set farther west in this cleft, so as to leave the narthex free. Now, the steps are driven so far east by the Crusaders' apse, that they occupy the whole of the center of the narthex.

[2] Quaresmius, p. 423.

[3] Richardson describes it as a low rocky vault and a murky den, large enough to contain thirty or forty persons wedged in close array. Vol. II. p. 325.

accumulated in this cavern was cleared out under the superintendence of St Helena A.D. 326 or 327. The apartment is accordingly named the *Chapel of the Invention of the Cross;* and in the North-eastern corner an altar is placed in a rude apse upon the spot where the supposed Cross lay hid for three centuries.

On the North side of the descent is a fissure of the rock, which is quoted by some as one of the rents that accompanied the Crucifixion, but which Quaresmius declares to be manifestly an artificial opening, and no other than the proper canal or conduit which belonged to the original employment of this cavern as a cistern. As another instance of the tendency to explain every appearance about this spot in miraculous connexion with the events commemorated there, the dew-drops that naturally hang on the surface of the damp walls and columns, were believed by the pilgrims to be tears shed by the very stones in sympathy with the events that took place on this spot.

The above description of the East end of the Church, with its chapels and appendages, may be compared with that given in Beugnot[4], which explains admirably the arrangement of the Convent of the Canons.

"At the *chevet* or apse of the choir there was a door on the right hand, by which the Canons entered to

[4] Assises de Jerusalem, Tome II. p. 531. Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 109. "Au cheves dou cuer avoit une porte, par là où li chanoine entroient en leur offecines, à mein destre. Entre cele porte et mont de Calvaire avoit I. mout parfont fossé, où en avaloit à degres. Là avoit une place que en apeloit *Sainte Helaine.* Là trouva Sainte Helainne la crois et les clous et le martel et la courone....Tout ainsi que li chanoine issoient dou sepulcre, à mein senestre estoit leur dortoirs, et à mein destre li refrotois et tenoit au mont de Calvarie. Entre ces II. offices estoit leur clistres et leur preaus. En un lieu du peel avoit une grant ouverture, dont on veoit en la chambre Elaine qui dessous estoit, car autrement n'i veoit on goute."

their apartments. Between this door and Mount Calvary was a door or passage, excavated downwards to some depth, where there were steps, and at the bottom a place called of *Sainte Helaine*, and there S. Helaine found the cross, and the nails, and the hammer, and the crown. .... And when the Canons issued from the Sepulchre, on the left was their dortoir, and on the right their refectory, against the Mount of Calvary. Between these two offices was their cloister, with the *preau* or court in the midst. In one place of this building was a great opening, through which could be seen the chamber of Helaine below, and this was all that could be seen of it."

At present the space at the East end of the Church is occupied by a Coptic Convent, and, according to the description given me by Mr Williams of their buildings, I conjecture that they must contain the remains of the very dormitory and cloister above described; for to this day their court is formed upon the roof of the chapel of St Helena, the cupola of which rises in the middle, and through its windows a view may be had of the chapel below, as Beugnot describes. On the South side a wall with pointed arches must clearly be the ruins of the refectory; and on the North of that is a flourishing olive-tree, which is believed to be the very tree in which Abraham found a ram caught by the horns.

But, to return to the interior of the Church. It will be remembered that the choir is placed under a central lantern cupola, and has a transept to the North and South. The North transept of the Church presents nothing remarkable, and I will therefore proceed to describe the parts that lie to the South of the choir. The South transept has several irregularities in its arrangement, which arise from the earlier buildings which

already existed when it was erected, and to which its plan was made subservient. The Chapels of Mount Calvary, which lie on its eastern side, are those which have principally affected it.

The central portions of the Church are constructed in the usual manner in three stories, namely, pier-arch, triforium, and clerestory. The floor of the triforium is about thirty-three feet above the pavement of the Church. The triforium-gallery runs not only along the east and west walls of the South transept, but also across its southern wall. This south wall of the transept contains a double-arched doorway (55, 56), and is indeed now the only entrance-front of the Church. On the inside, opposite to the middle pier of the door, is placed a double column, which supports the arches and vault that carry the triforium-gallery across the South end of this transept[1].

The eastern wall of the transept has three arches between the lantern-pier and the south wall. The most northerly of these arches (46) is as high as the other pier-arches of the Church, and opens to the side-aisle or procession-path of the presbytery. But the other two arches are much lower, for behind them an intermediate vault is introduced, carrying a floor only fifteen feet above the pavement of the Church.

This intermediate or mezzanine floor extends considerably to the East; and by comparing the plan of it (Fig. 5) with the ground-plan of that part of the Church which lies below it, this somewhat complex arrangement will be evident[2].

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[1] In the north transept the triforium gallery runs over the ancient cloister (21).

[2] The section in Fig. 10, Plate 3, will explain the manner in which the surface of the Rock forms part of the floor of the upper chapels, and how this floor is carried on westward by means of the vaults.

The mezzanine floor comprises two principal chapels, called the *Chapel of the Exaltation of the Cross* (72, 73), and the *Chapel of the Crucifixion* (71), respectively; also a small lateral building (70) or porch, by which a flight of steps (54) descends to the court, so as to give independent access to the chapels from without. On the East side are some buildings occupied by the Greeks, and two small chapels (74), called the *Chapels of Abraham and Melchisedech.* The whole of this eastern appendage, and part of the Chapel of the Exaltation, rests upon the surface of the rock, which rises so high above the rest of the Church, as to form a pavement on the level of the mezzanine floor. But the remainder of the Chapel of the Exaltation and the entire Chapel of the Crucifixion, together with the porch, have their pavements (the mezzanine floor) supported by the intermediate vault, and beneath them the space is occupied by a Chapel (47) which has received different names, out of which we may select that of the *Chapel of Adam;* and also by two other apartments (51, 52), and a small chapel (53) under the porch. We may now examine these chapels in detail, and begin with the North chapel of the mezzanine floor.

About nine feet of the eastern end of the floor of this chapel is rock, which rises slightly above the general level, and has its upper surface covered with white marble slabs, which raise it altogether two feet above the pavement. Three feet from the front of this raised part and in the centre, is situated the hole, which is said to be the very hole in which the foot of the Cross was planted. The cavity is about two feet deep and six inches in diameter, but was lined and garnished with silver plates[1].

[1] Quaresmius gives an engraving and various particulars of this decoration: the plates bore date 1560. The chapel is fifteen feet seven inches wide

An altar is placed above it, and the chapel is in the custody of the Greeks.

Two other holes are situated, the one to the right and the other to the left of the central one, and six feet nine inches distant from it, measured from centre to centre. They are set in a line about eighteen inches farther eastward than the middle one.

Notwithstanding their proximity, they are believed to have been made to receive the crosses of the thieves: the good thief to the north, the bad thief to the south[2].

This chapel (72, 73) is termed by the Latins the *Chapel of the Exaltation of the Cross*, to distinguish it from the neighbouring chapel (71) on its south side, which they call the *Chapel of the Crucifixion*, asserting that the Body was nailed to the Cross in the south

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between the piers, and thirty-six feet long. On the north side of the chapel a staircase (45) led down to the side-aisle of the choir, and was the only access to this floor after the original external porch and stairs were blocked up by the Mohammedans. But since the fire of 1808 the space of these chapels has been enlarged by the addition of a gallery in front of the western wall, projecting nine feet into the south transept. This gallery contains two staircases, apparently for the convenience of conducting the crowd of pilgrims up one, and down the other, in order. Also the intermediate floor of Calvary has been extended into the south aisle of the choir, which is now completely covered by it, from its opening in the south transept to the chapel of the Mocking, thus forming a convenient access from the chapel of the Exaltation of the Cross, which belongs to the Greeks, to their kitchen behind, and to their other dwelling apartments, which are above the kitchen, and also, by means of stairs, to their choir. A small gangway appears always to have existed between the small door near the foot-hole of the Cross and the Greek kitchen. This is seen in the section, Plate 3. The fire broke out in the Armenian Church, which is in the western triforium of the south transept (over 63), opposite to the Chapels of Calvary; and consequently so damaged those Chapels and the whole transept as to necessitate much rebuilding, restoration, and change, by which their venerable and ancient character has been wholly destroyed.

[2] In all probability, the three holes were originally made to receive a *representation* of the Crucifixion. The south chapel is narrower than the other, (thirteen feet three inches wide,) but about the same length.

chapel, and the Cross afterwards raised up and fixed in the hole of the northern chapel.

The south chapel (71) is, nevertheless, an upper floor, raised upon a vault, and the apartment below it is used for a vestry, and appears to be held in no veneration whatever. This anomaly is alluded to by Quaresmius[1], and he suggests that the earth beneath the pavement has been removed for the convenience of the structure, or because St Helena conveyed it to Rome, so that the spot above, upon which he would have us believe the crucifixion to have taken place, is yet in the true position in space, although the ground has been taken from under it. But, in fact, this especial tradition is not mentioned by any of the pilgrim-writers, until long after the expulsion of the Crusaders; and the probable explanation of its history is, that when the Latins, upon their return to the Church in 1257, found the Greeks in possession of the hole in the rock and its chapel, they set up a claim in the side-chapel to a spot of similar sanctity in connexion with the events that took place on this locality. And the same may be said of the absurd tradition mentioned below, that places the witnesses of the Crucifixion upon the upper landing of the porch which was built by the Crusaders.

The two chapels, as well as the porch, were elaborately decorated with mosaic-work and pavements of marble. These chapels, especially the northern one, suffered exceeding damage from the fire of 1808; for immediately to the East, on the spot marked (75) as

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[1] Notandum, locum istum subtus excavatum esse, et non ob id negandum, verè locum esse crucifixionis; nam id ita accidit, tum quia terra sacri montis ab Helena Romam asportata fuit, tum quia alia adhibita pro templi structura. (Quar. 444.)

the Greek kitchen, there stood a wooden building in the form of a tower, in six or seven stories, which served as a dwelling for the Greeks in charge of the Church, and of course fell an immediate prey to the flames[2]. The porch (70) on the right hand of the entrance-doors in the court, is in the form of an elegant turret, in two stories, surmounted by a cupola. It is in the same style as the front of the Church, and evidently the work of the Crusaders. The upper story has rich pointed arches, which were apparently open in the original design. This story, the floor of which is on a level with that of the chapels of the Exaltation of the Cross and of the Crucifixion, was intended for a vestibule to them, and the external staircase (54) still remains which led to this upper floor. The vestibule itself, not ten feet square, has had an altar placed in it at some modern period, and is dignified as the place or station where the Virgin and St John stood during the Crucifixion; and hence is called the Chapel of the Virgin and St John the Evangelist. The first mention, however, of such a station, is by Sæwulf and the anonymous chronicler of the Crusaders[3]. They fix its position at the altar of Sta Maria Latina—a Church known to have stood on the south side of the street that bounds the front court of the Church of the Sepulchre. The location of this *station* in the porch at the stair-head, occurs in the later pilgrim-writers only; and it may be supposed, that when the Christians lost Jerusalem, and the Church of Sta Maria Latina was ruined and abandoned, the *station* was removed to the porch. It is mentioned very doubtfully by most of these writers, and there

[2] Account of the fire by the Latin monks in Turner's Levant.

[3] Recueil de Voyages. Tom. IV. p. 342. Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 573.

seems to be some confusion between this chapel and the neighbouring Chapel of Adam, to which the same dedication is assigned[1]. The lower story (53) of the porch is converted into a chapel of the fourth-century saint called Maria Egyptiaca.

Having now described the chapels of the mezzanine floor, it remains to examine the vaults below them. Of these, the southern vaults (51, 52) were apparently never used as chapels; but the northern vault (47) has been already mentioned as the Chapel of Adam. A little consideration will shew that this chapel is placed immediately beneath the western brow of the rock, near the margin of which above, is the so-called foot-hole of the Cross. This is best seen in the section, Fig. 10; and in the general plan of the Church, Plate 2, the position of this hole is marked with a circle. The chapel has an apse at its eastern extremity, and the apse is described by all travellers, ancient and modern, as being hewn out of a rock and not constructed of masonry. Moreover, there is a fissure in the face of it, which also appears in the rocky surface above, close to the south side of the foot-hole[2]. This fissure is of course appealed to as having been formed when "the rocks were rent" at the Crucifixion. It is easy to see that this projecting rock must have been artificially squared on its western face, which contains the apse, and also on its northern and southern faces; so that if the buildings were

[1] To a much later period belong two similar stations, which are, or were, marked in the pavement by circular stones, the one in the south apsidal chapel (5) of the Rotunda, said to be the spot where Mary Magdalene and others "beheld where He was laid," the other in the aisle of the Rotunda (68), opposite the Stone of Unction, where the "acquaintance and the women stood afar off beholding." (Quaresmius, T. I. p. 496.) They are not mentioned by any early writer.

[2] This is exhibited by means of a hole left for the purpose in the pavement.

removed, it would now appear like a wedge, rising gradually from the east; and bounded by these artificial vertical surfaces on the three sides of its western extremity. This shall be examined presently, when the description of the buildings has been concluded. In the middle ages, the term Calvary was applied to the entire surface of this hill, extending from the place of Crucifixion to the Chapel of St Helena and of the Invention; but the term Golgotha was limited to the spot immediately below the western brow of Calvary, which we are now considering, or at least only included in addition the upper edge of this brow, where the Cross was planted. The chapel is said by Quaresmius to have its vault decorated with mosaic work, and its pavement with marble slabs and tesselation. There is a small altar in the apse. Bernardino denominates it the Chapel of Godfrey, from one of its most remarkable characteristics, namely, that it was chosen as a sepulchral chapel by the first Crusading kings of Jerusalem[3], who thus chose their resting-place at the foot of their Saviour's Cross. The tomb of Godfrey de Bouillon, the first king, stood at the entrance of the chapel (48) against the north pier, and

[3] The expressions made use of by Will. of Tyre shew that, in his time, the term *Golgotha* was restricted to the lower ground immediately in front of the Rock upon which the Cross was fixed, to which the term *Calvary* was appropriated. King Baldwin..." sepultus est inter prædecessores suos piæ recordationis Reges sub Monte Calvariæ ante locum qui dicitur Golgotha." W. Tyr. Lib. XIII. p. 851; also Lib. II. p. 816. Sæwulf also mentions "Mons Calvariæ ... subtus est locus qui Golgotha dicitur." The dedication or title of this chapel is somewhat uncertain. Arculfus alludes to it, but gives it no name; but Epiphanius tells us that "Beneath Calvary is the church and tomb of Adam," and Quaresmius calls it the Chapel of Adam. The name has reference to a strange, but early, tradition that Adam was buried under Mount Calvary. This tradition is mentioned and condemned by Jerome, (Comm. in Matth. Lib. IV. c. 27,) and other early ecclesiastical writers. But the pilgrims Breydenbach, Zuallardo, and Cotovicus, not

the tomb of Baldwin I. (49), his brother and successor, exactly similar to it, against the south pier. Other kings were entombed against the south wall of enclosure of the choir. But these sepulchral monuments were subsequently defaced and injured by the Charizmians in 1244, as already described; and by the Greeks[1] because they commemorated Latin sovereigns; and it seems that, in the late restoration, they have been wholly destroyed or obliterated, from a similar motive[2].

In the pavement of the South transept there is a remarkable stone (50) fixed, not in the middle of the transept, but rather opposite to the middle of the present entrance-door. This, which appears simply to have been an ordinary marble slab, probably the

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only say that the head of Adam was found here, but some (as Bernardino) would have us believe that it is still to be seen in the fissure of the apse. In the Greek Pilgrim's Guide it is termed the Chapel of St John *Baptist*, and of Adam. Breydenbach, the Count of Solms, (1483,) and others, denominate this the Chapel of the Virgin Mary and St John. Zuallardo, the Chapel of St John the Evangelist and of the Unction; and Cotovicus, the Chapel of St John the Evangelist. Remembering the prominent position which the Virgin and St John occupy in all mediæval representations of the Crucifixion, in which they are always placed one on each side of the Cross, we need not be surprised to find a chapel dedicated to them immediately at the foot of the Cross.

[1] Quaresmius, 483.

[2] See De Géramb's Pilgrimage, which contains a good account of the fire and its consequences. The best representation of the two monuments of Godfrey and Baldwin is given by Zuallardo. They were alike, with the exception that the first had twisted columns, and the second plain, and the design consisted simply of a roof-shaped stone of fine porphyry, with vertical gable ends, and ornamented on its edge with carving and moldings. The inscription was placed on the sloping surface. The stone is supported upon four dwarf columns, two feet six inches in height, which rest on a base or plinth of marble, about a foot high, of the same horizontal dimensions as the upper stone, that is to say, eight feet by four. Within the chapel, on the right hand of the entrance, is a sarcophagus of white marble, which the Greeks say is the tomb of Melchisedech. The screen-wall, which contained the door of this chapel, projected into the south transept, so as to enclose the tombs of the kings, as shewn by the dotted lines in Plate 2.

covering of a grave, from its dimensions (about six feet by three[3]), has been raised to the dignity of the *Stone of Unction*, upon which they say the Lord's Body was laid when it was taken from the Cross and anointed. It is said to be a green-coloured stone, but a slab of white marble has been cemented upon it, to protect it from the depredations of the pilgrims, and borders of mosaic work set round it, with an iron railing and candlesticks. It is the first object that meets the eye upon entering the church.

The earliest mention of the place of Unction is by Sæwulf, who says that "close to the place of Calvary is the church of Sancta Maria in the place where the Lord's Body, when taken down from the Cross, was wrapped up in a linen cloth with spices." He fixes this church or chapel in the atrium of the Rotunda on the East side, to distinguish it from those on the West side.

This church of St Mary therefore must be the small oratory over the place of Unction which is mentioned by William of Tyre, and also the quadrangular church of St Mary which Arculfus places in contact with the right (South) side of the Rotunda. As the Crusaders found this station established as one of the Holy Places, they probably did not essentially alter its position, and we may infer that the Church of St Mary stood on the site of the present South transept. The place is first mentioned as a *stone* (a black stone) by Rudolph von Suchem in 1336[4]. But it seems that a purplish stone, said to have been employed for the same purpose, had been long preserved at Ephesus, from whence it was conveyed to Constantinople by the Emperor Manuel

[3] Palmi otto lungo e quattro largo. (Bernardino, p. 32.)

[4] Reyssbuch der Heil. L. p. 844.

(c. 1150)[1]. The present stone is probably a paving-stone originally laid over some spot of the rock that became reputed as the "*locus Unctionis*," and subsequently the stone itself became covered up with another stone to preserve it[2].

The South or principal entrance-front of the Church, which is, as we have seen, the wall of the South transept, has been so repeatedly drawn and engraved of late years by competent artists, that its appearance has become familiarised to us all. It is a pointed Romanesque composition, which derives a peculiar character from its being attached to a flat-roofed building. The lower story is occupied by a wide double doorway with detached shafts supporting carved and molded arches, with a sculptured hoodmold. The outer order of voussoirs has a radiating ornament, which occurs, amongst other examples, in the Church of the Martorana in Sicily. The second order of voussoirs is richly molded, and the inner shafts carry a transom ornamented with sculpture. The western door (56) is the only one that remains open at present, the eastern (55) has been walled up, apparently ever since the Mohammedans expelled the Crusaders.

In the upper story are two rich windows, of similar decorations to the doorways below. But their arches

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[1] Nicetas, Lib. VII.; Quaresm. p. 493; Du Cange Constantinopolis Christiana, p. 81, Lib. IV. He placed it in the church of the Pantocrator at Constantinople, and near his own sepulchre.

[2] The place, according to Quaresmius, was in the sixteenth century still ornamented with a rich mosaic work, and the stone itself was of a greenish colour. Breydenbach does not allude to the Unction, but in stead mentions a place, marked with a white stone, where the Mater Dolorosa sat, with the dead Body of her Son in her bosom taken from the Cross. But his cotemporary, Fabri, describes, in his peculiar way, his horror and remorse at discovering, upon his first entry into this Church, that he had inadvertently trampled upon the stone of Unction.

are so slightly pointed, that the hoodmolds are very nearly semicircular. The string-courses of this front are richly sculptured.

The western side of this court is formed by the campanile and the range of chapels with polygonal apses already described, and the southern side retains the bases of a row of columns that once belonged to a cloister or portico. They stand on the top of a flight of steps that rise from, and extend entirely across, the court. On this South side of the court originally stood the buildings of the Knights Hospitallers, and the monasteries, male and female, of Sancta Maria Latina, the history of which will be found in another part of this volume.

The western side of the court is occupied by a range of buildings, probably of no great antiquity, and in this side are three doors, of which the most northerly (57), close to the chapel of the porch, opens to a chapel dedicated to St Michael and All Saints, in possession of the Copts, and through which is the passage to their convent, which, as already described, occupies part of the site of the Crusaders' convent of Canons. The middle door (58) opens to an Armenian Church of St John[3], and the southern door (59) to the Greek monastery of Abraham, which derives its name from the Chapel of Abraham's Sacrifice, attached to these buildings.

One of the ancient traditions of this spot is that this sacrifice took place upon the mount of Calvary, and Antoninus Placentinus enumerates the place where

[3] Of S. John the Baptist, according to W. Wey, Saligniaco, Breydenbach, and Quaresmius; but the Pilgrim's Guide of Chrysanthus makes it of S. John the Evangelist.

Abraham sacrificed, and that where he was met by Melchisedech, amongst those which were visited by the Pilgrims by the side of the place of Crucifixion. Arculfus and Sæwulf only mention the first. However, these two localities are still indicated by two Altars in a small Chapel (74) constructed behind the Chapels of Calvary[1]. They are reached by means of a narrow passage and staircase leading through the Greek convent of Abraham; and, to complete the list, the pilgrim is shewn the ancient olive at the back of the buildings, which he is told is the tree in which Abraham's ram was caught by the horns[2].

IX.

THE ORIGINAL FORM OF THE GROUND.

I HAVE now conducted my reader through the buildings that surround the Holy Sepulchre, and must endeavour, in the next place, to investigate the probable form of the rocky surface, as it existed before the buildings of Constantine and those that followed them were undertaken.

For it is evidently shewn by the traces of hewn rock that we have encountered in various parts of our survey, as, for example, in the tomb called of Joseph of Arimathæa, in the Prison, in the Chapel of St Helena and the stairs that lead to it, in the Chapel of the Invention, on Calvary, and in the Chapel of Adam, not to mention the Holy Sepulchre itself[3]; by all these examples, I say, it

[1] These are not exactly laid down upon any of the plans, but by description must be located in the space indicated in my plan at (74).

[2] Quaresmius, T. I. p. 281; Zuallardo, &c.

[3] Vide Plate 2, Nos. 1, 6, 23, 28, 30, 33, 72, 47.

is shewn that the site, originally rough and rocky, must have been levelled into platforms for the reception of the first buildings that were erected here; and it is necessary that we should endeavour to discover what the natural form of the ground was. Plate I. Fig. 1, is intended to illustrate this point, and I shall refer to it throughout this Section; I have traced upon it the outlines of the principal buildings, namely, the Chapel of Helena at the east end, and the aisle-wall of the Rotunda at the west with its three apses; also the Prison on the north; and the apse of the Chapel of Adam with the outline of the three vertical faces which at present bound the rock of Calvary on the south. I have also added the four streets which in the present town enclose the site. Upon these I have endeavoured to represent the original undulating surface.

The area is bounded by four streets, namely, Sepulchre Street on the north, Palmer Street on the south, Patriarch Street on the west, and St Stephen Street on the east. Sepulchre Street had at its eastern extremity (I) the Porta Judiciaria, of which a column still remains to shew the position, and this street is described as a steep regular ascent from I to K; which, considering the length of the street, would place K about thirty feet higher than I[4].

Patriarch Street is described as descending very gently and imperceptibly from north to south (from K to L). But at the point L, those who wish to reach the Church of the Sepulchre turn off from Patriarch Street, and after passing through a narrow lane (L M) with

[4] For Sepulchre Street is 360 feet in length, from I to K, which, if the mean inclination be one in twelve, would give thirty feet for the elevation of K above I. One in twelve is by no means a very steep ascent.

several crooked turnings and a steep descent with steps, find themselves at the South end of the court of the Church, where, as we have already seen, was once a cloister. From this point three steps more lead down to the court and into the Church. Thus it is evident that the gradual slope of the Northern street is compensated for in the Southern street by a rapid descent with many steps, which shews that something like the brow of a cliff is situated between Patriarch Street and the court of the Church, for Palmer Street (M G) from this court to St Stephen Street appears to be tolerably level, and so also is St Stephen Street from G to I, or at least their slope is a mere gentle inclination downwards towards the south-east. It follows from this, that the pavement of the Rotunda lies at about the same level as the Street of St Stephen, and that the point of Patriarch Street, which lies in contact with the Rotunda, cannot be less than from twenty to twenty-five feet above that pavement. I have already shewn that the western door of the Rotunda gave admission to the triforium of the Church; and it seems that in the original state of the ground this abrupt slope at L must have extended northwards, forming the rugged brow of a cliff, in which the cave of the Holy Sepulchre C and the catacomb D (of which the so-called tomb of Joseph and Nicodemus was a part) were excavated. The architects of Constantine must have cut away the rock on the south, west, and north sides of the Sepulchral cavern, leaving it standing in a manner analogous to that in which the tombs of Absalom and Zachariah were detached from the rock that lies behind them[1].

[1] Mr Fergusson, in a passage distinguished by his usual felicity of expression and good taste, informs us that "the out-and-out advocates for the

So far therefore from the cave having been originally formed in an isolated rock that stood up from the level land, as it is usually represented[2], the present state of the ground shews that this Sepulchre was excavated out of the face of the cliff like the common tombs of Jerusalem and elsewhere, described in the second section above; and that its conversion into an isolated monolith was the work of Constantine. And this explains very readily the concealment and preservation

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identity of the present Sepulchre insist that it is a cave in a rock, but that the rock has been cased with stone, inside and out; as however, according to all the plans I have had access to, Mr Williams' among others, the rock, with its casing, is in some places only two feet thick, and nowhere more than five, and the casing cannot be less than nine inches to a foot on each side, it would have been easier for the impious men to have removed it *in toto*, than to have covered it up: half-a-dozen men would have accomplished the job in a week," p. 88. The text, to which this passage is appended as a note, shews that by the "impious men" he means those mentioned by Eusebius, as having covered up the Cave to conceal it, and to afford a foundation for the Temple of Venus. Mr Fergusson can scarcely require to be informed that the advocates for the identity of the present Sepulchre necessarily suppose it to have been wrought, by Constantine's orders, into such a form externally as would enable it to receive the ornamental casing; as indeed S. Cyril implies in the passage quoted, amongst others, by Mr Williams, in the first edition of the Holy City, p. 295; and although it is quite true that by *this process* the thickness of rock and casing has been in some places brought down to less than three feet at the western corners of the chamber, it is equally clear that the state of it must have been very different when "the impious men" operated upon it two centuries before, in the time of Hadrian. Indeed, I have endeavoured to shew that it was only brought to its present form by a very laborious excavation. Mr. Fergusson's supposition of from nine inches to a foot for the thickness of the casing, would be true if it were an ashlaring of stone, but it is a lastrication of marble slabs, for which three or four inches is an ample allowance.

[2] Eusebius, in the Theophania, evidently describes the Cave as he saw it, after the operations of Constantine had taken place. "It is astonishing to see even this rock standing out erect and alone, in a level land, and having only one cavern within it." Book III. p. 199, of Lee's translation. If the above supposition be rejected, we must conclude that the Sepulchre of the Gospels was originally detached from the Rock, like those of Absalom and Zachariah; but the latter are evidently Pagan tombs, and not Jewish.

of it when the agents of Hadrian heaped earth upon it and erected a Temple of Venus thereon; an operation of no difficulty, since they had only to cover up an opening in front of the cliff[1].

But the rock of Calvary at E still stands up fifteen feet above the pavement, and it appears likely that in its original state this rock was part of a little swell of the ground that jutted out from the slope of Sepulchre Street, and probably always formed a somewhat abrupt brow on the West and South sides. This would afford a convenient spot for the place of public execution. For the south-western brow of the rock has just sufficient elevation to raise the wretched sufferers above the gazing crowd, that would naturally arrange itself below and upon the sloping ridge opposite (at M), which formed a kind of natural theatre with respect to the brow of Calvary.

The ground immediately to the West of St Stephen Street (G I) appears at present to have accumulated. In its original state I have supposed it to have sloped down gradually eastward from the brow of Calvary and the little isthmus, F E, which connected that hill with the main slope of Sepulchre Street. It must be remembered that the city wall, G I, formed the West boundary of St Stephen Street, according to the accounts of those who defend the authenticity of the present Holy Sepulchre, and with which I concur. The ground, however, between the Chapel of Helena (A) and this wall, is higher than St Stephen Street, and is bounded by an abrupt descent, described as a

[1] Fabri (p. 326) imagines that the opening of the outer cave of the Sepulchre looked to the south, which is not impossible, and not inconsistent with the view I have given above of the original state of the ground.

bank of earth (not of rock), which shews its South face behind a certain tannery in Palmer Street (at N), and its eastern face between the Chapel of Helena and the street, and upon this bank is erected the Coptic Convent, formerly the Convent of the Canons of the Sepulchre. The part of the street of St Stephen occupied by a deserted bazar, is arched over (from H to I), and the raised ground is so much higher than the street at this point, that the garden-surface is carried over these arches without interruption, so that this end of the street appears like a tunnel or excavation. But this accumulation is plainly the natural result of the form of the ground, which sloped downwards to the wall, and, occupied by buildings that have fallen into decay, would necessarily become heaped up in the corner, so as to admit of being levelled and formed into gardens[2].

X.

THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE.

Eusebius relates[3] that Constantine, being desirous to do honour to the place of our Lord's Resurrection, at Jerusalem, commanded an House of Prayer to be erected on that spot. For that certain impious persons

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[2] That this ground is an accumulation, is evident from Schultz's description of the ruined portal, (which I shall presently shew was the great porch of Constantine's Basilica,) for he tells us that the pillars are half-buried in the ground, and that the bank of earth upon which the Abyssinian monastery stands rises behind them.

[3] The work of Eusebius is so well known, that it is unnecessary for me to do more in this place than give such a mere abridgment of his narrative, as may serve to introduce the description of the Basilica, which I shall translate at length.

(acting, as other authorities inform us, under the orders of the Emperor Hadrian[1],) had formerly resolved to consign to oblivion that Salutary Cave, and had therefore with much labour brought thither a vast quantity of earth, with which they filled up and levelled the whole place, and having paved it with stone, they thus concealed the Holy Cave beneath this heap of materials. They proceeded, moreover, to erect thereon a temple of Venus, and offered there their sacrifices. But the Emperor Constantine commanded that not only the buildings and the statues should be taken down, but that their materials, and even the earth which had been heaped up there, should all be carried away to a great distance, because they had been defiled with the blood of the profane sacrifices. When this was done, it was discovered, contrary to all expectation, that the Sepulchral Cavern existed unharmed beneath. Then the Emperor ordered a magnificent House of Prayer to be erected round about the Salutary Cave, and wrote letters to the governors of the Eastern provinces to forward the work, and amongst others, a letter (A. D. 326) to Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem, which is given at length by Eusebius, in which he expresses his joy and gratitude and admiration that the Token of our Saviour's most Holy Passion, for so many years hid under the earth, should now so gloriously appear; and confessing this to be miraculous, he declares his firm determination that that Holy Place which he had disburthened of the vile idol, should be ornamented with magnificent structures[2].

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[1] Holy City, Vol. I. p. 240. Vol. II. p. 71.

[2] Writers who are interested in proving the authenticity of that wondrous relic which is known by the name of "the true Cross," endeavour to shew

He then exhorts the Bishop to provide all things necessary to enrich the beauty and excellence of this Basilica. He tells him that he has confided the substructures and decoration of the walls to Dracilianus, the deputy prefect, and to the president of the province, and has desired them to furnish workmen and artificers, and every thing that the Bishop may wish for, desiring moreover to be informed by him what columns and marbles may be requisite. And for the inner roof, which may be panelled, or otherwise ornamented, he suggests that if panelled, it should be gilt.

Eusebius in the next place presents us with a description of the buildings, which, like most written descriptions of architectural works, is exceedingly difficult to understand: for the writer was unacquainted with architecture, and hence great obscurity and want of precision prevails throughout. It can only be made tolerably intelligible, by a comparison with the site, and by considering the arrangement of other buildings of Constantine. I will first endeavour to translate the description, and then to explain it.

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that Eusebius meant to allude to it in this letter, by the phrase "the token of the Passion," (*τὸ γνώρισμα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους.*) But when this solitary sentence is compared with the entire narrative before and after this place, it must be concluded that, however ill-chosen the expression may appear, no other is meant by it than the Cave. For it is clear, throughout the previous narrative, that when the first design of erecting a Martyrium upon this spot was conceived, it was not supposed that the Cave itself had remained uninjured, and that the discovery of it was so unexpected that its preservation was deemed miraculous. The Emperor's letter is written in accordance with these feelings, and with the previous history; and in the description of the buildings which follows, the whole arrangement is made subservient to the Cave, and there is not a word or allusion to the Cross, or even to Calvary. I believe therefore that the "token of the Passion" in this place is the Cave, which, as the scene of the crowning event of the Passion, may well have been termed one of the witnesses to it, by a florid writer like Eusebius.

Book III. Of the Life of Constantine.

Ch. 34. *Of the Holy Sepulchre.*

First, the Emperor's magnificence decorated the Sacred Cave itself, as the head of the whole work, with choice columns and great decoration, and ornamented it in every possible manner.

Ch. 35. *Of the Court and Cloisters.*

He then proceeded to *set in order* an extensive space open to the sky, which he paved with polished stones, and enclosed on three sides with long cloisters[1].

Ch. 36. *Of the Walls and Roof of the Basilica, and of the ornaments and gilding.*

On that side of the court which was situated opposite to the Cave, and towards the rising sun, was placed the Basilica[2]: an admirable work, raised to a mighty elevation, and extensive in length and breadth. Its interior was lined with many-coloured marbles, and the outer surface of its walls decorated with polished and closely-jointed masonry, as handsome as marble itself. The roof with its chambers was covered with lead, to protect it from the winter rains. The inner roof was decorated with sculptured panels, and extended like a vast sea over the whole Basilica; and being gilt with the purest gold, caused the entire building to shine as if with rays of light.

Ch. 37. *Of the Double Aisles on each side and of the three Eastern Doors.*

Moreover on either side, double piers of double porticoes[3], above and below ground, extended the full length of the temple, and their ceilings were gilt. Of these porticoes, those in front were sustained by enormous columns; those within, by square pilas-

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[1] μακροῖς περιδρόμοις στοῶν: the Greek *stoa*, and the Latin *porticus*, appear to be best rendered in English by the word cloister. περίδρομος, a construction that admits of free passage round about a building, is introduced here to shew that the stoa or cloisters on the three sides were placed in continuous connexion with each other.

[2] ὁ βασίλειος νεώς.

[3] διττῶν στοῶν ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων δίδυμοι παραστάδες.

ters or pedestals richly ornamented[4]. Three doors turned towards the rising sun admitted the entering crowd.

Ch. 38. *Of the Apse, and the twelve columns with capitals.*

Opposite to these doors was the apse[5], the head of the whole work, raised to the very roof of the Basilica. It was surrounded by twelve columns, the number of the Apostles; and they were ornamented with large silver capitals, which the Emperor dedicated to God as a beautiful gift.

Ch. 39. *Of the Atrium, the Exedræ, and the Portals.*

Hence, going forward to the entrances which were before the temple, he interposed an open space, *namely, between the Basilica and the portals:* there were also recessed chambers (exedræ) on each side, the first or entrance-court, which had cloisters attached to it, and lastly the gates of the court[6]. Beyond them, in the

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[4] ὧν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ οἴκου, κίοσι παμμεγέθεσιν ἐπηρείδοντο· αἱ δ' εἴσω τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὸ πεσσοῖς ἀνηγείροντο, πολὺν τὸν ἔξωθεν περιβεβλημένοις κόσμον.

[5] ἡμισφαίριον.

[6] Ἔκφρασις μεσαυλείου καὶ ἐξεδρῶν καὶ προπύλων. Ἔνθεν δὲ προϊόντων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ νεὼ κειμένας εἰσόδους, αἴθριον διελάμβανεν. ἦσαν δ' ἐνταυθοῖ παρ' ἑκάτερα, καὶ αὐλὴ πρώτη, στοαί τ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ αὔλειοι πύλαι. This Chapter is the most obscure of the whole. Taken literally, as it stands in the Greek, it would place on each side of the Basilica an atrium with its cloisters and vestibules, which is not likely; and is, besides, contradicted by the title of the Chapter, which gives us the atrium in the singular number. Valesius conjectures that the παρ' ἑκάτερα should be transposed to the cloisters; στοαί τ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ παρ' ἑκάτερα. It appears to me not impossible that we should read ἦσαν δ' ἔξεδραι παρ' ἑκάτερα for ἦσαν δ' ἐνταυθοῖ παρ' ἑκάτερα; for the *exedræ* are mentioned in the title, but not in the Chapter itself; and the words ἔξεδραι and ἐνταυθοῖ resemble each other sufficiently, especially when written in capitals, to be mistaken for each other. In the basilica at Tyre there were similarly *exedræ* and chambers on either side of the basilica, and connected with the front door,.....ἐξέδρας καὶ οἴκους τοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα μεγίστους ἐπισκευάζων εὐτέχνως, ἐπὶ ταυτὸν εἰς πλευρὰ τῷ βασιλείῳ συνεζευγμένους, καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον οἶκον εἰσβολαῖς ἡνωμένους. (Eus. Eccl. Hist. lib. x. c. 4.) The *exedra* of the ancients appears to have been a recess or chamber, partly open, and provided with seats, often appended to a *porticus*; like the apses at the west end of Fig. 2. I have not attempted to delineate the *exedræ* of the entrance-court.

very middle of the wide market-place, stood the propylæa or vestibules of the whole work, which being decorated in the most imposing manner, afforded to those who were passing a promise of the wonders within.....This temple did the Emperor construct as a Martyrium of the Saving Resurrection, &c.

In the above description, after the Holy Sepulchre itself, we are introduced to a paved court, surrounded with porticoes, or cloisters on three of its sides, and having the Basilica on its fourth or eastern side. We are told that this side was opposite to the cave, by which, of course, is meant the entrance to the cave; for the history of the different states of the Holy Sepulchre in Section III. above, has shewn that it was an isolated edicula having its entrance to the East, and hence it must be inferred that the court here described surrounded the cave of the Sepulchre, and that the cloisters were opposite the sides and back of the monument, but that the Basilica occupied that side of the court which faced the entrance. I think it most probable that the cloisters were semicircular towards the West, following the present outline of the outer walls; for the excavation and levelling at this end seems to indicate such a form, and the outer wall of Constantine's cloister would be so far protected by the rock behind it, that it would probably escape obliteration. The rock shews at least that the court could not have extended farther West than the present building. In my restoration of the plan of the Basilica, (Fig. 2, Plate 1), I have delineated the cloistered court in this manner; and the positions of the North and South apses, which lie wholly to the west of the centre of the Rotunda, and opposite to the Sepulchre, seem to indicate that they were framed with reference to the semicircular form, and not to the circular form,

which the Rotunda of after ages assumed. Thus it is not impossible that these apses were also parts of Constantine's cloister, for such semicircular recesses (or *exedræ*) are of frequent occurrence in Roman buildings[1]. But the restored plan which I have ventured to give must be considered as a mere diagram, shewing one out of many possible arrangements that may be conceived in coincidence with the description of Eusebius, which is far too loose, imperfect, and untechnical, to admit of certain interpretation into the accurate language of descriptive geometry. It may fairly be doubted, for example, whether the plural employed for the cloisters that surround the three sides of the court in question, is meant only for the three cloisters, one on each side, or is intended to convey the description of a double cloister on each side.

We now come to the Basilica; and to understand this it must be compared with those buildings of Constantine, the plan of which is better known to us. The whole of this Emperor's architectural works have been carefully collected and described by Ciampini[2]. The plans of his churches are of two kinds; the larger ones appear to have been in the form of a parallelogram with side aisles, as the Lateran, Vatican, and St Paul at Rome. Others were of a circular or polygonal form, but were intended either for baptisteries or mausolea; as the Baptistery of Constantine, and the Mausolea of his daughter Constantia, and his mother Helena, all at Rome.

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[1] In the baths and temples at Rome, temples at Baiæ, Baalbec, Palmyra, palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, &c.

[2] J. Ciampini, de sacris Ædificiis a Constantino Magno constructis. (Romæ, 1693.)

At Constantinople he erected many which have disappeared; but it is remarkable that several of these are designated by the Byzantine historians as of a *dromical* form, a word singularly descriptive of a church with a rectangular body and an apse at the extremity; for the ancient *dromos*, or circus, was a parallelogram, square at one end, and circular at the other. St Sophia at Constantinople was, in its first state as Constantine built it, *dromical*, and so also were his churches of St Dynamis and St Agathonicus, in the same city. The great Church of the Apostles which he built for his burial-place was also *dromical*, and its sides were *cruciform*[1]. The church which he built at Antioch was octagonal.

There is nothing in the description of the Basilica, or House of Prayer, at the Holy Sepulchre, that would lead us to suppose its form to have been different from the parallelogram which I have just shewn to be the usual plan which the Emperor followed. It had double side-aisles, which we are told were partly above and partly below the ground. The survey of the original form of the ground, however, completely explains this phrase by shewing that to the present day the rock rises fifteen feet on the southern side of the site, and is exhibited on all sides, proving that the floor of the church must have been artificially sunk so much below the general surface, as to justify the expressions of our Author.

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[1] M. Couchaud, in his treatise on the Eglises Byzantines de la Grèce, has fallen into the singular mistake of asserting that Eusebius tells us all Constantine's churches were erected on an octagonal or circular plan, and covered with a dome, (p. 2.) It is true that Eusebius tells us the church of Antioch was octagonal, (Lib. III. c. 50,) but that is the only one so described by him. The church of Paulinus at Tyre was a basilica, of the ordinary dromical form, with its entrance at the east end, as appears from the description given by Eusebius in the tenth book of his Ecclesiastical History.

The words which he uses, in telling us that the colonnades in front had great columns, and those within had square pedestals, have led some to suppose that the first sort were placed in front of the building *outside*, and the others inside. But I believe his meaning to be, that the columns occupied the front ranks within, and that there were smaller pillars on pedestals behind, separating the two side-aisles from each other. This was exactly the case with the ancient Basilica of St Peter at Rome, and I have accordingly so represented our Basilica in the restored Plan. No allusion is made to a transept by Eusebius, who merely tells us that the doors were at the east end of the church, and opposite to them, the apse. In placing a transept in my Plan I have therefore taken a gratuitous liberty, but have nevertheless followed strictly the precedent afforded me in the plans of the Roman basilicas of the Emperor; and I have done so because the arrangement of the ground with reference to the form of Calvary appeared to indicate a transept, of which more below. To turn the doors of a church to the east, and the apse to the west, although contrary to the subsequent practice of Christendom, was the more usual in the time of Constantine; St Peter's itself being so turned, and most others of that age. The obscurest part of the whole description is in the last chapter, which contains a huddled list of the architectural members about the entrance-court, which, after all, was probably nothing more than the usual cloistered court which I have shewn in the Plan[2].

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[2] Fortunately there is no ambiguity in the conclusion of the Chapter, which tells us that the propylæum opened upon the market-place; a most valuable in-

The Portal, or general entrance to the "Martyrium of the Resurrection," as the whole group of buildings is termed by Eusebius, opened upon the market-place. Now the street which at present forms the eastern boundary, is occupied by deserted bazars, and the place, no doubt, has thus been devoted to merchandise from the time of Constantine. But at the very point where, in accordance with the explanation I have given above, the propylæum ought to be situated, there still exist the ruins of columns, which, as M. Schultz says, indicate the former presence of a Roman portal, of the original use of which however he does not appear to be aware. "If we pass through the deserted bazar," (at HL Fig. 1,) says he, (p. 60), "and beyond the southern end of it, we find three mutilated columns, which still remain erect, and project above the surface. A broken shaft of similar work lies on the ground. Behind the southernmost column, if we enter the neighbouring shops, we see in the one the lower part of a pilaster, and in the other the remains of a wall in the massive style of antiquity. These separate fragments correspond with each other, and suggest the conclusion that a great[1] portal stood here."

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dication of the position of the Church, which completely oversets the opinions lately advanced by Mr Fergusson. This gentleman imagines the golden gate in the eastern wall of the Temple area is no other than the propylæum in question, completely overlooking or neglecting this passage of Eusebius, which would compel him to fix the market-place in the Valley of Jehoshaphat; a location which, I need scarcely add, is ludicrously impossible.

[1] In Fig. 2. I have determined the probable dimensions of the basilica from comparison with those of the church at Bethlehem. This church was erected over the supposed place of the Nativity, at the same time as the Basilica of the Resurrection, and the Church of the Ascension. The Church of Bethlehem remains to this day, with its nave in plan so exactly corresponding to the age of Constantine, that we may be sure that it cannot have suffered essential altera-

In the Eusebian description just quoted, there is not only no allusion to the Cross discovered by Helena, but no mention of Golgotha or Calvary. The unity of purpose in the Martyrium which pervades his whole narrative is very remarkable. From the announcement of the Emperor's first intention to the full completion of the edifice, the one only object is to do honour and reverence to the Sepulchral Cave, and to that alone.

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tion. Its transepts indeed appear too complex in plan for that period, and more resemble the works of Justinian, to whom the rebuilding of the Church is assigned by Eutychius. But, for an elaborate description of its history, I must refer my readers to the papers on the churches of Palestine in the Ecclesiologist of March and April, 1847, by the Author of the Holy City. A very good plan of the Church is given by Bernardino, but the usual difficulty of ascertaining the exact scale of measurement which he made use of, greatly diminishes its value. Fortunately the kindness of Charles Barry, Esq. has enabled me to present my readers with the English dimensions of the Church, which he measured and planned with his own hands. His plan agrees with Bernardino's. The interior dimensions are as follow :—

Measured East and West.

	ft.	in.
Width of narthex	19	9
Length of nave within walls	97	6
Width of transept, including thickness of west wall	33	7
Length of eastern limb of the Cross, exclusive of apse	30	7
Radius of apse	14	0
Total length from apse wall to western door	175	8

Measurements from North to South.

	ft.	in.
Length of narthex	50	2
Width of nave, central aisle	31	9
Total width of nave, including side-aisles	86	7
Total length of transept, from northern apse to southern apse inclusive	117	7

The nave has double side-aisles, and ten piers in the length, forming a colonnade of eleven intercolumns. The columns are of the Corinthian order: the height of their shafts about sixteen feet three inches, of the capitals one foot ten inches, of the architrave over them one foot three inches ; the diameter of the column is two feet one inch and a quarter ; and the height of the base and plinth thirteen inches and a quarter ; the plinth is two feet eleven inches square.

I found that the site of the present Church of the Sepulchre would admit a nave with double side-aisles of the same dimensions as that of Bethlehem, within a foot or two of the width, and accordingly I have so drawn it. It is evident that the side walls are limited on the south by the Rock of Calvary, and on the north apparently by the rock in which the "prison" is excavated ; also that the centre line of the

And the plan admirably provides for that purpose by furnishing a house of prayer close to it, and by enclosing the sacred spot itself in a court beyond the altar of the basilica.

The question that arises is, whether Calvary was altogether excluded and neglected, or whether it included itself, as a matter of course, from its known and scriptural proximity to the Holy Sepulchre. The only writer contemporary with Eusebius is the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and his visit to Jerusalem (A. D. 333) was made while the building was in progress, for it was begun in the year 326 and dedicated in 335. He says "that on the left hand is the little hill of Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified, and about a stone's throw from it the crypt wherein his body was laid, and whence on the third day he arose. There, at present, by command of the Emperor Constantine, a basilica is made, that is, a church of marvellous beauty, having at the side reservoirs whence water is drawn, and a bath behind where children are washed[1]."

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entire building may be assumed to have passed through the Sepulchral Cavern, which was its main feature. The walls of the present choir, however, are not exactly directed eastwards; but the wall of the ancient corridor on the north appears, from Mr Scoles's plan, not to be parallel to the others, and to be nearer to a true easterly direction. I have inclined the axis of Constantine's Basilica so as to place it parallel to this line, and pass through the Portal in St Stephen Street. But my information on these relative positions is necessarily imperfect; and I hope that I may have succeeded in directing sufficient attention to these points to induce some future visitants to Jerusalem to examine them.

[1] "A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est crypta, ubi corpus ejus positum fuit et tertia die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini imperatoris basilica facta est; id est, Dominicum miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria unde aqua levatur, et balneum à tergo, ubi infantes lavantur." (Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum, Vetera Romanorum Itineraria, Wesseling. Amst. 1735.)

We have here a cotemporary witness to the recognition of Golgotha, but no mention of the exact place or hole in which the Cross was planted[2].

St Cyril, also, who was ordained at Jerusalem by Macarius about 335, and became Bishop of Jerusalem in 350, has made in his lectures many allusions to the Golgotha, which are the more interesting because the lectures were delivered in the very Church we are considering, and contain repeated appeals to the places which surrounded the preacher and his congregation, as, for example, to "this holy Golgotha, rising on high and showing itself to this day, displaying even yet how because of Christ the rocks were then riven, the neighbouring sepulchre, where he was laid, and the stone which was laid on the door, which lies to this day by the tomb[3]." Other passages will be found in the note.

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[2] Eusebius, in the Laudatory Oration for Constantine (c. 9), says that he, "at the place of the Lord's Martyrium, decorated with all kinds of magnificence a mighty house of prayer, and a sacred temple in honour of the Holy Cross; and he ornamented the monument of the Saviour with decorations that are indescribable." This seems to refer to a Chapel of the Crucifixion, in addition to the other buildings. We have no reason to suppose that Constantine intended to shew the same reverence for the site of the Crucifixion as for the Sepulchre.

[3] "The cleft (or entrance?) which was at the door of the Salutary Sepulchre...was hewn out of the rock itself, as it is customary here in the front of sepulchres. For now it appears not the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; for before the sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal there was a cave in the face of the rock." (Cyril, Lect. XIV. 9.)

"This blessed Golgotha in which... we are now assembled." (IV. 10.)

"He who was crucified in this Golgotha." (IV. 14.)

"The Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost descended on the Apostles... here in Jerusalem in the upper Church of the Apostles.....And in truth it were most fitting that as we discourse concerning Christ and Golgotha upon this Golgotha, so also we should speak concerning the Holy Ghost in the upper Church." (XVI. 4.)

"Though I should deny (the Crucifixion), this Golgotha confutes me near which we are now assembled; the wood of the Cross confutes me which has from hence been distributed piecemeal to all the world." (XIII. 4.)

It is pretty clear from these expressions that if the exact seat of the Cross had not been fixed upon at this time, at least the site of Golgotha was supposed to be known, and apparently the rock rose up within the Church. It was in accordance with this hypothesis that I have ventured to introduce the transept and its southern chapel into the plan as one way in which this rock might have been displayed. The chapels, separated by a colonnade from the extremities of the transept, however, I have imitated from Constantine's

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"For though it (the Sepulchre) be now adorned, and that most excellently, with royal gifts, yet it was before a garden, and the token and traces thereof remain." (XIV. 5.)

"The diligent chanters of the Church who imitate the angel-hosts, and continually sing praises to God, who are thought worthy to chant psalms in this Golgotha." (XIII. 26.)

"Wherefore is this place of Golgotha and of the Resurrection not called, like the other churches, a Church, but a Testimony? It was, perhaps, because of the Prophet, who had said (Zeph. iii. 8.) *On the day of my Resurrection at the testimony.*" (XIV. 6.)

"The soldiers then surrendered the truth for silver, but the kings of this day have in their piety built this holy Church of the Resurrection of God our Saviour, inlaid with silver, and embossed with gold, in which we are assembled." (XIV. 14, 22, 23.)

"And after the holy and salutary day of Easter.....ye shall come all the days of the following week after the assembly into the holy place of the Resurrection, and there ye shall hear other lectures." (XVIII. 33.)

This seems to shew, (according to Mr. Newman, from whose translation of the Catechetical Lectures I have selected the above passages,) that St. Cyril delivered his last five Lectures in the *Anastasis* or Church upon the site of the Holy Sepulchre; and Mr. Newman adds that St. Cyril delivered his first eighteen Lectures in the Basilica of Constantine or Church of the Holy Cross, (Euseb. Laud. c. 9) called also the *Martyrium* or Testimony, as being built close upon and in memory of our Lord's passion.

He has overlooked the passage which I have quoted immediately before this last, which proves that the fourteenth lecture was delivered in the *Anastasis*. There is therefore no reason to suppose that the last lectures were delivered in a different place from the first. According to my interpretation of the Eusebian descriptions there was no *church* upon the site of the Sepulchre, excepting the *edicula* of the Sepulchre which stood in the midst of an open court. Moreover, Eusebius winds up his account of the building by calling it "the *Martyrium of the Resurrection*," (L. 3. c. XL;) a name which appears to have been given to the whole building.

Basilica of St Peter at Rome, and have, therefore, cotemporary similarity to support them. It is not impossible that a representation of the Cross planted upon this Golgotha may have given rise to the improbable supposition of later ages, that the actual foot-hole of the Cross was known and preserved; for the first mention of this hole occurs so late as the seventh century, in the work of Arculfus, and he only tells us that a great silver Cross was planted on the very spot where the original Cross once stood at the Crucifixion.

The reservoirs of water mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, may be traced in several places. Some of them have already occurred to us. That called the Well of Helena, at the north-western corner, still supplies the inhabitants of the Church. The so-called "Prison" and the place of the "Invention of the Cross," are each described as resembling ancient cisterns; and, lastly, there is actually an enormous reservoir (at Z Fig. 3,) still in existence close to the north side of the Portal of Constantine in the street of St Stephen, which now bears the name of the Treasury of Helena, and which Schultz (p. 61) declares to be the most ancient and remarkable cistern which he had seen in Jerusalem. Mr. Williams informs me that he conjectures the dimensions to be at least sixty by thirty feet; but being full of water, and only to be viewed by torchlight from a platform on one side, it is very difficult to measure or even estimate its magnitude. It must be nearly upon a level with the excavation that is now occupied by the Chapel of St Helena.

This chapel in my plan of the Basilica falls partly within and partly without, as if a crypt had once stood on its site, so contrived as to be accessible from within

the nave, and when once entered, to afford a passage under the atrium to the cavern where the Cross was discovered. The greater part of the sides of the chapel are certainly of rock, but I think it likely that an examination of the contiguous buildings on the north and east sides would show that similar excavations were originally extended in those directions, so as to connect this crypt with the cistern called the "Treasury of Helena."

There is no evidence to prove whether or no the cavern, at present shewn as the place of the Invention of the Cross, was the same in which that remarkable transaction took place. The historical evidence of the finding of the so-called three Crosses and Nails in the presence of St Helena and of Macarius, is so strong that it is impossible to doubt it. But it appears to me equally impossible to believe for an instant the genuineness of these relics, which, after all, were probably pieces of timber and iron-work belonging to foundations of some former structure, which, having been accidentally turned up in the course of the excavations, were promoted by the excited imagination of Helena to the high office which they immediately assumed. From the silence of Eusebius we may infer that he disbelieved their authenticity. However, they exercised so remarkable an influence upon the world, and especially upon church architecture, that their history is by no means to be lightly dismissed; for they were at once accepted by the Christian world as genuine, and venerated accordingly, to a degree which it is very difficult to believe or understand in our present state of feeling upon these subjects.

XI.

THE BUILDINGS OF THE SECOND PERIOD, FROM A.D. 614 TO A.D. 1010.

The Martyrium of Constantine, described in the last chapter, was utterly ruined by the Persians in the year 614: the buildings were set fire to, and studiously demolished; and we shall find reason to believe that, in the re-building, the original plan was considerably altered: partly from the want of funds, and partly from the changes which had taken place in the forms and arrangements of churches, and from the additional *Holy Places* which had accumulated round about the Sepulchre by the growing traditions of the spot. At all events, the description of the Martyrium by Eusebius is exceedingly different from the description of the buildings on the spot during the second period. The history of this period[1] informs us that the credit of the restoration is principally due to Modestus, the Superior of the Monastery of Theodosius, who, as Eutychius in the tenth century, relates, "came to Jerusalem and constructed the Churches of the Resurrection, of the Sepulchre, of the Calvary, and of St Constantine, as they now exist[2]." The buildings on this spot had now, therefore, acquired the character of a group of three distinct churches, (the Sepulchre being included within the Church of the Resurrection); and these churches were not architecturally connected or symmetrically disposed, whereas, in the original Martyrium of Constantine, as I have shewn, the entire site was occupied by a symmetrical mass of building.

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[1] Holy City, Vol. I. pp. 303, 4.

[2] Eutychii Annales, Tom. II. p. 219.

The best and most satisfactory account of the plan of the Churches at this period is in the work of Adamnanus[1], which contains a most minute description, leaving scarcely anything to desire; and which, in its abbreviated form by Bede, was so entirely accepted during the early part of the middle ages, that the pilgrims commonly refer to it as an apology for not extending their own accounts. This description, however, was extracted by the diligent cross-questioning of Adamnanus, Abbot of Columba in Iona, from Arculfus the Pilgrim, who paid him a visit, and it was by the Abbot written down in the form in which it was presented to the world; he also induced Arculfus to draw him a rough plan of the churches upon a waxen tablet[2].

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[1] Our principal authorities for the state of the buildings during this period are the above-cited Arculfus, (circa, A. D. 697,) Willibaldus, Bishop of Aicstadt, who was born at Southampton in the year 700, and made his pilgrimage in 765, the Pilgrim-monk Bernardus, A. D. 870; and Eutychius of Alexandria, who died in the year 940. The absurdly credulous Itinerary of Antoninus Placentinus appears to belong to the beginning of this period; but it is quite enough to say of this writer, that even the editors of the Acta Sanctorum are ashamed of the fables it contains, to which they apply the term "anile."

[2] This plan is wanting in the greater number of the manuscripts both of Adamnanus and of the abridgement by Bede. In fact, I believe the copy of it which is to be found in Mabillon, (Acta Sanctorum, Ord. S. Ben^{i}. Sæc. 3. Part II. p. 504) Adamnanus, and also in Quaresmius, is derived from Gretser's edition of Adamnanus, and he tells us that he took it from a Belgian manuscript. Gretser's text has been corrected by Mabillon from other and better manuscripts; but his copy of the diagram differs only from Gretser's in being more neatly drawn and with some differences of proportion; while Gretser's has much more the air of a fac-simile of the original. This original has probably suffered much distortion, from being the result of a series of copies from one manuscript to another; but it has a singular resemblance to the actual site when due allowance is made for the rough method of drawing, and the total want of scale. This Plan has been published so often, that I have not thought it worth while to reproduce it. Copies of it are engraved in the following works :—Quar-

I shall now proceed to extract and translate from the tract of Adamnanus all that belongs to the churches on this site, omitting only his description of the Sepulchre itself, which I have already given in a previous section.

"*Of the Church of the Sepulchre of the Lord.*

"Concerning these things we diligently interrogated the holy Arculfus, and especially about the Sepulchre of the Lord, and the Church constructed above it, of which he delineated the form for me upon a waxen tablet. This great Church, all of stone, of wondrous rotundity on all sides, arising from its foundation in three walls, has a broad passage between each wall and the next. In three ingeniously constructed places of the middle wall three altars are disposed, one looking to the South, another to the North, and the third towards the West; and this round and lofty Church is sustained by twelve columns of wondrous magnitude, and it has eight doors or entrances formed by three walls erected in the intermediate spaces between the passages. Of these, four are turned to the South-East, and the other four to the North-East." Here follows the description of the Sepulchre already given in Section VII. above. And he then proceeds to say that there are "some things to be said concerning the buildings of the other sacred places."

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terly Review, March, 1845, p. 355. Fergusson's Jerusalem, p. 149. Quaresmius, T. II. p. 585. Acta Sanctorum, Ord^{s}. S. Ben^{i}. Sæc. III. p. 505. Gretseri Op. Ratis. 1734. T. IV. p. 256. Lastly, Dr. Giles has given one which differs from this, in his edition of Bede, Vol. VI. p. 439. He found it in a manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 2321.

" *Of the Church of St Mary.*

The quadrangular Church of Holy Mary, the Mother of the Lord, is joined on the right side to that round Church described above, and which is called Anastasis or Resurrection, because it is constructed on the place of the Lord's Resurrection.

" *Of the Church of Calvary.*

" Another Church, of great magnitude (N)[1], is constructed towards the East in that place which is called Golgotha. In its upper parts there hangs by ropes a certain brazen *rota* with lamps, beneath which a great silver cross is infixed in the very same place where formerly the wooden cross, on which the Saviour of mankind suffered, was fixed and stood.

" *Note.*

" In the same Church there is a cave cut out of the rock beneath the place of the Lord's Cross, where the sacrifice is offered upon an altar for the souls of certain honoured persons, whose bodies meanwhile, lying in the street, are placed before the door (*f*) of the said Golgothan Church, until the holy mysteries for the defunct are finished.

" *Of the Basilica of Constantine.*

" To this Church, constructed on a quadrangular plan in the place of Calvary, there adjoins on the Eastern side that neighbouring stone Basilica (W), erected with great magnificence by the royal Constantine, called also the Martyrium, which was located, as they say, in the place where the cross of our Lord, with the other two crosses

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[1] This and the following letters of reference belong to Fig. 3, Plate 1.

of the thieves, concealed under the earth, was found by the gift of the Lord, after two hundred and thirty-three years. Between these two Churches occurs that famous place (*g*) where Abraham the Patriarch erected an altar for the sacrifice of Isaac.....where now there stands a small wooden table upon which people offer alms for the poor ..... Between the 'Anastasis,' that is, the above-described Church, and the Basilica of Constantine is a small court (S) extending as far as the Golgothan Church, in which court lamps are kept constantly burning day and night.

"*Of the other Exedra in the Church of Calvary.*

"Between the Golgothan Church and the Martyrium is a certain 'Exedra,' or apse (P), in which is the Cup." This Arculfus goes on to describe as the Cup of the Last Supper, and also to state that he saw the "sponge" and the "lance[2]."

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[2] I subjoin the original text of Adamnanus from Mabillon (Acta Sanctorum, Sæc. III. p. 2, 504), which he derived from the Vatican and Corbeian Manuscripts and from Gretser's edition which is published in his Works. Ratisbon, 1734. T. IV. p. 254.

"*De Ecclesia Sepulcri Domini.*

"De quibus diligentiùs interrogavimus sanctum Arculfum, præcipuè de Sepulchro Domini, et Ecclesia super illud constructa, cujus mihi formam in tabula cerata ipse depinxit. Quæ utique grandis Ecclesia tota lapidea, mira rotunditate ex omni parte collocata à fundamentis in tribus consurgens parietibus, inter unumquemque parietem et alterum, latum habens spatium viæ; tria quoque altaria in tribus locis parietis medii artificè fabricatis. Hanc rotundam et summam Ecclesiam suprà memorata habentem altaria, unum ad Meridiem respiciens, alterum ad Aquilonem, tertium versus Occasum, duodecim miræ magnitudinis lapideæ sustentant columnæ. Hæc bis quaternales portas habet, hoc est, introitus, per tres è regione interjectis viarum spatiis stabilitos parietes: ex quibus quatuor exitus ad Vulturnum spectant, qui et Calcius dicitur ventus; alii vero quatuor ad Eurum respiciunt."..... *Here follows the description of the "Tegurium" and Holy Sepulchre already given above in Section* VII.

Thus we have a group of four churches, (1) the Anastasis; (2) the Church or Chapel of St Mary; (3) the Golgothan Church; and (4) the Basilica of Constantine. But the Church of St Mary appears to have been small and insignificant, for it is mentioned with no epithet of praise, either for magnificence or mag-

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"*Nota**.

"In eadem verò Ecclesia quædam in petra habetur excisa spelunca, infrà locum Dominicæ Crucis, ubi super altare pro quorundam honoratorum animabus sacrificium offertur, quorum corpora interim in platea jacentia, ponuntur ante januam ejusdem Golgothanæ Ecclesiæ, usque quo finiantur illa pro ipsis defunctis sacrosancta mysteria. Has itaque quaternalium figuras Ecclesiarum, juxta exemplar, quod mihi ut superius dictum est, S. Arculphus in paginula figuravit cerata, depinximus, non quod possit eorum similitudo formari in pictura, sed ut Dominicum monumentum tali, licèt vili figuratione; in medietate rotundæ Ecclesiæ constitutum monstretur et quæ huic propior Ecclesia vel quæ eminus est posita declaretur.

"*De Ecclesia B. Mariæ.*

"Cæterum de sanctorum structuris locorum pauca addenda sunt aliqua. Illi rotundæ Ecclesiæ suprà sæpius memoratæ, quæ et *Anastasis*, hoc est, Resurrectio vocitatur, eò quòd in loco Dominicæ Resurrectionis fabricata est; à dextra cohæret parte sanctæ Mariæ Matris Domini quadrangulata Ecclesia.

"*De Ecclesia Calvariæ.*

"Alia verò prægrandis Ecclesia Orientem versùs in illo fabricata est loco, qui Hebraicè Golgotha vocitatur, cujus in superioribus grandis quædam ærea cum lampadibus rota in funibus pendet, infra† quam magna argentea crux infixa statuta est eodem in loco ubi quondam lignea crux, in qua passus est humani generis Salvator, infixa stetit.

"*De Basilica Constantini.*

"Huic Ecclesiæ in loco Calvariæ quadrangulata fabricatæ structura, lapidea illa vicina Orientali in parte cohæret Basilica, magno cultu, a Rege Constantino constructa, quæ et Martyrium appellatur; in eo, ut fertur, fabricata loco, ubi Crux Domini, cum aliis latronum binis crucibus sub terra abscondita, post ducentorum triginta trium cyclos annorum, ipso Domino donante, reperta est.

"Inter has itaque duales Ecclesias ille famosus occurrit locus, in quo Abraham Patriarcha altare composuit, super

* The "*Nota*" is evidently intended to follow the chapter "*De Ecclesia Calvariæ*," or the conclusion of the whole description, and I have accordingly transposed it in the translation.

† This concluding sentence, "infra...stetit," is in Gretser's copy placed at the end of the preceding article, and thus applied to the Church of St. Mary. I follow Mabillon's text, which also agrees with Bede's abridgement.

nitude as the others are[1]. It is not alluded to by Antoninus Placentinus, or by Eutychius, who only speaks of three Churches whenever he has occasion to refer to this group: namely, the Resurrection, the Calvary, and St Constantine[2].

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illud imponens lignorum struem; et, ut Isaac immolaret filium suum, evaginatum arripuit gladium; ubi nunc mensa habetur lignea non parva, super quam pauperum eleemosynæ à populo offeruntur.....Inter Anastasim, hoc est, Ecclesiam suprà memoratam et Basilicam Constantini quædam patet plateola, usque ad Ecclesiam Golgothanam, in qua plateola die ac nocte semper lampades ardent.

"*De alia Exedra in Ecclesia Calvariæ.*

"Inter illam quoque Golgothanam Ecclesiam et Martyrium quædam inest Exedra in qua est calix Domini, quem à se benedictum propria manu in cœna pridie quàm pateretur, ipse conviva Apostolis tradidit convivantibus. Qui argenteus calix sextarii Gallici mensuram habet duasque ansulas in se ex utraque parte altrinsecus continet compositas. In quo utique calice inest spongia, quam aceto plenam hyssopo circumponentes Dominum crucifigentes obtulerunt ori ejus. De hoc eodem calice, ut fertur, Dominus post Resurrectionem cum Apostolis convivans bibit. Quem S. Arculfus vidit, et illius scrinioli ubi reconditus habetur operculi foramen pertusi manu tetigit propria osculatus.....

"*De lancea militis.*

"Et illam conspexit lanceam militis, quâ lancea latus Domini in Cruce pendentis ipse percusserat. Hæc eadem lancea, in porticu illius Constantini Basilicæ inserta habetur in cruce lignea cujus hastile in duas intercisum est partes.

[1] It seems to be the same which Sæwulf afterwards placed over the stone of Unction, and which W. of Tyre mentions as a small oratory. If so, it may have been at M in the plan. Or perhaps it was nearer to the campanile, as the stone would be considered as a moveable relic.

[2] Eutychii Ann. pp. 212, 219, 243. The earliest testimony of this period of the buildings is given by Antiochus the monk, who lived about 630, in the time of Heraclius. Describing the buildings of Modestus, he mentions *three* churches in this spot. "Modestus....templa Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, quæ quidem barbarico igne conflagrarunt, in sublime erigit omni prorsus digna veneratione, puta *ædes sanctæ Calvariæ ac sanctæ Resurrectionis; domum insuper dignam omni honore venerandæ Crucis*, quæ mater Ecclesiarum est." Ant. Mon. Epist. ad Eustachium Mag. Bib. Patr. Par. 1644. Tom. xii. p. 10.

Willibaldus, A.D. 765:—"venit ad Hierusalem in illum locum ubi inventa fuerat S[a] Crux Domini. Ibi nunc est Ecclesia in illo loco qui dicitur Calvariæ locus, et hæc fuit prius extra Hierusalem. Sed beata Helena quando invenit, collocavit illum locum intus intra Hierusalem. Et ibi stant tres

Bernardus describes the group as of "four churches connected together by walls, that is to say, one to the East which has Mount Calvary; and (*one in*) the place in which the Cross of the Lord was found, which is called the Basilica of Constantine; another to the South, and a *fourth* to the West, in the middle of which is the Sepulchre of the Lord."....." Between these four Churches is a *Paradise* without a roof, the walls of which shine with gold, and the pavement with precious marble. In the midst of it is an enclosure of four chains, which proceed from the aforesaid four Churches, and in it is said to be the center of the world[1]." This enumeration of four churches agrees with that of Arculfus, if we

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cruces ligneæ foris in Orientali plaga Ecclesiæ secus parietem, ad memoriam sanctæ Crucis Dominicæ et aliorum qui cum eo crucifixi erant.

"Illæ non sunt intus in Ecclesia, sed foris stant sub tecto extra Ecclesiam. Et ibi secus est ille hortus, in quo fuit Sepulchrum Salvatoris." Acta Sanctorum, Ord. S. Ben., Sæc. 3.

[1] "Intra hanc civitatem (Hierusalem,) exceptis aliis ecclesiis, quatuor eminent ecclesiæ, mutuis sibimet parietibus cohærentes: una videlicet ad Orientem quæ habet montem Calvariæ, et locum in quo reperta fuit Crux Domini et vocatur Basilica Constantini; alia ad Meridiem, *tertia** ad Occidentem, in cujus medio est Sepulchrum Domini, habens ix. columpnas in circuitu sui, inter quas consistunt parietes ex optimis lapidibus; ex quibus ix. columpnis, iv. sunt ante faciem ipsius monumenti, quæ cum suis parietibus claudunt lapidem coram sepulcro positum, quem Angelus revolvit, et super quem sedit post perpetratam Domini resurrectionem. De hoc sepulcro non est necesse plura scribere, cùm dicat Beda in historia sua inde sufficientia, quæ et nos possumus referre.....Inter prædictas igitur iv. ecclesias est *Paradisus* sine tecto cujus parietes auro radiant; pavimentum verò lapide struitur pretiosissimo, habens in medio sui confinium iv. catenarum, quæ veniunt à prædictis quatuor ecclesiis, in quo dicitur medius esse mundus." Acta Sanctorum, Ordis. S. Ben. Tom. III. p. 2; also Recueil de Voyages, Tom. IV. p. 789. Par. 1839.

* I have substituted *fourth* for *tertia* in translating this passage, as the readiest mode of correcting the evident obscurity of it; for as it stands, four churches are mentioned and only three described; but there are other obvious symptoms of careless transcription in it which are not worth discussion.

suppose his southern church to be the Church of St Mary.

The description which is given by Arculfus of the construction of the Round Church and its entrances is very obscure and strange. Of its three walls it appears certain that the middle one was, properly speaking, the external wall, for it contained the apses that still exist for the altars; and the outer wall of his description was probably an external peristyle or cloister, as in the Church of St Fosca at Torcello[2].

In the Plan[3] (Fig. 3, Plate 1) I have dotted a circular wall (*a b c d*) in the probable position of this peristyle, and I have carried it concentrically round the Western end of the Church (*b c d*), for the mere purpose of shewing that the rising ground and rock at the West makes it very improbable that the circuit was so carried round at this end. Arculfus is but a loose describer, or rather, perhaps, his interpreter and amanuensis, Adamnanus, was not successful in extracting his meaning; and, after all, his work was merely the result of recollections, recalled to oblige the Abbot after his return from the pilgrimage. His description of St Sophia at Constantinople may shew how far his usual expressions are to be literally understood; for he actually uses the same words as in his account of the Round Church of the Anastasis. He says it is a "triple

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[2] Vide Agincourt, pl. 26, Gally Knight. Ecc. Arch. of Italy, pl. 29. v. 1. The round church or mausoleum of Constantia at Rome had also an exterior peristyle. (Ciampini, de Sac. Æd. p. 135.)

[3] This plan is drawn from the account of Sæwulf, to illustrate the state of the churches in the subsequent period. But that state differed so little from the churches of Arculfus, that, by the help of a few dotted lines, I have made it also subservient to the illustration of the second period, which we are now considering. The long range of chapels, A, B, C, I, are the principal points of difference between the two.

stone church, rising from its foundations in three walls," upon which the dome rests, and that there is "between each of the above walls a broad space[1]," &c.

By the outer space in this case he must mean the first narthex or vestibule of St Sophia, which extends only along the front. But the whole phraseology of this sentence is sufficient to shew how large a licence we may assume in explaining his descriptions. I presume, therefore, that the outer passage in the Church of the Anastasis was confined to the Eastern half of the rotunda. His entrances to the North-east and South-east would differ but little in position from those of the subsequent Church, as shewn in the plan at D and H. The nature of the ground forbad a convenient entrance to the West, and the reverence due to the Sepulchre seems to have equally hindered a central Eastern Entrance. Indeed, an altar was placed opposite to the door of the Sepulchre at F, as Arculfus relates. The pilgrims were therefore naturally admitted at the South-west (at D), so that they might pass across in front of the Sepulchre, and after visiting it be dismissed in a similar manner at the North-east door (at H), to visit the other "holy places." But the quadruple construction of these entrances is very difficult to understand. Perhaps by the three walls we must understand three piers; and thus we get a group of four arches in the outer wall of the peristyle; and the middle wall might only have had a single

[1] "Cæterum de celeberrima ejusdem civitatis rotunda miræ magnitudinis lapidea Ecclesia,.....quæ ab imo fundamentorum in tribus consurgens parietibus triplex, supra illos altiùs sublimata, rotundissima et nimis pulchra, simplici consummatur culminata camera. Hæc arcubus suffulta grandibus, inter singulos supra memoratos parietes latum habet spatium, vel ad inhabit andum, vel ad exorandum Deum, aptum et commodum." L. III. c. 3. p. 275.

doorway, as usual. What he calls the inner wall is, of course, the circle of columns as at present; but Arculfus mentions twelve columns. I presume that in fact the Eastern apse F, which is shewn in Fig. 3, did not exist in the buildings of Modestus. If the plan of the columns be completed in the eastern half, in the same manner as it stands in the western, we obtain twelve *columns* divided into four groups by four pair of *square piers;* which is a probable arrangement; for twelve columns alone would scarcely have been sufficient to carry the wall. The present three western apses (J, K, L) are, in all probability, upon the same foundations as the old ones[2].

The Golgothan Church is described as a very large one, and can scarcely, therefore, have occupied less ground than I have assigned to it at N in the outline, where it appears with three aisles. The cavern in the rock under the place of the Cross was, of course, the present apse of the Chapel of Adam, and the other exedra or apse, where the relics were kept, may have been placed at P, as I have indicated it. This Church was not rebuilt after Hakem destroyed the whole, for the Crusaders found only a small oratory over the place of the Crucifixion. Probably some remains of it are worked up into the present chapels, and may account for their irregularity of plan[3].

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[2] It may be supposed, on the other hand, that the inner circle of this church was smaller than the present one, and that the outer circle was of the same diameter; but I do not think this so probable as the explanation I have given above.

[3] To complete the authorities I subjoin the account which Antoninus Placentinus gives of these buildings.

"A monumento usque Golgotha sunt gressus LXXX. Ab una parte ascenditur per gradus, unde Dominus ascendit ad crucifigendum. Nam in

The so-called Basilica of Constantine was perhaps the existing Chapel of S. Helena (W); for I have shewn its similarity to the Byzantine churches; and as Sæwulf and others who describe this spot between Hakem's destruction and the Crusaders' works, speak of this Church as in ruins, it must have been erected during this second period.

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loco ubi fuit crucifixus, apparet cruor sanguinis. Et in ipso latere petræ est altare Patriarchæ Abraham, in quo ibat offerre Isaac, quando tentavit eum Dominus. Ibi et Melchisedech obtulit sacrificium Abrahæ quando revertabatur cum victoria à cæde Amelech, tunc ibidem dedit ei Abraham omnem decimationem in hostias. Juxta ipsum altare est crypta, ubi ponis aurem et audis flumina aquarum, et jactas pomum aut aliud quod natare potest, et vadis ad Siloa fontem ubi illud recipies. Intra Siloa et Golgotha credo est milliarium: nam Hierosolyma aquam vivam non habet, præter in Siloa fonte.

"De Golgotha usque ubi inventa est Crux sunt gressus L. In Basilica Constantini cohærente circa monumentum vel Golgotha, in atrio ipsius Basilicæ, est cubiculum ubi lignum Crucis reconditum est, quam adoravimus et osculavimus. Nam et titulum, qui super caput ejus positus fuerat, in quo scriptum est 'Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum,' tenui in manu et osculatus sum. Lignum Crucis de nuce est: procedente vero sancta Cruce de cubiculo suo apparet stella in cœlo et venit super locum ubi Crux residet, et dum adoratur Crux stat super eam stella et ad fertur oleum ad benedicendum ampullis onychinis: hora vero qua tetigerit lignum Crucis ampullas mox ebullit foras. Revertente Cruce in locum suum et stella pariter revertitur, et post reclusam Crucem non apparet stella. Etiam ibi est Canna et Spongia de quibus legitur in Evangelio, cum qua Spongia aquam bibimus, et Calix onychinus quem benedixit Dominus in cœna, e aliæ multæ virtutes: Species B. Mariæ in superiori loco, et zona ipsius, et ligamentum quo in capite utebatur: et ibi sunt septem cathedræ marmoreæ seniorum." (Antonini Placentini Itinerarium. Acta Sanctorum, Maii. Tom. II. p. 10.)

The distances given in this passage are the only things worth attending to "From the Sepulchre to Golgotha LXXX. gressus," "from Golgotha to the place where the Cross was found, L. gressus." Measuring upon Mr. Scoles' accurate plan of the church, I find the distance from the middle of the altar of the Sepulchre to the foot-hole of the Cross to be 143 English feet; and the distance from the said foot-hole to the centre of the apse in the chapel of the Invention, by a singular coincidence to be also 143 English feet.

Gressus is the traveller's step (varying with the individual,) and not an established measure of length, like

XII.

THE BUILDINGS OF THE THIRD PERIOD, FROM A.D. 1010 TO A.D. 1099.

The third period exhibits to us the restoration of the buildings after their malicious and systematic destruction by the fanatic Caliph Hakem, in the year 1010[1]. This restoration seems to have been commenced or attempted almost immediately afterwards by Hakem or his mother, but was not effectually undertaken for several years, when the emperors of Constantinople, Romanus Argyrus, Michael the Paphlagonian, and Constantine Monomachus, in succession opened and concluded the necessary negotiations, and furnished the funds and architects, by which means the buildings were completed in A.D. 1048, or, at least, brought to the state in which the Crusaders found them. The best description of this state of the churches is given by the traveller Sæwulf, who performed his pilgrimage in the years 1102 and 1103, and whose account is contained in a manuscript preserved at Corpus Christi College,

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the *passus*. "Memorandum quod 24 steppys sive gressus mei faciunt 12 virgas," quoth William Wyrcester: Nasmith. p. 83. It must be presumed, that LXXX. is a transcriber's error for XXXX.; and 40 paces for one, with 50 paces for the other distance, are not very far from the truth, especially as we do not know the exact points between which the distance was measured. Mr. Fergusson, (p. 126,) confounds the "gressus" with the "passus," and contrives to interpret this author so as to give 400 feet between the Sepulchre and Golgotha. Distances written numerically are never to be depended upon in manuscripts.

[1] Vide Part I. p. 352 above, for the detailed history of these events. The Emperor Romanus died in 1034; Michael, his successor, in 1041; and Constantine, who succeeded to the throne in 1042, reigned until 1054.

Cambridge[1]. As he arrived at the Holy City only two years after the Crusaders' conquest of Jerusalem, he saw and described the spot before the operations of enlargement and restoration, which they undertook so magnificently. It will be necessary, therefore, to give a translation of his entire description. I have constructed the plan, Fig. 3, by comparing this description with the buildings that exist; from which, as I have already shewn, there is little or no difficulty in picking out the portions that were standing before the Crusaders' works were added.

"The entrance of the city of Jerusalem is to the West, under the tower of David the king, by a gate which is called David's Gate. The first place to visit is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, not only on account of the arrangement of the streets, but also because of its great renown above all other churches.....In the midst of this Church is the Lord's Sepulchre, girt about with a very strong wall, and covered over to prevent the rain from falling upon the sacred Sepulchre, because the church overhead is left open.....In the court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre several holy places are to be seen, to wit, *the Prison* (V), in which, according to the Assyrian tradition, our Lord was incarcerated after he was delivered up. A little above this is *the place* (X) *where the Holy Cross, with the other crosses, was found*, and where, subsequently, a large Church (W) was

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[1] MSS. Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. No. III. 8. Nasmith's Catalogue, pp. 119, 120. This narrative was printed by Michel from Mr. Wright's transcript in the fourth Volume of the Recueil de Voyages par la Société de Geographie, Paris, 1839; but this transcript appear to have been hastily made, and although generally correct, has some omissions. I have collated and corrected the portion relating to this church with the original.

built in honour of Queen Helena, but afterwards utterly destroyed by the Pagans; below this, and not far from the prison, is seen a *marble Column*, to which our Lord was bound in the pretorium, and sorely scourged. Close to this is the *place where He was stripped* of His clothing by the soldiers; and next, the *place where He was clad* in a purple robe and crowned with thorns, and they divided His garments and cast lots.

"After this *Mount Calvary* (N) is ascended, where Abraham the Patriarch, having made an altar (*g*), would have sacrificed his only son in obedience to the Divine command; and where, afterwards, the Son of God, whom he prefigured, was sacrificed for the redemption of the world. The rock itself of the mountain bears witness to the Passion, being much split close to the pit in which the Cross was planted, as it is written, 'the rocks were rent.' Below is the place which is called Golgotha (N), where Adam is said to have been raised from the dead[2].....Close to Calvary, *the Church of S. Mary* (M) stands in the place where the Lord's Body, taken down from the Cross, was wrapped in linen with spices before it was buried.

"At the head of the Church of the Sepulchre, in the outer wall, not far from Calvary, is the place called *Compas* (*a*), where the Lord indicated with his own hand the centre of the world, as the Psalmist witnesses, 'For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth[3].' But some say that it was here that He appeared to Mary Magdalen when she took Him to be the gardener.

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[2] See Sect. VIII. above.

[3] Ps. lxxiii. 12. Vide Sect. VIII. above.

"These most holy oratories are situated in the court of the Sepulchre on the eastern part. But two Chapels (I, C), in honour of S. Mary and S. John, adhere to the very sides of the Church, one on each hand, even as these witnesses of the Passion stood one on each side of the Cross. On the western wall of the Chapel of S. Mary is to be seen painted on the outside a figure of the Virgin, by which Mary of Egypt.....was marvellously consoled, as her life relates.

"On the other side of the Church of S. John is the beautiful Church of the Holy Trinity (B), in which is the place of baptism: to this adheres the Chapel of S. James (A), the apostle who first obtained the pontifical chair of Jerusalem. And these are so arranged, that any one standing in the last Church can see all the five churches from door to door.

"Beyond the gate of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the South, is the Church of S. Mary, which is called *Latina*, because there Monks perform the Latin service, and the Syrians say that the Virgin stood during the Crucifixion on the very spot where the altar of that Church is fixed.

"To this Church adheres the Church of S. Mary the Less, where nuns serve the Virgin and her Son; and close to this stands the Hospital where the celebrated Church or Monastery is dedicated in honour of S. John Baptist[1]."

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[1] Relatio de Peregrinatione Sæwulfi ad Hierosolymam et Terram Sanctam. Annis Dominicæ Incarnationis 1102 et 1103. p. 83.

"Introitus civitatis Jerosolimam est ad Occidentem, sub arce David regis per portam quæ vocatur porta David. Primum eundem est ad Ecclesiam Sancti Sepulcri quæ Martyrium vocatur, non solum pro conditione plateārum, sed quià celebrior est omnibus aliis ecclesiis.....In medio autem

The most curious part of this description is that which relates to the series of chapels annexed to the Round Church, and which I have already explained in Section VIII. I shall therefore merely refer to the Plan, Fig. 3, and to that explanation. These were apparently

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istius Ecclesiæ est Dominicum Sepulchrum muro fortissimo circumcinctum et opertum, ne dùm pluit, pluvia cadere possit super Sanctum Sepulchrum, quià Ecclesia desuper patet discooperta. Ista Ecclesia sita est in declivio montis Syon sicut civitas.....

"In atrio Ecclesiæ Dominici Sepulchri loca visuntur sanctissima, scilicet carcer ubi Dominus noster Jesus Christus post traditionem incarceratus fuit, testantibus Assiriis; deinde paulo superiùs locus apparet ubi sancta Crux cum aliis crucibus inventa est, ubi posteà in honore reginæ Helenæ magna constructa fuit ecclesia, sed postmodum a paganis funditùs est detrusa; inferius vero non longè a carcere columpna marmorea conspicitur ad quam Jesus Christus Dominus noster in pretorio ligatus flagris affligebatur durissimis; juxta est locus ubi Dominus Noster a militibus exuebatur ab indumentis; deinde est locus ubi induebatur veste purpureâ a militibus et coronabatur spineâ coronâ, et diviserunt vestimenta sua sortem mittentes.

"Postea ascenditur in montem Calvarium, ubi Abraham patriarcha, facto altari, prius filium suum jubente Deo sibi immolare voluit, ibidem posteà Filius Dei, quem ipse prefiguravit, pro redemptione mundi Deo Patri immolatus est hostia; scopulus autem ejusdem montis Passionis Dominicæ testis juxtà fossam in quâ Dominica Crux fuit affixa multùm scissus, quià sinè scissura necem Fabricatoris sufferre nequivit sicut in Passione legitur, 'et petræ scissæ sunt.' Subtùs est locus qui Golgotha vocatur, ubi Adam a torrente Dominici cruoris super eum delapso dicitur esse a mortuis resuscitatus, sicut in Domini Passione legitur, 'et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt.' Sed in sententiis beati Augustini legitur eum sepultum fuisse in Hebron, ubi etiam postmodum tres patriarchæ sepulti sunt cum uxoribus suis, Abraham cum Sarâ, Isaac cum Rebeccâ, Jacob cum Liâ; et ossa Joseph, quæ filii Israel adportaverunt secum de Egypto. Juxtà locum Calvariæ, Ecclesia sanctæ Mariæ in loco ubi Corpus Dominicum, avulsum a cruce antequam sepeliretur, fuit aromatisatum et linteo sive sudario involutum.

"Ad caput autem Ecclesiæ Sancti Sepulchri, in muro forinsecùs non longè a loco Calvariæ, est locus qui Compas vocatur, ubi ipse Dominus noster Jesus Christus medium mundi propriâ manu, esse signavit atque mensuravit, psalmistâ testante, "Dominus autem Rex noster antè secula; operatus est salutem in medio terræ;" sed quidam in illo loco Dominum Jesum Christum dicunt apparuisse primo Mariæ Magdalenæ, dùm ipsa flendo eum quæsivit et putavit eum hortulanum fuisse, sicut Evangelista narrat.

"Ista oratoria sanctissima continentur in atrio Dominici Sepulchri ad Orien-

the buildings upon which the Greek Emperors expended their pains and funds. For the other holy places appear to have been merely protected by small oratories, according to the description of William of Tyre already quoted. The Prison was probably then in the same state as it is now, a dry vaulted cistern in the rock.

Of the place where the Cross was found, the same may be said. The Church or Chapel of S. Helena seems to have been in ruins, for Sæwulf speaks of it as in this state; and the anonymous historian, whose Tract is printed in the "Gesta Dei," and who also writes at the same period, says of this spot, "Near the Sepulchre, a little on one side, there rises a rock, split and gaping open, as it is written "that the rocks were rent," and beneath it is Golgotha.....A little further

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talem plagam. In lateribus vero ipsius ecclesiæ *duæ* capellæ sibi adherent præclarissimæ hinc inde, *Scæ. Marie scilicet Scique Johannis in honore**, sicut ipsi participes Dominicæ Passionis sibi in lateribus constiterunt hinc inde.

"In muro autem Occidentali ipsius capellæ Sanctæ Mariæ conspicitur imago ipsius Domini genitricis perpicta exterius, quæ Mariam Egyptiacam olim toto corde compunctam atque ipsius Dei genitricis juvamen efflagitantem in figura ipsius cujus pictura erat, per Spiritum Sanctum loquendo mirifice consolabatur sicut in vita ipsius legitur.

"Ex alterâ vero parte Sancti Johannis ecclesiæ est monasterium Sanctæ Trinitatis pulcherrimum, in quo est locus baptisterii, cui adheret capella Sancti Jacobi apostoli, qui primam cathedram pontificalem Jerosolimis obtinuit; ita compositæ et ordinatæ omnes, ut quilibet in ultimâ stans ecclesiâ omnes quinque ecclesias perspicere potest clarissimè per ostium ad ostium.

"Extrâ portam Ecclesiæ Sancti Sepulchri ad Meridiem est Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ Latina vocatur, eò quod Latinè ibi Domino a monachis semper ministrabatur, et Assirii dicunt ipsam beatam Dei genitricem in crucifixione Filii sui Domini nostri stare in eodem loco ubi altare est ejusdem ecclesiæ. Cui ecclesiæ alia adheret Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ vocatur Parva, ubi monachæ conversantur sibi Filioque suo servientes devotissimè. Juxta quam est hospitale ubi monasterium habetur præclarum in honore Sancti Johannis Baptistæ dedicatum."

* The passages in Italics are omitted in the French transcript.

is the place called of 'Calvary,' where the wood of the Cross was found by Helena the blessed...and where was founded by the same Queen a Church of wondrous magnitude and workmanship, afterwards destroyed by perfidious Gentiles. The ruins which exist there attest the quality of the work[1]."

I have already stated my opinion, that the ruins alluded to by Sæwulf and this anonymous writer, are those of the present chapel, which was merely restored and revaulted by the Crusaders. Expressions of magnitude must always be taken with caution, for all ancient writers exaggerate in this respect; and we have seen that the plan of the actual Basilica of Constantine was very different from that of the chapel in question which bore its name in the Middle Ages.

The Column of Flagellation, and the other places which follow in Sæwulf's narrative, were probably in the open air; and even Calvary itself has no chapel given to it by Sæwulf; but it is the first of the three oratories mentioned by William of Tyre, of which the second is the place where the Cross was found, and the third is the place of Anointing, which Sæwulf describes as the church or chapel of S. Mary. On the whole, however, the general plan of the buildings was not very different

[1] I subjoin part of the passage at length, "Paululùm remotior ab eodem, est locus dictus Calvariæ, ubi lignum Dominicum trecentesimo octogesimo sexto anno pòst Passionem Christi à beata Helena, Juda præmonstrante, inventum est; ubi etiam ab eadem Regina Ecclesia miræ magnitudinis et operis fundata, postea à perfidis Gentilibus destructa est; (ruinæ cujus adhuc existentes indicant qualenam opus fuerit. Pars autem ligni preciosi in his locis à fidelibus retenta, diligenti veneratione adoratur et exaltatur.) Juxtà crucis inventionem à Meridie est Ecclesia Genetricis Dei quæ *Latina* nuncupatur, eò quòd a Latinis semper sit culta; ubi fertur eadem Virgo plorasse atque ȿcidisse crines, cum vidisset Filium suum unigenitum patibulo affixum" (Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 573.)

from that which they had before the destruction, and it may be supposed that it had been intended to rebuild or repair the other oratories as well as the Round Church, had not the Crusaders conceived and carried out their magnificent plan of uniting the whole under one roof, which I have explained at length in the former part of the Architectural History.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

NOTE A.

ON THE IMITATIONS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

It has been asserted by some writers that the Holy Sepulchre became the primitive type of all other churches of a circular form[1]. If my restoration of the Basilica of Constantine be correct, it is plain that their opinion is destroyed, because I have shewn that no Round Church at all was erected at first about the Holy Sepulchre, but that the Round Church on that spot originated with Modestus, about the year 629. It is true, that in all probability the external form of the Sepulchre was round. However, the Mausoleum of Helena, and that of Constantia at Rome, are sufficient to shew that the circular form of Church was adopted in the time of Constantine, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the imitation of the Sepulchre ever entered into the thoughts of the architects of these and similar buildings; for if it had, the fact would have been handed down to us by the ecclesiastical writers of old. One such instance is recorded; for Codinus relates that the Church of the Virgin at Constantinople, called of the *Curator*, apparently from the office of the person who superintended the building, was erected by Verina, the wife of Leo Macela, in the form of the Holy Sepulchre[2]. But as the Church has disappeared, we cannot tell what the plan of it was; but from the expressions employed it must have been in imitation of the Sepulchre itself. In fact, the circular or polygonal form naturally occurs when a building is required for the preservation or enclosure of any single object, such as a tomb or a font; and accordingly baptisteries have been erected in this shape from the period of Constantine downwards. But in the case of the Holy Sepulchre the buildings had the double purpose of enclosing that monument, and of providing a separate house of prayer in its neighbourhood, and hence the more magnificent plan of placing it in the midst of an atrium surrounded by colonnades. In addition to which an opinion seems to have been entertained, that it would be irreverent to cover this monument with a roof. This opinion is constantly alluded to by the mediæval writers; but I am unable to shew that it had an origin so early as Constantine, although

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[1] See Quarterly Review, March, 1845, p. 356.

[2] εἰς τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ τάφου τοῦ κυρίου. (Codinus, p. 53, ex Originibus C. P. as quoted by Du Cange, Constantinopolis Christiana, p. 86.)

it is not improbable that that was the case. But, indeed, the external decoration of the Cave and its isolation, rendered it quite of sufficient importance to stand alone.

The opinion, that round churches were erected in imitation of the Sepulchre, seems to have originated in modern times from the known practice of the Templars, whose Order was founded nineteen years after the conquest of Jerusalem, and whose round churches therefore were constructed in imitation of the Rotunda erected by the Greek Emperors in the third period of the buildings. But the imitation went no farther than the mere circular plan, which was even sometimes made polygonal, and these Temple-churches had also large eastern chancels, in accordance with that which the Crusaders had added to the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem; but not planned on so magnificent a scale, or with any attempt at exact reproduction. I do not mean, however, to deny that churches were erected in the Middle Ages with a more direct intention of copying the Holy Sepulchre than those of the Templars. One example of such a copy I have given, and another is to be found in the Church of S. Stefano at Bologna.

This Church of S. Stefano was founded, as they say[1], by S. Petronio, in 430, in imitation of the churches of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary at Jerusalem; and, united to the Church of S. Peter which (founded in 330) was already there. The early existence of part of this tradition is testified by the bull of Celestine III. (1191—1198), in which he terms the Church of S. Stefano "the Jerusalem of Bologna, which Petronius erected and constructed in imitation of the Sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem[2]."

The churches, however, which he built, were destroyed by the Hungarians in 903, and afterwards rebuilt. They also suffered by fire in 1210, and have been subsequently restored and modernised in various ways.

The present church or group of churches which goes by the general name of S. Stefano at Bologna, comprises six, which are packed together in so apparently irregular and unskilful a manner, that Agincourt, in his History of the Decadence of Art, has given a plan of them as an example of the total want of skill and symmetry in the buildings of that age[3]. But if this plan be compared with that of the churches of the Sepulchre in their second period (Plate 1, Fig. 3), we must be convinced that the churches of S. Stefano were really laid out in imitation of the churches at Jerusalem, and therefore that the tradition is not without

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[1] Masini, Bologna Perlustrata, p. 124.

[2] "Cùm itaque in templo gloriosi protomartyris Stephani, quod dicitur Hierusalem de Bononia, quod servus Dei Petronius, ejusdem civitatis episcopus, instar Sepulchri Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Hierusalem erexit et construxit." (Acta Sanctorum, Oct. T. II. p. 434.)

[3] Agincourt, Plate 28. The work has been lately reprinted in this country, and can easily be referred to.

foundation, although the style of the remaining buildings shews that no part of them can be prior to the destruction of Bologna by the Hungarians in the tenth century.

In the first place, there is a round church supported on twelve piers in a rude Lombard style, surmounted by a clerestory and a dome[4]. In the middle is a sepulchre constructed, as Masini and the guide-books say[5], in imitation of the Holy Sepulchre. However, Gally Knight's view shews in this place a stone pulpit with a peculiar canopy having an altar over it. The church is only half the diameter of the Rotunda at Jerusalem, and the imitation is not to be supposed a very close one. The Round Church has an aisle, bounded, however, not by a concentric, but by a polygonal, wall of eight very irregular sides: this church is called S. Sepolcro. On the north side is a small Romanesque church with a centre and side-aisles, and three apses. This is called S. Pietro e Paolo, and occupies a similar position to the Chapel of the Apparition at Jerusalem; but this did not probably enter into the scheme of imitation; for this is the church said to have been founded before S. Petronius commenced his operations. On the east of S. Sepolcro is a square church, now roofed over, but which was evidently in its original state a cloistered court. It is called "Corte di Pilato," and corresponds to the open court in its Jerusalem prototype. On the south side of it, and partly of the church of S. Sepolcro, there stands an oblong church, the east end of which is raised upon a Romanesque crypt, called the crypt of S. Lorenzo. The body of the church extended much farther westward than the Round Church. This was the church of S. Stefano. It was rebuilt on a new plan, uniting two churches in one, in 1637, and was dedicated to the Crucifixion. Still it is plain that this crypt and its upper church were erected in imitation of the chapels of Adam and of Calvary. There is a sixth church at the east side of the cloister or "Corte di Pilato," which may possibly have been erected in imitation of the Basilica of Constantine; but there is no tradition to the effect that the imitation was carried so far as this. This church was dedicated to the Trinity.

On the whole, I am of opinion that the similarity of plan is quite sufficient to shew that these churches were partly contrived in imitation

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[4] A view of the interior is given by Gally Knight, Ecc. Arch. of Italy, Plate 20. The piers are not all of the same form; the seven eastern ones are double or compound, and the seven western are simple pillars; this is shewn in Agincourt's Plan. I visited the Church in 1832, but as my attention was wholly directed at that time to the architectural details, I am unable to recall any particulars relating to the arrangement of the plan that would elucidate the present question.

[5] "Un Sepolcro simile à quello di Christo Signor nostro." Masini, p. 124.

of those at Jerusalem. Of course, considering the imperfect state of the art of drawing in those days, it would be absurd to expect anything like a copy or model in such imitations; all that can be looked for is a general resemblance in the plan, carried out according to such architectural details and dimensions as were practised in the period and place where the imitation was made. Doubtless, therefore, the churches in question were erected at Bologna after the destruction of the city by the Hungarians in 903, and the plans made from the accounts and recollections of some pilgrim or other with respect to the churches at Jerusalem as they then existed. And this in consequence of the tradition alluded to in the Bull of Pope Celestine quoted above, that S. Petronius originally erected in the Church of S. Stefano an imitation of the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha.

The most minute account of this transaction is to be found in the Life of S. Petronius, printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* from a monk's Chronicle, which is continued up to the year 1180 only[1], and may probably therefore be of that age. This writer relates that the Saint built a Monastery in honour of St Stephen..." and that he with much labour completed a work marvellously constructed in imitation of the Lord's Sepulchre, according to the manner which he had seen and carefully measured with a measuring rod when he was at Jerusalem.....He erected another edifice with great variety of columns, and with a court round about, with two orders of precious columns with their bases and capitals ornamented with various symbols, and so arranged that upon the lower order of columns another and more ornamental one was placed, and thus extended as far as the place which represented Golgotha or Calvary.....And in that place he fixed a wooden cross, which in length and breadth was entirely made in the likeness of the Cross."... ...And then he proceeds to say, that having measured the distance from Golgotha to Mount Olivet, he made at Bologna an artificial mountain, which to this day is called Mount Olivet, and built on the top of it a Church dedicated to St John, and also he made a reservoir to represent Siloe. If this artificial Olivet be the present Church of S. Giovanni in Monte, the distance is considerably less than the original; for by a plan of Bologna, which is lying before me, I find it to be only 656 feet from one church to the other, whereas the distance of the original points at Jerusalem is 4500 feet. However, the whole tradition appears to me to be a very curious one, and worth investigating, by examining the buildings on the spot with more care than has been hitherto bestowed upon them.

The Sepulchre is more minutely described in a subsequent part of the Chronicle[2], under the year 1141, which states that "there is in the Church of St Stephen a sepulchre which was fabricated by S. Petronius in

[1] Acta Sanctorum, Oct. T. II. p. 459. [2] Ibid. p. 467.

the likeness of the Holy Sepulchre, and that on the right-hand of its entrance is a chest in which the Saint had deposited innumerable relics, and on the left-hand, another chest, which contains the body of S. Petronius himself." This chest was opened in 1141, and the Saint "invented" as the phrase is. This Chronicle furnishes us with some valuable information, which appears to have been overlooked, concerning the dates of part of the existing buildings.

In the account of the above-mentioned "Invention" of relics of S. Petronius and other saints[3], it appears that in the year 1141 the Monks were hunting for a certain chest of relics of S. Isidore and others, which some old men had informed them they had seen under the *Ambo* of the High Altar of the Church of S. Peter, when it was rebuilt[4].

This passage fixes the building of the Church of S. Peter to within sixty or seventy years before this search, and therefore to about the year 1070.

A short time after this, the Abbot and Monks found it necessary to pull down the Church of the Holy Cross, in which the Golgotha was constructed by S. Petronius, in order to rebuild it, and upon digging under the pavement they found other boxes of relics[5]. This narrative furnishes us with the date of the Romanesque Crypt of S. Lorenzo, which occupies the place of the Golgotha of Petronius, and is thus shewn to have been rebuilt about 1145.

In consequence of some miraculous cures of fever in 1307, which were supposed to have been effected by water drawn from a well under the Altar of S. Petronius in this Church, the worship of this Saint grew into great popularity at Bologna, and the great church dedicated to him was in consequence commenced in 1390.

I have thought it worth while to append the above notes to the History of the Sepulchre, because I am not aware that the similarity of plan between the Churches of Bologna and Jerusalem has been noticed before. The fashion of modern writers is to consider the Round Church

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[3] Acta Sanctorum, Oct. T. II. pp. 466—469.

[4] "...cùm præfati S. Isidori basilica noviter ædificaretur, antiqui, qui tunc aderant, ab una parte eam perspexerunt et prædicto abbati atque monachis ea omnia multotiens retulerunt." It appears from the note, (p. 469. c.) that the chest or coffin of S. Isidore was interred deep in the ground in the Church of S. Peter, which is therefore in the above passage called the basilica of S. Isidore.

[5] "Post aliquod itaque parcissimum temporis cùm à prædictæ ecclesiæ abbate et monachis initum fuisset concilium ut Ecclesia sanctæ Crucis, in qua Golgotha à S. Petronio locus appellatus fuerat, à fundamento murus undique destrueretur, et firmius reficeretur: quem verò ubi statuerunt, fodientes in pavimento ipsius Ecclesiæ, pretiosas reperierunt arcas, &c..." p. 468.

at Bologna as the Baptistery of the ancient Cathedral. I have not been able to get sight of the works referred to by Mr. Gally Knight and others on this subject, namely, An anonymous Tract on this Church in 1772, and a History of it by D. Celestine Petracchi.

NOTE B.

ON THE CONFLAGRATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN 1808.

The particulars of the Fire which so greatly damaged the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1808 principally interest us, as enabling us to discover what portions of the old structure may remain; and, for the information of future travellers to Jerusalem, I have thought it worth while to add some few notes upon this subject, hoping that by thus directing their attention to it, an examination of the present structure may be made with an especial view to the separation and description of the old portions. I am aware of three principal authorities for the narrative, namely, the account which was published by the Franciscans, the account similarly published by the Greeks, and a private letter which is inserted in the Pilgrimage of De Géramb. They all agree in the main facts, but each party describes its especial effects upon their own portion of the church; and it is only by comparing the different accounts that we can discover the real extent of the damage, or rather the parts that really escaped. It must be confessed, too, that both Greeks and Latins reciprocally are apt to describe with some exultation the ravages of the fire upon the Holy Places of their opponents, and to contrast them with the miraculous manner in which some of their own remained unscathed.

The fire began in the Armenian Church, which is in the triforium of the Rotunda (over 68, Fig. 4), whence it communicated to the great Cupola of the Rotunda, from whence it passed to the Greek choir, thence to their dwelling-places upon Calvary (75, Fig. 5), and to the Chapels of Calvary, where it ruined the beautiful marbles of that sanctuary as well as those of the chapel of the Madonna.

From the aforesaid choir it also passed to the Gallery of the Latins over the north aisle of the Rotunda, reducing to ashes the four apartments and the altar of S. Didacus, and the other apartments, where it consumed the furniture appropriated to the pilgrims, and the carpets, lamps of silver and of other metals, and the *ornaments*. The Turkish dwellings which were over the rooms of the Latins, were also burnt and fell in ruins upon their apartments. After five hours of violent combustion the great cupola fell, and crushed in its fall the little cupola of

the Holy Sepulchre, breaking to pieces the columns of porphyry which sustained it, as well as the columns and marbles around the Sepulchre.

De Géramb has given the copy of a letter from an Italian priest, an eye-witness to the fire[1], in which he declares, amongst other things, that the little Convent of the Franciscans, and their Chapel (of the Apparition), as well as the sacristy, had escaped the least injury. The Chapel of the Angel had half its velvet hangings burnt, but its walls and pavements were uninjured. Also the Chapel of the Crucifixion, which belonged to the Latins, was only slightly injured, but the Chapel of the Exaltation very greatly. The Chapel of the Porch was also uninjured.

The Picture of the Resurrection, which closed the Sepulchre, was saved, and even the silk hangings and cords of the lamps. But the Copts' Chapel was wholly burnt.

Mr. Turner[2] gives a transcript of the account which was published by the Franciscan guardians of the Church, entitled, *Breve Notizia dell' Incendio accaduto Nel Tempio del SS^mo. Sepolchro di N.S.G.C. il giorno* 12 *Ottobre*, 1808. This history, however, the object of which was to solicit subscriptions for the repair of the fabric, confines its statements to the damage done, without particularising the parts that escaped, excepting only the interior of the Sepulchre. I have quoted some incidental information from it in the course of the preceding pages, and beg to refer to the interesting work of Mr. Turner for the remainder.

Lastly, I have been favoured with a translation from the Russian letter, which was circulated by Callinicus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in order to obtain assistance, and which contains the Greek version of the affair, from which, as it has never been printed, I will give an extract. "On the 30th day of September, 1808[3], on Wednesday, at 8 o'clock in the evening, suddenly and unexpectedly an extensive conflagration took place within the temple of the holy life-giving Sepulchre, and consumed the whole of that wonderful, royal, and holy building, as well as the lofty cupola[4], which was covered with lead, and the small Chapel which was built over the Holy Sepulchre itself: the upper galleries of the Catechumens[5], which went round it, under the large cupola, as well on our side as on that of the Franks and Armenians, are entirely destroyed; for the beautiful marble pillars, on which these galleries were supported, were calcined and burnt. Both treasuries also (the great and the small), and all the cells, the holy ikons (or pictures of saints), the Cross erected on holy Golgotha, the holy Table and Altar of Sacrifice, and the seats of the

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[1] Pélérinage a Jerusalem, &c. T. I. p. 125.

[2] Journal of a Tour in the Levant, Vol. II. p. 597.

[3] The Greeks still use the old style.

[4] Namely, that which covers the Rotunda.

[5] Commonly called the Triforium-gallery in England.

Patriarchs in the heavenly place, were consumed. When the marble columns on which the arches rested were reduced to ashes, the arches themselves also which were above the Altar[1] were destroyed. The Ikonostasis of the Cathedral, and all the side Altars, together with all the images, and the two thrones of the Patriarch and Bishop, which were in the centre of the Cathedral, became the prey of the flames. Owing to the excessive heat, the lamps and the chandeliers with branches, and the rest of the utensils of the church, were melted like wax. In like manner, the whole of the splendid vestry, the gifts of so many pious monarchs, which were kept within the Temple, disappeared. The holy gates also were burnt, and the cupola, which was above the Cathedral, rent in twain[2].

"The only parts that were uninjured were the subterranean Chapel of the Discovery of the Cross[3], the aisle which surrounds the Church, [4]the holy Chapel of the Sepulchre and its door[5]. All the rest, as we have already stated, was burnt and disappeared."

The narrative then goes on to detail the steps that were taken by the Greek church to obtain authority from the Porte for restoring the building. The architect employed was by name Commenes, a native of Mitylene, and he sailed from Constantinople in the beginning of May, 1809, to commence the work. Difficulties and disputes arose between the Greeks, Latins, and Armenians, concerning their respective shares in the future building, in which each party was endeavouring to overreach and eject the others from the places they had respectively occupied in the ancient arrangement of the churches. Of such quarrels the less said, the better; and I shall merely add, that notwithstanding these, and the delay caused by an insurrection of the Mohammedans, who attempted to stop the works by violence, the new church was completed and consecrated on the 11th September, 1810. It is added, that the cost of the building itself was only equal to one-third part of the sum expended in satisfying the local authorities and conducting the lawsuits. Hence the entire restoration amounted to four millions of roubles.

From these accounts it appears that the roof of the Rotunda was burnt, and its principal wall with the pillars and arches so much injured and weakened by the fire, that it was necessarily rebuilt. How far the vaults of the galleries suffered, or whether the present Rotunda is

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[1] Namely, in the apse.

[2] The central cupola over the choir.

[3] The Chapel of S. Helena.

[4] This appears to be the most probable meaning of the words in the original, "Glavnia Sviazi," *principales connexus v. colligationes*, but it is an obscure expression, and the translation very doubtful.

[5] This enumeration only includes the parts that the Greeks were interested in, and therefore omits the Chapel of the Apparition, &c. which belongs to the Latins.

a new wall, or merely a casing, must be left for future examination. The outer wall with its apses, the Latin convent and the row of chapels with the Campanile, evidently escaped. Of the Crusaders' church, it appears that the central cupola was split by the fire. However, the piers still remain, as I am informed by Mr. Scoles, and the pointed arches above them are the original ones. The small pillars of the apse and in front of the triforium were evidently calcined by the burning of the wooden fittings of the choir and *Ikonostasis*. But to what extent the vault of this choir suffered, or the vaults that carried the triforium, remains to be inquired. Evidently, the north transept and outer circumference, namely, the north cloister (21) with the prison, the procession-path (24 to 34), and the Chapel of Helena, were uninjured. On the south side, the entrance-front and the porch (53) were unscathed; but there was an unlucky wooden house for the Greeks which stood in the place marked *Greek Kitchen*, [at (75) in Fig. 5,] which in the Latin account of the fire is described as a tower in seven stories. This structure fed the flames, and was the occasion of most serious damage to this quarter of the church; and hence probably the necessity for the changes that have taken place in the arrangements of the chapels of Calvary, which I have described at length in a previous page. Still the stone vaulting of these chapels must remain, and would repay an antiquarian investigation, which I trust will also be extended to the examination of the ancient portals of this church, and to the remains of the Canons' Convent, which I have endeavoured to describe in the seventh Section.

NOTE C.

ON THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE PLANS AND SECTIONS IN PLATES II. AND III.

It may be necessary to give some history of the materials from which I have constructed the Plans and Sections in Plates II. and III.

The only strictly architectural account is to be found in the work of Father Bernardino, "Trattato delle Piante et Immagini de Sacri Edifizi di Terra Sancta, 1620." This contains a detailed plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, together with an elevation, two principal sections, and various other details. There is also an ample verbal description accompanied by written measures. To the entire accuracy of the plan I am enabled to bring the most satisfactory testimony; for the kindness of my excellent friend, J. J. Scoles, Esq., has placed at my disposal an elaborate measured plan of this very church, which he made in the year 1825, and which forms the basis of the engraved plan which accompanies

this memoir. It will be found to agree with that of Bernardino in all the numerous irregularities which necessarily belong to a group of buildings erected from time to time upon a rocky and unequal foundation, and partly made up of the ruins of previous buildings. It is true that this plan was taken from the buildings after the fire of 1808; but the changes which were introduced in the subsequent rebuilding affect only the central portion, and although that stands on the old foundations, so that the style of architecture of the principal part of the Church is miserably changed, the plan is only slightly affected, and not at all changed in the outer walls and chapels, as will presently appear.

But although Bernardino is the only author that has given drawings to scale, other travellers have given perspective views and ample descriptions, and from them we are enabled to understand the true value of Bernardino's elevations.

These, I regret to say, are utterly worthless. They represent the Church inside and out as constructed with circular arches, cornices, and in many cases with entablatures of a classical character. It fortunately happens that the entrance-front of the Church, which is at the south end of the transept, is still in existence, and has remained unaltered, except by dilapidation and neglect, from the time of the Crusaders. And the same may be said of the campanile which stands at the side of it, only that the hand of Time has pressed more heavily upon it, and has shorn it of its upper stories, which are represented as complete in Breydenbach's excellent wood-cut, (A.D. 1490), and was yet standing although roofless, in the days of Le Bruyn (A.D. 1725). This façade, however, from its picturesque character, has been made the subject of every traveller's pencil from Breydenbach to the present time, and it is only necesssary to compare one of these well-known representations with Bernardino's unhappy elevation in page 23, to understand the process which his sketches must have undergone in preparing them for publication. Every arch in this elevation, both of the church and tower, is in reality a pointed one, the style of the whole being exactly such a pointed Greco-Romanesque as the Crusaders would naturally employ in the latter part of their occupation of the city, when this façade was erected, namely, about the year 1180. But in Bernardino's engraving, the round arches and the projecting cornices, totally unfaithful as a representation of the real building, have evidently been modelled by an Italian artist from the mediæval campaniles and Romanesque structures of Italy; the original drawings being probably of too rough a nature to be sufficiently understood. In the same manner the Chapel of S. Helena, which has pointed arches on rude dwarfed columns, and which still exists, and has been engraved by Roberts and others, is shewn by Bernardino as a light Italian structure upon lofty and well-proportioned pillars with semicircular arches. The only conclusion that I can draw from a most careful comparison of Bernardino's work with every other

authority is this,—that his plans, and all his details and explanations, are perfectly honest and faithful, and may be implicitly relied on, so far as the arrangement, disposition, and dimensions of the buildings are concerned; but that he was unable to make drawings of architectural decoration, and that his rude sketches were therefore dressed up for publication after their arrival in Italy[1].

One of the greatest difficulties that I have had to contend with, in the endeavour to discover the original section of the Church, has been the confusion between round and pointed arches in the drawings of travellers. The attention of antiquarians was not until lately, directed to the pointed arch and to the important influence which the forms of arches generally, exercised upon style and history. In their rough sketches, therefore, they never indicated the form exactly, and the artists and engravers, who prepared their drawings for publication, naturally made every arch of the semicircular form familiar to their own eyes, unless a very particular remark to the contrary was to be found in the sketch: for travellers are very seldom able to draw architecture with technical correctness, even if they can draw tolerably any thing else, which is not often the case. Le Bruyn was a professional artist; yet, as we now know, he has repeatedly represented ruins and buildings in his travels with round arches, that still exist to convict him of error. The numerous ambiguities and differences which I have encountered on this head, have almost led me to conclude that if in any given case one authority makes an arch *pointed*, while every other represents it to be *round*, the first is right; because, before the present century, an arch would of course be assumed by an engraver to be round, even if it had been awkwardly drawn as half-pointed or elliptical; and unless it were sketched so *pointedly pointed* that the intention of the artist could not be evaded.

Amongst the various articles that are manufactured by the Monks of Jerusalem for sale to the pilgrims, as memorials of their visit, are to be found models of the Church of the Sepulchre. These are very elaborately constructed, and many of them are in this country, in the hands of different individuals. Two may be seen in the British Museum; one of which belonged to the original collection of Sir Hans Sloane. I find these models very exactly constructed, and giving internal evidence of their truth, in the manner in which the various galleries and arcades of the Church are shewn, and which a practised eye can alone appre-

[1] Mr. Fergusson, however, warrants Bernardino's accuracy to the fullest extent. "The most singularly correct work for its age that I have met with anywhere." p. 88. The scales upon Bernardino's plates are wholly inconsistent with the written measures in the text; indeed, the worth of the book is greatly destroyed by the manner in which it is engraved.

ciate. They are not very exactly constructed to scale; but they are ingeniously contrived, so as to be capable of being taken to pieces, to shew the various chapels and recesses. Thus the interior is modelled as carefully as the exterior. They are absurdly inlaid with mother-of-pearl, in various devices, and part of the construction of the building is modified to suit the cabinet-maker's convenience in putting the work together. However, the main point is, that the whole of the eastern part of the Church is represented in these models as having pointed arches, both in the pier-arches, the triforium, and in the great central lantern. The windows are all round-headed. This is so perfectly consistent with what might have been expected, and with the portions that have survived the fire of 1808, that I have not hesitated to adopt their pointed arches in the general section of the Church, although Le Bruyn, who has given us the only view extant of this interior, has made the tower and lateral arches semicircular. But he has done the same by the campanile, or rather given its arches an elliptical form: and yet the lower part of this campanile still stands with pointed arches of the most decided character. As to the great Rotunda, or circular nave, every authority concurs with the models, in making its arches semicircular. It must therefore be clearly understood, that although the plan of the Church, in Plate II., is based upon a very exact survey, and collated with Bernardino's and other authorities, yet that the section (Plate III) has been necessarily filled up in many parts from description alone: especially with respect to the relative altitudes of the pier-arches, triforium, clerestory, &c.; for which I have had to depend upon Bernadino's written measures; in which the sum is not always consistent with the items, and many of which he evidently only estimated by eye. But the most important part of this Section, namely, the relative levels of the Calvary, and of the Church of Helena, to the pavement of the Rotunda, has been supplied from the accurate measurements of Mr Scoles; and with respect to the *general* arrangement of the arches, galleries, and buildings, in this Section, I have no doubt whatever; beyond this degree of accuracy I cannot pretend.

The disposition of the triforium of the eastern apse is involved in much obscurity. Bernardino represents an upper gallery of the full width of the semicircular aisle below, and his description in words, p. 37, seems to imply that arrangement. On the other hand, the models omit this gallery altogether. I am inclined to take the middle course, of supposing that there was a gallery in the thickness of the wall, as I have shewn in the Section. The models also decorate the upper story of the apse with an arcade of nine arches, alternately pierced for windows; and this agrees with the numerous arches shewn in Le Bruyn's sketch, but not at all with Bernardino's.

An accurate research into the existing building by an architectural student, well versed in mediæval structures, would, I am confident, detect

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

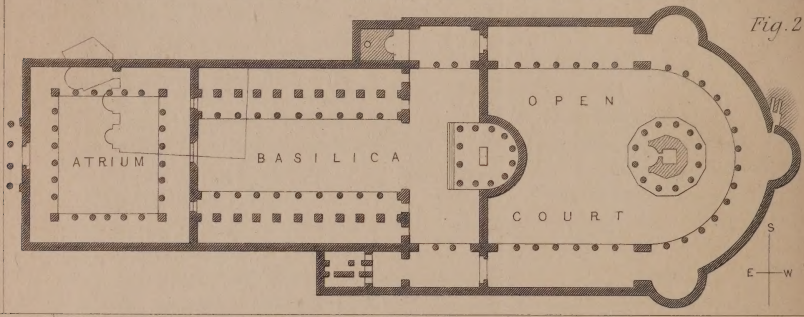
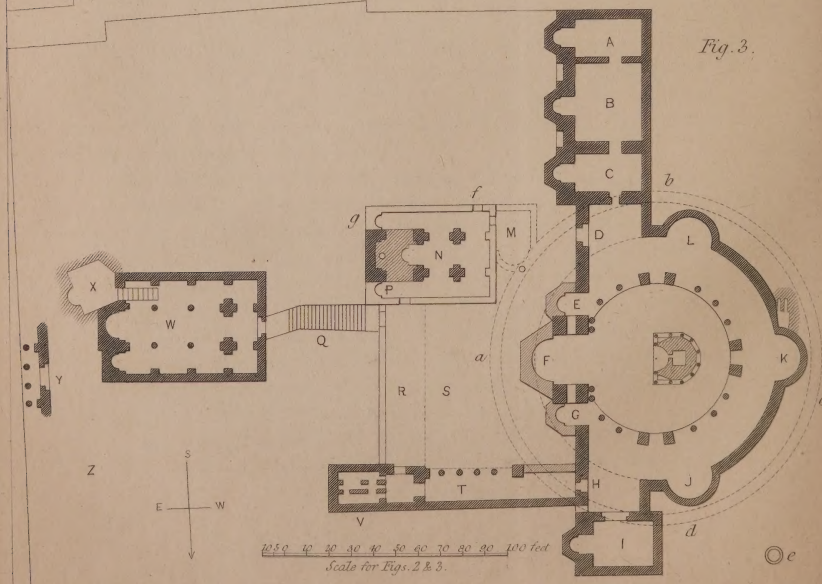
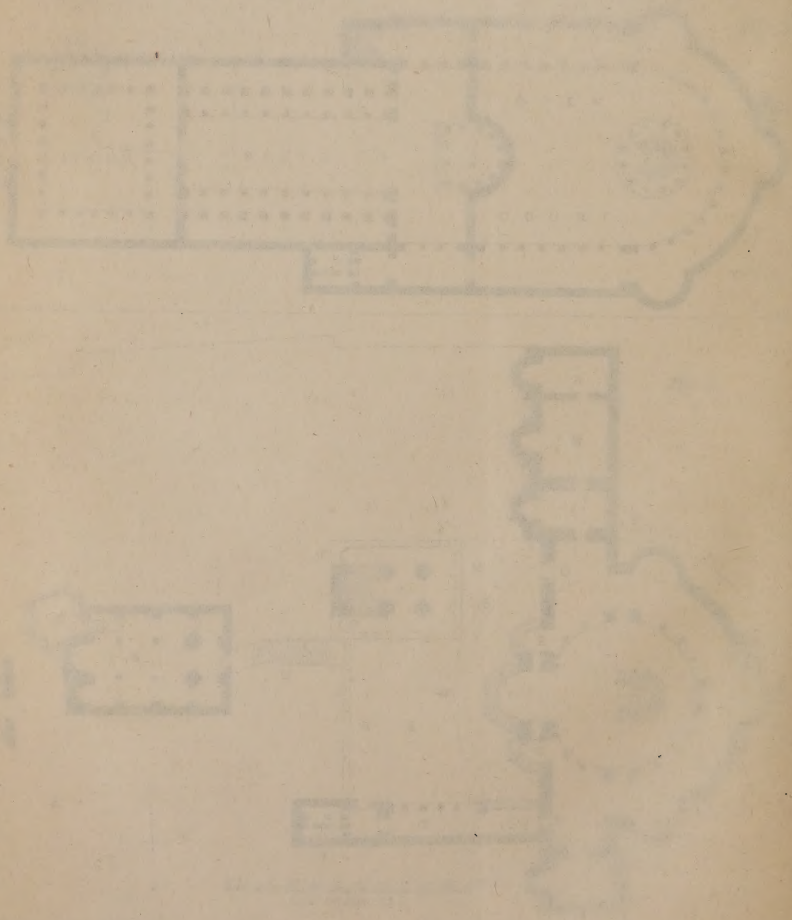


Fig. 3.



PLANS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE &c. J.W. Lowry



sufficient remains of the Church before the fire in 1808, represented in my Sections, to form a much more complete and more exact one; and I trust that my attempt will induce some traveller to set about correcting my mistakes, and resolving the difficulties which I can only pretend to have pointed out; happy if in so doing I shall have succeeded in exciting the interest that always attaches to an object of research once indicated.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES, WITH ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

Plate I.

Fig. 1. Plan of the supposed state of the ground at the time of the Crucifixion, (Sect. IX.) The outlines represent the present streets and the leading points of the plan of the Church. A, the Chapel of S. Helena; B, the high ground to the west of the Holy Sepulchre, which was lowered by Constantine's architects; C, the cliff, in the face of which the entrance of the Sepulchre was formed; D, the catacomb of which the tomb called of Joseph and Nicodemus is the remains; E, Mount Calvary. The hollow between this point and C was the place filled up by Hadrian with earth to conceal the Sepulchre; F, the rock-cistern, called the "Prison;" G I, St Stephen Street; I K, Sepulchre Street; K L, Patriarch Street; L M, the steep descent, which leads to the Entrance Court of the Church; M G, Palmer Street; G I was originally the line of the city wall, and the gate called the Porta Judiciaria was placed at I. The remaining letters of reference shew the points through which the Sections of the ground in Plate III., Fig. 11. are taken. Those Sections should be compared with the present Figure.

Fig. 2. Plan of the Basilica of Constantine. (Sect. X).

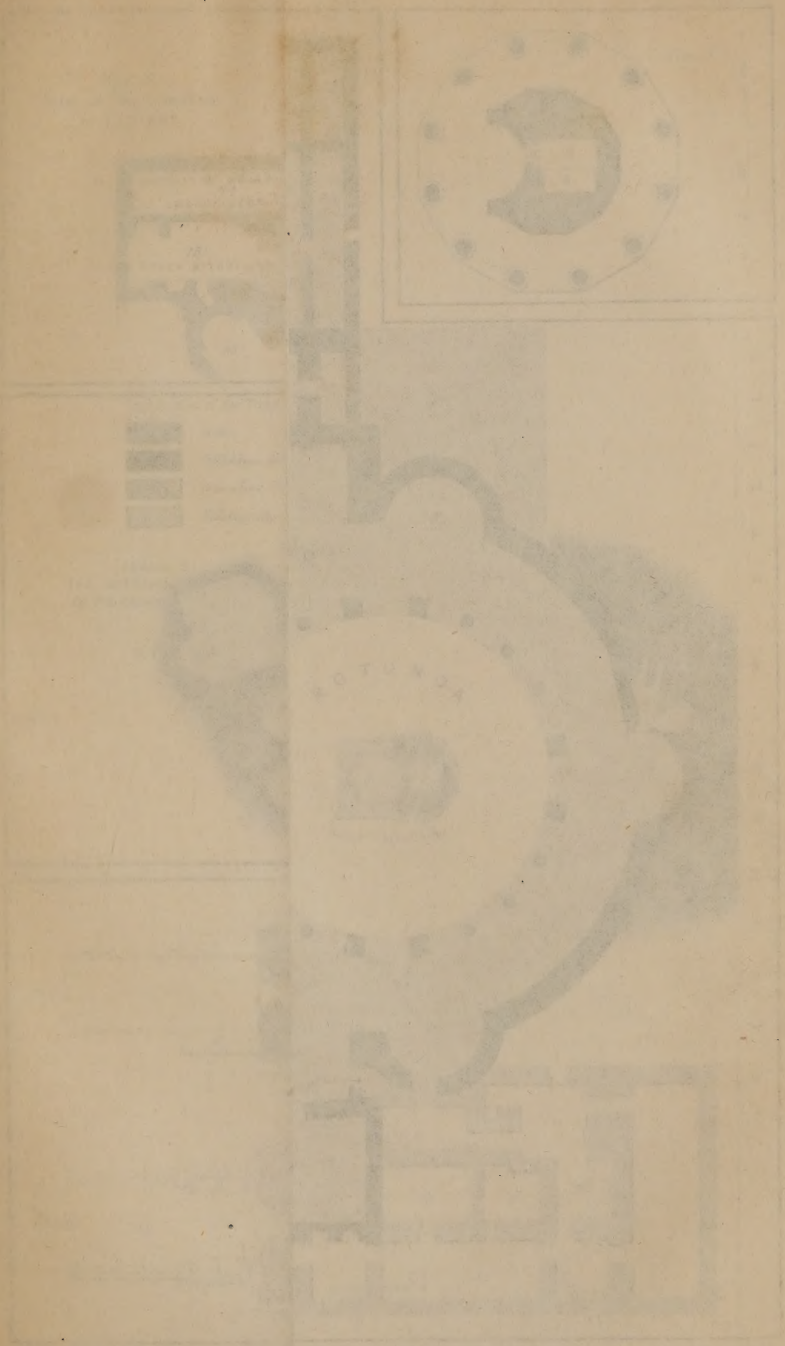
Fig. 3. Plan of the churches, as rebuilt by the Emperors of Constantinople, after their destruction by the Caliph Hakem in 1010; according to the description of Sæwulf, in 1103 (Sect. XII), and also in illustration of Arculfus (Sect. XI). A, the Chapel of S. James; B, the Chapel of the Holy Trinity; C, the Chapel of S. John; D, the south-east door of the Round Church; E F G, the three eastern apses, conjecturally supplied; H, the north-east door; I, the Chapel of S. Mary; J K L, the three western apses of the Round Church or Rotunda; M, the Chapel or Oratory of S. Mary over the Unction Stone; N, the Golgothan Church. The outline shews its probable extent in the days of Arculfus; P, the *exedra* mentioned by Arculfus, in which relics were kept; Q, the steps leading down to the Chapel of S. Helena (W) which is called by Arculfus the Basilica of Constantine, and by Sæwulf and

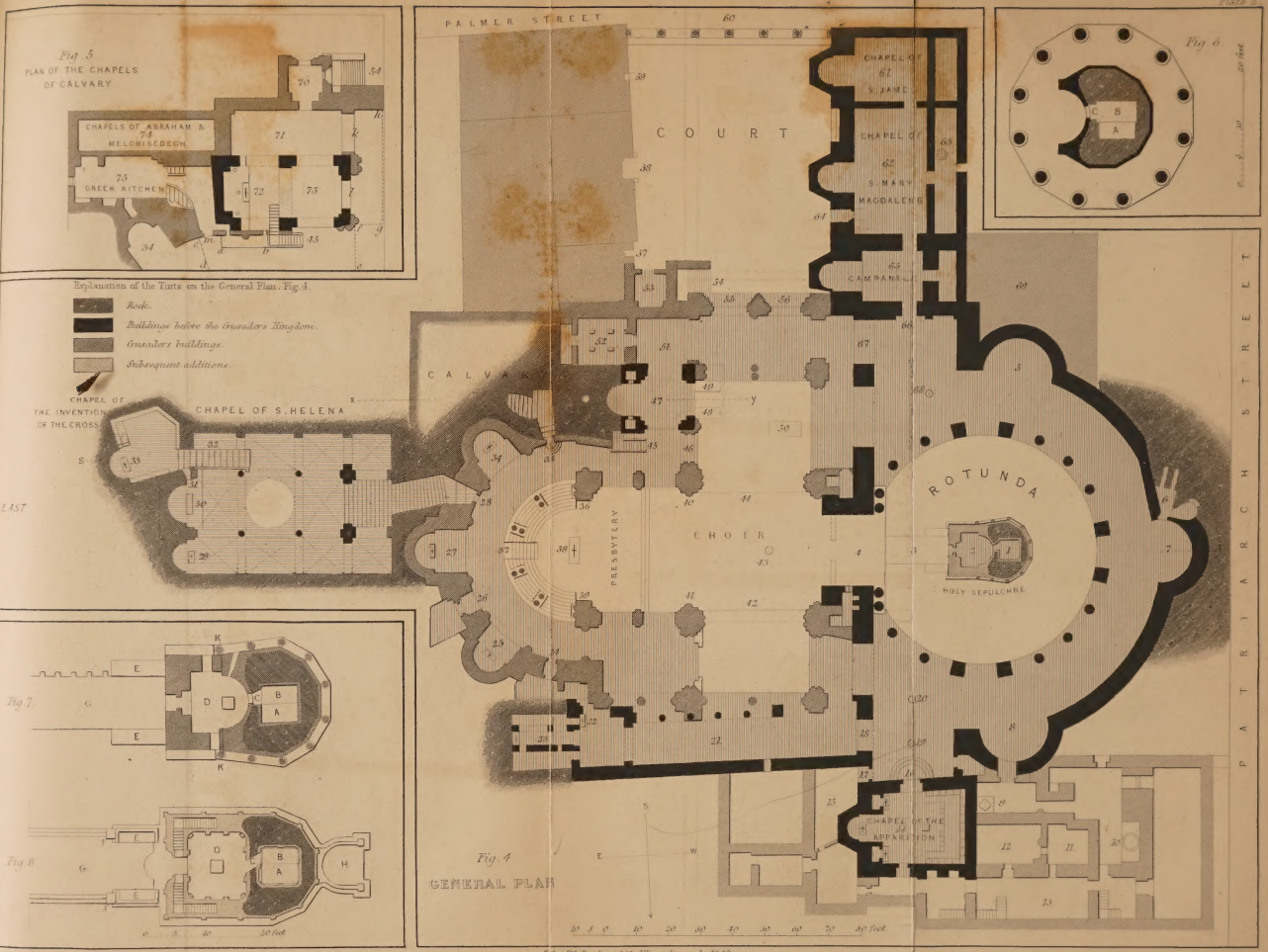
William of Tyre, &c., the ruins of the basilica of Constantine; S, the *paradise* or open court; T, the corridor, or cloister-walk which led from the door H to the prison V. There was probably another corridor at R, leading to the Golgothan Church. *a*, the *Compas* or centre of the world; *a b c d*, the outer circumference or outer wall of the triple church, if Arculfus's description be literally correct; but, on account of the great rise of the ground at the west of the church, it is probable that this outer circle extended only through the eastern half *d a b*, where it served as an external *porticus*. The middle wall of Arculfus with its three apses was the same as the present wall L K J in its western half, and its eastern half was probably completed, as the dotted line shews, in the form of a concentric circle, and may have had a fourth apse at F to contain the altar which he mentions. The doors of the circular wall must have been placed opposite the points D and H respectively. *e*, the well of St Helena; *f*, the outer door of the Golgothan church, before which the bodies of the dead were laid while the service was being performed in the apse of the church; *g*, the altar of Abraham; Y, the portal of Constantine's basilica, the remains of which still exist; Z, the position of the cistern, now called the Treasury of Helena.

Plate II.

Fig. 4. General plan of the Church and its adjacent Chapels, as they existed before the fire of 1808. The walls are shaded with four different tints, to indicate, (1) the parts that are cut out of the rock, as far as I have been able to ascertain them; (2) the buildings that existed before the Crusaders' kingdom was established; (3) the Crusaders' buildings; (4) the subsequent buildings and appendages. The side-aisles and lower parts of the Church itself are separated from the central higher parts by a very light tint.

1, The Cave of the Holy Sepulchre; 2, the Angel's Chapel; 3, the platform which leads to it, which is raised three steps above the pavement of the Rotunda; 4, the arch which connects the Rotunda with the choir of the Crusaders, now the Greek Church; 5, the southern apse; 6, the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus; 7, the western apse, into which its present door opens; 8, the northern apse: this has a door which leads to the Latin or Franciscan convent, also to 9, the Greek Font, and 10, the well of Helena; 11, the convent-kitchen; 12, the refectory; 13, passages and staircases to the dormitories which are above; 14, the Chapel of the Virgin Mary of the Apparition with its three altars and the seats of the choir: a round stone in the middle marks the place where Christ appeared to the Virgin; 15, a space at present enclosed as a sacristy for the Latins; 16, the steps leading up to the door of the chapel; 17, this was originally enclosed to form a recess for an altar of S. Mary Magdalene, but is now





Willis del. from sketches by J.J. Scoles &c.

John W. Parker, 445 West Strand. 1849.

J.W. Lowry. sc.

PLANS OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE &c.

the door of the sacristy; 18, the arch which leads to the corridor (21) in the place of the north-west door of the Rotunda, corresponding to 67 on the south; 19, a stone in the pavement to mark the place where Mary Magdalene stood when our Lord appeared to her as a gardener; 20, a similar stone in the place where he stood; 21, the corridor which leads to the prison (23) this was part of the original church before the Crusaders began their additions; 22, an altar near which is a stone with holes in it, called the "bonds of Christ;" 23, an apartment hewn in the rock, probably for a cistern, known as the "Prison of Christ." I do not know whether the roof be of rock, or an artificial vault. 24, A door which originally led to the dormitory of the Canons, at the east end of the Church, but which now merely conducts to a small apartment. Part of this is marked in Bernardino's Plan as having been for many years the residence of an anchoret. 25, Chapel of S. Longinus; 26, this opening appears to have been originally designed for a window, it now leads to a little apartment; 27, Chapel of the Division of the Vestments; 28, door leading to the descending stair of the Chapel of S. Helena. This stair of thirty steps of marble or stone, is formed in an artificial cleft of the rock, and the rocky sides of the passage still remain uncovered. 29, The Altar of the Good Thief; 30, the Altar of S. Helena; 31, the marble chair in which she sat while the search for the Cross was proceeding; 32, the stairs by which to descend to the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross; 33, an altar fixed on the spot where the invention took place; 34, the Chapel of Mocking; 35, door and staircase leading to the Greek apartments, (See Fig. 5); 37, the patriarchal chair; 38, the High Altar; 36, 39, the side altars. The Greek Iconostasis, or High Screen with paintings and three doors, is placed where the word Presbytery is written, having the steps to the west of it; 40, the seat of the Patriarch of Jerusalem; 41, the seat of the other Patriarchs; 42, the north choir-stalls and screen; 43, the *Compas* or centre of the world; 44, the south choir-stalls and screen; 45, the stairs which led to the chapels of Calvary or mezzanine floor, (described below under Fig. 5;) 46, the arch of the south transept, which opens to the south side aisle of the choir; 47, the Chapel of Adam or of Godfrey; 48, the tomb of Godfrey de Bouillon, first king of Jerusalem; 49, the tomb of his successor, Baldwin I. The double-dotted line shews the screen which formed the boundary of the western part of the Chapel of Adam. 50, The stone of Unction; 51, part of the side-aisle which lies beneath the Chapel of the Crucifixion; 52, a vaulted room, now used as a vestry, and similarly under the Chapel. The floor of the Chapel above is absurdly said by the Latins to be the spot upon which our Saviour was nailed to the Cross. 53, An apartment under the porch of the chapels of Calvary, used as a chapel of S. Mary of Egypt; 54, the stairs leading up to the porch; 55, the south-east door of the Church, now walled up; 56, the south-west door, which is the only entrance that the Mohammedans

have left open; 57, door leading to a chapel of S. Michael and All Saints; 58, door to the Armenian Church of S. John; 59, door to the Greek Monastery of Abraham; 60, the remains of a cloister which apparently occupied the north side of the court, or served as a porch to the Monastery of S. Maria Latina; 61, the Chapel of S. James; 62, the Chapel of the Trinity, also called of S. Mary Magdalene and of the Ointment-bearers, and now used as the Greek parish-church; 63, the font; 64, the present entrance; 65, the Chapel of S. John, upon which the campanile is erected; 66, the door into the side-aisle of the Rotunda, now walled up; 67, the arch which was originally the south-west door of the Rotunda before the Crusaders made additions to the Church; 68, a round stone which marks the place where the "acquaintance stood afar off beholding" the Crucifixion. At this point the staircase commences which leads to the principal Armenian church; this occupies part of the triforium overhead. 69, The Chapel of Constantine attached to the Greek Monastery.

Fig. 5. Plan of the chapels of Calvary upon the mezzanine floor, which is in this part of the Church interposed between the ground-floor and the triforium. The exact relative position of this floor to the main building, Fig. 4, is shewn by the chapel of the Mocking 34, the staircase, 45, and the external staircase to the porch, 54; which three points are marked with the same figures of reference in the two plans.

In Fig. 5, 70 is the porch, now blocked up; 71, the first chapel called the Chapel of the Crucifixion; 72, 73, the Chapel of the Exaltation of the Cross. The three holes to the east of the altar mark the position of the three crosses, and the circle behind the apse of the Chapel of Adam in Fig. 4 shews the position of the central hole corresponding to that behind the altar, 72. 74, The chapels of Abraham and of Melchisedech, of the exact plan of which I have no information. I only know by description that they occupy this corner of the building. 75, The kitchen of the Greek apartments, which has other rooms over it.

Previously to the fire of 1808, the mezzanine floor was reached by means of the staircase, 45, which is shewn in the general plan, Fig. 4, and the plan of Calvary, Fig. 5. This floor was also in the Crusaders' time reached by the external stair and porch, 54, 70, so that there was a way up and a way down for the processions of pilgrims. There was also a projecting gallery marked *a b* in Fig 5, which gave access from the Chapel of the Exaltation, 72, to the Greek apartments, 75, by means of two small doors, as shewn in the plan. Since the fire of 1808, however, these arrangements have been wholly changed, and the present plan is indicated by dotted lines in Fig. 5, for the information of travellers who may now visit this spot.

The ancient stair, 45, is destroyed as well as the gallery, *a b*, and in its place a floor on the level of the chapels is carried over this part of the side-aisle reaching from *c d* at the east to *e f* at the west. This floor

has a door, *m*, to the Greek dwelling, and a stair on the south which leads down to the north choir-door. The floor of the chapels which formerly extended only to *k* and *l*, is now also carried westward into the south transept by a projecting gallery or screen, *f g h*, which stands partly upon the same place as the old screen of the Chapel of Adam, (marked by double-dotted lines in the general plan at 48, 49). This new gallery has a staircase at *h* rising from a door in the transept at its southern corner, under the triforium-gallery, and close to the blocked-up door, 55. The new gallery has also another staircase at *g* which opens below upon a door in the north end of the screen at *f g*, so that thus a double access is provided, one stair up and another down.

Fig. 6. Conjectural Plan of the Holy Sepulchre as originally fitted up by Constantine.

Fig. 7. Plan of the Holy Sepulchre from the Crusaders' Conquest to the Fire of 1808, copied from Bernardino, (with the exception of the tints that divide the rock from the marble).

Fig. 8. Plan of the present Holy Sepulchre, (from a drawing by Mr. J. J. Scoles).

These three plans are all drawn to the same scale and have the same letters of reference. The rock is shaded with a rough dark tint, and the stone or marble additions with a uniform and lighter tint. A, the loculus or actual sepulchre; B the space in front of it, in which persons may stand; C, the door, the sides of which appear still to exhibit an uncovered rocky surface; D, the Angel Chapel: the square in the midst professes to be, or to represent, the stone which originally closed the mouth of the cave; EE stone seats; FF candelabra introduced into the modern structure; G the platform; H the Chapel of the Copts. This, which previously to the fire of 1808 was a rough wooden construction that may be seen in the drawings of Breydenbach and others, is now permanently constructed of stone or marble.

Plate III.

Fig. 9. A section of the church from East to West. The authorities for which I have explained in Note C. The lines of section are necessarily taken so as to lie behind each other, as no continuous line would pass through the different stairs of the Chapels of the Invention of the Cross, of Helena, and the principal church. The section of the Chapel of the Invention is taken from S westward through the stairs that lead down to it; that of the Chapel of Helena, through its centre and through its stairs; and finally, the section of the principal church is taken through its centre and through the Holy Sepulchre from the eastern apse (27) to the western apse (7.)

Fig. 10 is a section through part of the rock of Calvary and its chapels along the line *x y* (Fig. 4), which will explain the relative posi-

tions of the upper and lower chapels and their relation to the rock in which the apse of the Chapel of Adam is formed.

In these sections the rock is distinguished by a rough dark tint, and the masonry by a lighter and smooth tint.

Fig. 11 is a set of east and west sections of the original state of the ground placed upon the same level, the positions of which are shewn upon the plan, Fig. 1. But these sections are drawn upon the same scale as that of the church in Figs. 9 and 10. T V, a section passing through the foothole of the Cross upon Calvary, and therefore corresponding to the section in Fig 10. W, X, a section passing through the Sepulchre, and corresponding to Fig. 9. Y Z, a section passing along Sepulchre Street, and representing it as a uniform slope, from which it probably differs but little.

With reference to the whole of the above figures, I must beg to remark, that many details are necessarily put in from description alone, and that those which represent the original state of the ground, must be considered as illustrating my own views, although based upon pretty correct data. But I surrender them to the criticism of future observers, and shall be most grateful for corrections, or for additional information.

Plate IV.

Plans and sections of the Tombs of the Judges, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. J. Scoles. They are described at length in Section IV. In the last page of this section, line 17, for A read H.

Plates V. and VI.

Plans, sections, and details, of the Tomb of Absalom, from the same excellent authority, described in Section V. In this Section I have, however, inadvertently described the plan as lying with the door of entrance to the west, and must beg my readers to make the following corrections:

In the second page of section V, line 3 from the bottom, for *South* read *East*. In line 2 for *North* read *South;* and in line 1, for *East* read *North*. In the third page, in line 10 from the top, for *Northern* read *Western*.

The mouldings and details in Plate 6 are marked each with a letter, and the same letters will be found in Fig. 16, shewing the position of each detail in the monument. The rock is distinguished by a rough dark shade, and the masonry by a light uniform tint, as before. The stones of the masonry carefully marked in from the original. The accumulation of rubbish is also shewn, and it is to be hoped that future travellers will endeavour to supply the measures and details of the base of this curious monument. Cassas has restored it from pure fancy, without noting its encumbered condition.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TEMPLE MOUNT.

We are now to pass from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to the opposite hill of Moriah, and to endeavour, by a careful comparison of existing phænomena with the historical or traditionary notices of former times, to gain some light as to the true position of Solomon's Temple, and those that succeeded it. An accurate survey of the enclosure in its present state is indispensably requisite as the basis of the proposed investigation; and happily materials for such a description are no longer among the desiderata of this branch of literature. We shall, indeed, meet with some perplexing discrepancies in matters of considerable importance; but on the whole, considering that free access is now denied the Christian antiquary, and that the Frank writers of the period of the Christian domination were as loose and uncritical as the Arabic authors of a

later date, we may congratulate ourselves that our information is so ample, without at all approving the means by which it has been acquired[1]. Nearly all the points that are still open to question might be determined by careful enquiry among the Moslem inhabitants, or by a survey from the exterior, aided by a telescope, or by employing as proxy an intelligent native dragoman, who could be directed to the points of observation within the precinct, from which his master is excluded.

The area abounds in Christian and Moslem traditions, (not more veritable than those that have clustered round the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,) the former of which owe their origin to the Crusaders, the fruitful inventors and subjects of legendary tales. These worthless traditions it were wearisome to repeat, but it may be well to indicate the principal points of interest, in order to complete our nomenclature of the Holy City. This the lucid and minute description of an Arabic writer, compared with more modern surveys, will enable me to do with considerable accuracy.

El-Haram-es-Sherif, The Noble Sanctuary, occupies

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[1] My authorities for the following description are, 1. Mejr-ed-din, (as cited above p. 8. note 1. no. 3) p. 83, &c. cir. A. D. 1495. 2. Ali Bey, Travels in Morocco, A.D. 1807, &c. Vol. II. p. 214, &c.; where see the plan and section of the Haram, &c. described in a table at the commencement of Vol. I. pp. 35—39. 3. Dr. Richardson, Travels along the Mediterranean, &c. Vol. II. p. 285, &c. A.D. 1818. 4. General Noroff, Travels, A.D. 1830, a Russian work of great merit, considerable portions of which the excellent author has obligingly translated into French for my use. 5. Mr. Catherwood's survey, only parts of which have yet been published; first in his own plan, then in a valuable letter contained in Bartlett's Walks about Jerusalem, p. 161, &c.; and lastly, in Mr. Fergusson's Essay, whose chief or only value consists in the beautiful illustrations prepared by Mr. Arundale, who with Mr. Bonomi assisted Mr. Catherwood in the survey in A. D. 1833.

a spacious enclosure on the East side of the city, contained within four walls of unequal length[2], nearly facing the Cardinal points. The more ancient name of the whole *enceinte*, among Moslem writers, was *Mesjid-el-Aksa*[3], "the most distant Sanctuary" (to wit, from Mecca,) and this should be distinctly marked, because, this name being now exclusively attached to a particular Mosk at the south of the enclosure, modern writers have involved themselves in endless embarrassment by supposing that the El-Aksa of the Moslem traditions is identical with that particular building, instead of being, as it is, the general name of the whole Sanctuary.

None but the disciples of Islâm are permitted to set foot within this sacred enclosure, and the curious Frank is often repulsed from too near access with insults or blows, by the porters at the gates, or more ignobly by juvenile volunteers, who take especial delight in insulting a stranger under pretext of maintaining the inviolability of the Sanctuary. All may, however, survey it without molestation from the roof of the Seraîyáh, the official residence of the Pasha, at the North-west angle; and its general appearance cannot fail to recall to the mind several passages from the book of Psalms[4], allusive rather than descriptive, from which it is evident

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[2] The measures are very perplexing. Catherwood makes the East wall 1520 feet, the South 940, the West 1617; and the North 1020; and says that the walls stand at right-angles only at the South-west corner. (Bartlett's Walks, p. 174.) The Officers' survey makes the East 1520, South, 877, West, 1520, North, 1180. But more of this in the sequel.

[3] This is distinctly stated by Mejr-ed-din, l. c. Tom. II. p. 87. note *, where the translator remarks that the word *Mesjid* signifies the sacred enclosure in its largest sense; i. e. the whole court, while *Jamy* is the Mosk, properly so called. See also p. 93, and note *, where he remarks that *Mesjid* answers to the Greek ἱερόν; *Jamy*, to ναός; and again p. 377. It is a distinction of the utmost consequence, as will appear hereafter.

[4] e. g. Psalm lii. 8. xcii. 12—14.

that, after the revolutions of so many centuries, the aspect of the outer court continues such as it was in the days of Solomon, and onwards under the prophets. A profusion of trees of various kinds, among which the olive, acacia, and cypress, prevail, affords a delicious shade to idle groups of women and children in gay dresses, sauntering listlessly about the court; and where the olive-grove is thickest under the eastern wall may be found a quiet retreat for the devout Mosli in quest of seclusion, for purposes of religious meditation; and the Christian, while he blesses God that his faith debars him from entering the guarded precinct, can in some measure appreciate the glowing rhapsodies in which the Arab poets have sung the praises of their Mesjid-el-Aksa, in high-flown verse, such as Orientals alone can write, describing it as a terrestrial Paradise, only eighteen miles distant from heaven, the most highly-favored spot on earth for rain, and shade, and sweet water springing out of rocks and watering the earth[1].

There are public entrances to the outer court only on the West and on the North sides, those in the Eastern and Southern wall being no longer practicable. The names and positions of the Western gates are as follow[2]. The causeway named the Street of the Temple terminates in double gates, one of which is called *Bab-es-Salsala* (the Gate of the Chain), formerly the Gate of David; the other, *Bab-es-Sekiné* (the Gate of Tranquillity.) These, according to our Arabic author, are

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[1] See the extravagant verses and traditions from various sources in Mejr-ed-din, l. c. Tom. II. p. 378—387, describing the beauty of Jerusalem, and the excellency of works done there.

[2] Their names as given by Mejr-ed-din and Ali Bey do not entirely agree. I prefer the former as more accurate.

the two principal gates, and most frequented, because they lead towards the market-place and the chief streets of the town. On the contrary, Mr. Catherwood speaks of the *Bab-el-Katánîn*, (the Gate of the Cotton Merchants), 230 feet North of the former, as the principal entrance. It is of solid construction, and derives its name from the deserted Cotton Bazaar, into which it opens. The present gate owes its erection to Melik-en-Nasir Mohammed Ibn-Kelaûn, (A. H. 737. A. D. 1336-7,) as appeared by an inscription over the portal, cited by Mejr-ed-Din: but it was repaired at a later period by Allah-ed-dîn el-Bassir. During the time of the Frank domination there were but two gates on the West side[3], probably one at the causeway, and another at this part: the gate that then existed was supposed to represent the "Beautiful Gate" of the Temple, in which the Apostles SS. Peter and John healed the impotent man in the name of their Divine Master;—a tradition which has been duly transmitted to the more modern gate. The Frank who would desire a nearer view of the Haram than can be obtained from the Seraîyáh, is recommended to try this gate, both because it is less frequented than others, and because, as an object of religious veneration to Christians, the Moslems are less suspicious of their close access to it.

Bab-el-Hadîd (the Iron Gate), 400 feet further to the North, is solid and handsome, the work of one Argûn-el-Kameli; beyond which, at a distance of 200

[3] So William of Tyre, Historia, Lib. VIII. cap. iii. p. 748. He mentions the Porta Speciosa as one; from which time it figures in all Itineraries; but Quaresmius has proved that the tradition is of no value. Elucidatio T. S. Lib. IV. cap. xiv. Perig. X. Tom. II. p. 340, &c.; and see Cotovicus cited above, p. 127, note 4.

feet, we come to *Bab-en-Nazîr*, (the Gate of the Inspector), anciently called the Gate of Michael the Archangel, because, according to the hesitating tradition preserved by our Arabic author, to this gate Gabriel may have bound the celestial beast Borak, on the night of Mohammed's memorable journey. Between this and the N.W. angle is another gate called *Bab-el-Guánimi*, formerly the Gate of Abraham. It shares its present name with a minaret hard by, and derives it from the quarter in which it is situated.

Having thus arrived at the N.W. angle of the Haram, I must notice a peculiar feature which is here exhibited[1], viz. that its North face is formed "by the rock being cut perpendicularly to an extent of 20 feet in some parts; while, within the area also, in the direction of the Mosk, a considerable portion of the rock has been cut away" to the general level of the enclosure.

I proceed now to the Northern gates[2]. Immediately East of the Seraîyáh, 370 feet from the N.W. angle, is *Bab-el-Dewátâr*[3] (the Gate of the Secretary), once called the Nobility of the Prophets; and 150 feet East of this *Bab-el-Hittâ*, (the Gate of Remission of Sins), to which are attached some obscure and conflicting Moslem traditions[4] relating to the children of Israel: and it is remarkable that this gate and the *Bab-es-Sabât* (the Gate of the Tribes of Israel) at the Eastern ex-

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[1] See Bartlett's Walks, pp. 156, 174, 5. The rock may be seen in his drawing of the Haram, p. 108.

[2] In the time of the Crusaders there was but one gate on the North. Willermus Tyrensis, l. c.

[3] The translator of Mejr-ed-din has Devadar. I have ventured to alter this, and to assume it to be the Persian word دوات‌آر "Secretary, or keeper of the seals." Ali Bey names this gate "Aatim," the meaning of which I cannot conjecture.

[4] See Mejr-ed-din, l. c. p. 97, and compare el-Koran, cap. ii. verse 55.

tremity of the Northern wall, as well as the fosse that lies between them (*Birket Israîl*), all bear traditionary witness, in their Hebrew origin, to the ancient inhabitants of the Holy City.

The West and North sides of the enclosure are environed by numerous colleges, convents, and cells, devoted to various sects and divers purposes, endowed by the Khalifs or Sultans of the several dynasties that have successively held sway in Jerusalem. A full account of these religious foundations is contained in Mejr-ed-din[5]; but as it would be tedious and uninteresting to the general reader, I may dispense with the recital, and proceed at once to the principal object of attraction within the enclosure—*Kubbet-es-Sakhrah*, or, The Dome of the Rock.

This elegant structure occupies nearly the middle space between the Southern and Northern walls of the great enclosure, but is exactly one third, or 320 feet, nearer the Western than the Eastern wall. It stands on an extensive platform measuring 450 feet from East to West, and 550 feet from North to South, paved in part with marble[6], rising in general about fifteen or sixteen feet above the outer area, and approached by three flights of stairs on the Western side, by two on the North, two on the South, and one on the East side. The building itself is an octagon of 67 feet on a side, the walls of which are ornamented externally with variegated marbles arranged in elegant and intricate patterns. The octagonal lower story rises to a height of 46 feet, forming a basement to a circular wall, less

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[5] Cap. xxi. l. c. pp. 118—124.

[6] William of Tyre says that both the courts were paved with white marble. VIII. iii. p. 748.

than half its own diameter, adorned with tiles of glazed porcelain of bright hues and varied patterns. At a total height of 67 feet from the ground this wall is pierced with a series of 56 low lights of peculiar character, from above which the spherical dome of exquisite proportions rises to an additional height of about 40 feet, surmounted by a handsome gilt crescent. This Dome is covered with lead. Inscriptions, apparently executed in the porcelain, run completely round the lower part of the building, but they have been allowed to fall into a state of ruinous decay. There are four doors to the Mosk, facing the Cardinal points, and covered by handsome porches; that on the South being the most highly ornamented.

On entering the Mosk we find two concentric aisles of unequal width[1], running round the entire building and enclosing a space under the dome, which is occupied by the sacred Rock from which the building derives its name. Eight piers stand opposite to the angles of the octagon: these, together with sixteen columns, support twenty-four pointed arches, and separate the two aisles. The inner range, supporting the dome, consists of twelve columns and four massive piers, similarly connected by sixteen arches. The columns are composed of various precious marbles, with gilded Corinthian capitals, and all appear to have been taken from a more ancient building[2]. The circular wall, 66 feet interior diameter, which rests upon the inner range of pillars, is divided into two members answering to the triforium

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[1] Mr. Catherwood, l. c. states the outer aisle to be 13, the inner 30 feet wide, and the dome 66 feet in diameter.

[2] Both General Noroff and Mr. Catherwood remark this.

and clerestory, and is richly ornamented, as is also the dome, with gilded stucco, in the Arabesque style[3], such as prevails in "Alhambra;" uniformity being preserved throughout each of the sixteen compartments into which it is distributed. The architectural details of this and the other buildings will require fuller notice when I come to the historical disquisition, but at present I confine myself to a general survey.

Under the dome is the remarkable limestone rock, which occupies the greater part of the inner area, and appears to be the natural surface of the rock of Mount Moriah. It is irregular in its form, and measures about 60 feet in one direction and 50 in the other. It projects about five feet above the marble pavement of the Mosk, which is itself twelve feet above the general level of the enclosure. At the South-East corner of this rock is a descent by a flight of steps to an excavated chamber, irregular in form; its superficial area being about 600 feet, the average height seven. In the centre of its rocky pavement is a circular slab of marble, which being struck returns a hollow sound, clearly shewing that there is a well or excavation beneath[4]. This Mosk was converted into a Church during the Frank domination, under the appellation of

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[3] This is probably modern, for in the time of the Crusaders, according to William of Tyre, the temple was "intus et de foris marmoreis tabulis et opere Musaico decoratum." l. c. Quaresmius, commenting on this, says that in his days the interior walls were white, "In præsentibus melius diceretur *de foris* quidem, in superiori parte ornamentis et floribus Damasceno artificis exornatum esse; et *intus* totum album, ut qui diligenter interius viderunt testati sunt: et credo, quia communiter sunt albæ Turcarum Mesquitæ." Elucid. T. S. Lib. IV. cap. xvi. Perig. iii. Vol. II. p. 110. A section of the Mosk, drawn by F. Arundale, Esq., is given by Mr. Fergusson, plate I.

[4] I here follow Mr. Catherwood's description in Bartlett's Walks, p. 167.

"the Temple of the Lord:" and, fifteen years after the conquest, the sacred rock, supposed by the Christians to be the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, and the place of the altar of David, was encased in white marble, and an altar erected upon it[1]. The rock still bears marks of the chiselling required for this purpose[2], as a perpetual memorial to the Moslems, who are sorely scandalised by the profanation.

Opposite the East door of the Mosk, at a distance of about 20 feet from the porch, is the small "Dome of the Chain," or "Judgment-seat of David," said to have been erected as a model for the Dome of the Rock[3]. It presents the same general architectural features, and the capitals of six slender columns that support the dome are also of the Corinthian order. Mr. Noroff supposes that it was designed for a fountain[4]; but I am disposed to think that it is the building constructed by order of Abd-el-Melik to serve as a treasury for the funds that he collected for his great works in Jerusalem[5]. It was converted into a Chapel by the Franks, and dedicated to S. James[6].

Other domes, covering fountains, chapels, and cells, are scattered over the platform, and indeed over the whole precinct, marking the oratories of Moslem devotees, or some object of superstitious reverence connected with the false prophet and his successors.

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[1] See above, Vol. I. p. 383, and Will. Tyr. VIII. iii. p. 748.

[2] Catherwood l. c.

[3] Mejr-ed-din l. c. Tom. II. p. 89, and Tom. III. p. 162.

[4] He seems even to affirm that water was running in this and other fountains at the time of his visit in 1830.

[5] Mejr-ed-din, III. 162. The treasure-house and the model cupola might well be identical, though it is not so stated.

[6] So the Norman French writer in Beugnot, given in the Appendix.

Proceeding southward from the raised platform, by a paved walk shaded by cypresses, we pass a large circular fountain of marble, and at the distance of 350 feet reach the Porch of the Mosk el-Aksa, which occupies the remaining space of 280 feet to the southern wall of the great enclosure.

The elevation of the Porch forms a beautiful *façade* in seven compartments, exhibiting a mixed style of architecture; Gothic features of the Norman and Early-pointed periods preponderating in the three inner divisions, the four exterior compartments being purely Saracenic. The portico is of ample dimensions, covering the entire width of the Mosk[8]. The wall of the Mosk is pierced with doors in each of the seven compartments, but the middle one only is in use. It gives entrance into the body of the Mosk, which is distributed into a nave and triple aisles, with a transeptal arrangement at the South end. The nave is supported on either side by seven arches slightly pointed, above which is a double row of twenty-one windows, whereof the upper are the lights of the clerestory, the lower, pierced in the triforium space, open into the side-aisles[9]. It has a flat roof of timber, as have also the aisles nearest the nave, while

[8] The dimensions of this extensive building, obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Catherwood, February 15, 1847, and compared with his Plan published by Mr. Fergusson, Plate V. are as follow. The porch is 183 feet 11 inches long by 30 wide, including the piers. Total interior length of Mosk 230 feet: total width 172. Length of nave 169 feet 9 inches; the width 31 feet 9 inches; side-aisles 15 feet each, exclusive of the columns, (the shafts of which are about 3 feet in diameter, the plinths 4 feet square,) the piers, (some of which are 10 feet thick,) pilasters, &c.

[9] The longitudinal section in Ali Bey will convey a general idea of this building, but its details are utterly worthless. It seems to have been done from memory, and without accurate measurements. Travels, Vol. II. p. 215.

the other four aisles are lower, and vaulted in stone. The aisles are all, however, of an uniform width.

The columns "are very irregular in size, material, and architectural character, some being evidently Roman, while others are as plainly Saracenic;" but the middle aisles on either side are separated from those nearest the nave by massive piers of irregular shape.

At the intersection of the transepts is a beautiful spherical dome, rich with arabesque painting and gilding, pierced with two rows of lights. It is equal in diameter to the nave, and is supported by four arches resting on enormous piers, which are connected by a series of lower arches carried by handsome columns of brown marble. The capitals of these columns, as of those that form the aisles of the transepts, and of the pilasters attached to the piers, are all of the Corinthian order; and although several are partially overlaid with a peculiar basket-ornament, in gilded plaister, all retain sufficient of their original features for identification, while from some the disguise has fallen away, and the capital has recovered its original character[1]. Ali Bey describes these pillars as of a composite order, and further remarks that the columns in the nave are of no architectural proportion, but the capitals are composed of plates or leaves of iron[2]. Mr. Noroff con-

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[1] Mr. Arundale's drawing, (Plate II. in Mr. Fergusson's book,) shews three columns with the basket-capitals, and three with the original Corinthian capitals, either restored or never masked. In the former, the bulging-out of the basket-work suggests the existence of the foliation beneath; but the point that proves it incontestibly is the volutes and part of the abacus peering out above the basket-work. This was first pointed out to me by A. J. B. Hope, Esq. The basket-capital is given by Mr. Fergusson, in p. 109.

[2] See his description of the Section in the explanation of the Plates prefixed to Vol. I. p. xxxviii.

jectures that these columns also have been taken from the ruins of ancient Jerusalem.

Against the South wall stands an elaborately-carved Mihrab or Tribune, highly ornamented with variegated marble, as if it had formed part of a Christian altar[3]; and beneath the dome is the Minbar or gallery for the singers, of wood elaborately carved.

The eastern transept gives entrance into a simple and very low vault about 85 feet long, called the Mosk of Omar; the western conducts to a much larger edifice[4], now known as the Mosk of Abu Bekr, which some Mohammedan writers believe to be coeval with the conquest of Omar, and to owe its erection to that Khalif[5]. It is divided in the middle by a row of nine columns supporting the vaulted roof; but what was formerly the westernmost compartment is partitioned off and forms two schools, the lower part of whose western wall, the exterior wall of the Haram itself, is formed of massive stones, apparently belonging to an ancient foundation.

At right-angles to this Mosk runs the long narrow Mosk of the Moghrebins or Western Africans[6]. This I apprehend to be the Mosk described by Felix Fabri, as in course of erection at the time of his visit[7], (A.D. 1483/4,) and to which he was admitted by the civility of the Mullah. Its position is not accurately described; only it was near the wall, apparently on the west side

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[3] This is the remark of Dr. Richardson, Vol. II. p. 306. The Moslems call it the great Mihrab or Altar of David. Mejr-ed-din, Tom. II. p. 83.

[4] Interior dimensions, including the Schools, 230 feet by 55.

[5] This is called in Mejr-ed-din, (l. c. p. 86.) the Mosk of the Moghrebins; the Mosk now called by this name was not completed when this historian wrote. See the next page.

[6] Interior dimensions 172 feet 3 in. × 26 feet 9 in.

[7] Evagatorium, (Edit. Hassler, Stuttgardiæ, 1843.) Vol. II. p. 124.

of the Haram; and an ancient and very accurate painting of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, probably executed in the 15th Century, now preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, has no building on this site; while Mejr-ed-din, only ten years later than Felix, (A.D. 1495) describes this Mosk as "the School of Efdhal, sometimes called the Dome of the Moghrebins," founded for their use by the son of Saladin; but, with the exception of the Minaret, not erected before the year $146\frac{5}{6}$.[1] The name now appropriated to this Mosk is by him assigned to the present Mosk of Abu Bekr, which would appear to be the large church-like building described by Felix Fabri, as the residence of the Moslem bishop, Thadi, as he styles the Mullah, hard by the unfinished Mosk; which was, however, then so far advanced as to be ready for its polychrome adornment.

Near the northern extremity of this building, in the west wall of the Haram, is a gate of the same name, and probably coeval with the Mosk. To the north of the gate is a descent to a subterranean chamber, more interesting in an antiquarian view than for its traditionary associations, though it be the spot where Mohammed alighted from his ass El-Borak, after his ride from Mecca, preparatory to his ascent to heaven; as the identical iron ring to which he tied his celestial beast, still shewn in the wall, attests, to the confusion of all gainsayers. The curiosity which I have to notice is this,

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[1] Mejr-ed-din in Mines d'Orient, Tom. II. p. 86, compared with p. 123. In fact, those poor Africans seem to have been sadly put about: in 1808 they had a small chapel, 30 feet by 15 in the West wall near the North-west angle. Ali Bey's Travels, Vol. II. p. 225. The Maleki sect occupied the present Mosk of the Moghrebins, when Mejr-ed-din wrote.

that in the wall of this subterranean cellar, which is 15 (French) feet square, is to be seen "the upper part of a magnificent portal, the superior portion of which consists of a single stone 20 feet long[2]." This, Ali Bey, who describes it, believes to have been "one of the gates of the Temple[3]."

Returning now to the porch of El-Aksa, beneath, or in front, of which lie the murderers of S. Thomas à Becket[4], I must carry my survey to the East of this building, when I have first described the remarkable double vault that runs under it from North to South, and terminates in a vestibule, formerly entered by a grand double gateway in the southern wall. The doorways are marked by two pair of light Corinthian columns of white marble, stuck on to massive bevelled masonry, now partly embedded in the wall[5]. The vestibule is vaulted with four low domes, of the late Roman period, springing from a monolithic column with a foliated capital[6], belonging to no order. From hence is an ascent by ten steps to the western vault, separated from the eastern by a range of low square piers, connected by round arches. The passages are covered with

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[2] I do not comprehend how this can be if the building is only 15 feet long.

[3] Travels, Vol. II. p. 226, compared with the plan and explanation prefixed to Vol. I.

[4] Hovenden relates, that having been admitted to penance by Pope Alexander III., they went to Jerusalem. "Et ex præcepto Papæ in monte nigro, (Qy. Jebel-Mûsa,) pœnitentiam agentes obierunt et sunt Jerosolymis sepulti ante ostium Templi. Quorum superscriptio hæc est. *Hic jacent miseri qui martyrizaverunt beatum Thomam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem.*" Ap. Savile's Scriptores Ang. p. 522.

[5] The plan of these, given by Catherwood, (Plate V. of Mr. Fergusson's Essay), appears more truthful than Mr. Tipping in Traill's Josephus, Vol. I. p. xxiv.; where the dimensions also are given. But the engravings from Mr. Tipping's drawings in the same volume are very faithful.

[6] Represented in Fergusson's Essay, p. 15.

a low segmental vault, and extend the entire length of the Mosk above. The descent from the upper area to the eastern passage, which is secured by an iron door, is immediately in front of the portico, under the compartment East of the centre. The substructions therefore lie under the eastern half of the nave, and its adjoining aisle. There is probably a continued series of substructions extending along the southern wall from this passage to the south-east angle; for although no modern traveller has yet penetrated into those lying between these and the extensive vaults at that angle, presently to be noticed, which are still open to within 200 feet of this corridor, yet a closed door in the east wall of the vestibule would appear to indicate that there was once a communication between it and other similar substructions in this quarter.

The date and design of the gate and passage will be investigated presently. The native Moslems call them "the Ancient Temple," and judge from their solidity that they may be remains of some construction of Solomon[1]. The earliest modern notice that we have of them, is that of Felix Fabri[2], who remarks that 600 horses might easily be placed in them; and it is perhaps not unlikely that the military knights of the Temple may have applied the vaults to so useful a purpose. They were seen from without by Maundrell[3], and appear in itineraries at intervals; but an accidental breach in the southern wall allowed access to several English

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[1] So Mejr-ed-din, Tom. II. p. 95.

[2] In his day the city-wall on the South was in ruins, and allowed free access to all these substructions. Evagratorium, Tom. II. pp. 125 and 232. Benjamin Tud. p. 70, apparently alludes to these vaults as "the Stables of Solomon."

[3] Maundrell's Journey, under date April 5, p. 100.

travellers—the writer among the number—in 1842, and afforded ample opportunity to a clever artist to make accurate drawings and measurements of the whole.

Between the small Mosk of Omar and the south-east angle of the Haram, at the distance of 223 feet from the former, is a small oratory called the Altar of David[4]; and at a further distance of 71 feet is a double oratory supported by eight piers, which is called the Mart of Science[5]. This extends nearly to the angle, where is the descent to a small square subterranean chamber, called the "Grotto of the Lord Jesus," in which is a limestone sarcophagus, called "the Cradle of Jesus." The ground-plan of this chamber, Mr. Catherwood remarked, has much the appearance of a tower. Hence is another descent to those extensive substructions that support this part of the platform, called by the Moslems, "the Pool, or Stable of Solomon[6]." These vaults at present consist of fifteen rows of square pillars, from which spring arches supporting the platform: they extend about 330 feet towards the West, while Northward their width varies from 100 to 300

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[4] Mejr-ed-din l. c. p. 83, 86. It is 24 feet square, according to Catherwood.

[5] Ibid. p. 86. He confesses not to know the meaning of this name. It was in his day appropriated to the Hanbelites, as also in Dr. Richardson's time. Travels, Vol. II. p. 309. The dimensions are 73 feet 6 inches long, by 29 feet wide.

[6] These substructions are described by Richardson, Vol. II. pp. 308—311; and by Catherwood in Bartlett's Walks, p. 370. See also Mejr-ed-din, Vol. II. p. 95. This author names it "the Stable of Solomon;" Dr. Richardson, "*Berca Solymon*," "the Pool," &c.

The following dimensions are from Mr. Catherwood. Thickness of east wall of the Haram, 8ft. 4in.; length of substructions from East to West, 329ft. 6in., of which the gateway and its portals occupy 51ft. 6in. at the westernmost extremity. The westernmost passage extends northward from the gate 267ft., including the south wall. The intercolumniation varies from 15½ft. to 30ft.

feet; but they are closed up both on the West and on the North by walls of more modern date than the architecture of the pillars and arches; and I have no doubt that if the masonry on the West were removed, the passage of communication between this vault and the door in the east wall of the vestibule would be recovered. The roots of the olive-trees on the platform above have struck through the arches, and in some instances taken root again below. The ground rises rapidly from the South-east towards the North and West, so that the height of the southern arches is 35 feet, while the northern ones are but 10 feet high. The whole substruction appears to be of Roman origin. And this is confirmed by a large gateway with two portals, now blocked up with very thick walls, but still marked, as we shall find, in the exterior wall by three Roman arches, which formerly gave entrance to what are now the three Westernmost series of the vaults. Dr. Richardson remarks, that the columns of these substructions are about four feet and a half square, and consist of three stones each. Each stone is bevelled at the end and at the corners, so that the joints appear like those in revealed rustic. The stones, he adds, have been remarkably well cut, but they are much more disintegrated than they are likely to have been in the station that they at present occupy, during the period of eleven hundred years, and have a much older appearance than the arches which they support. The workmanship of the columns he thinks is decidedly Jewish. These vaults abound in Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan legends, some of which are reported by Dr. Richardson. His attendants informed him that there are 3000 such columns under El-Aksa;

and even the large limits that must be allowed to Oriental hyperbole, will scarcely permit us to understand this of the few that are found in the subterranean passages above described, which he was not permitted to enter.

In passing from these vaults towards the Golden Gate on the North, Dr. Richardson saw "in two places where the ground had been turned up, several fragments of marble columns, and wherever the sward was broken, the ground below exhibited a conglomeration of rubbish of former buildings[1]."

The last building that demands notice within the area is the Golden Gateway, now used as a Mosk. It stands at the distance of 1024 feet North of the south-east angle, and exhibits many of the architectural features of the Mosk of Omar, but with some important variations in its constructive principles, which will scarcely allow us to assign it to the same date. Two columns with corresponding pilasters attached to the walls, support a series of arches on which rest dome-vaults with pendentives, similar in construction to those of the subterranean vestibule on the South, and apparently of the same period. The capitals of the columns are bastard Corinthian, not nearly so pure as those of the pilasters[2].

Between this Golden Gate and the Gate of the Tribes, is a sacred place of the Moslems on the western wall, named *Coursi Suliman*, in which they profess to shew the Royal Throne of the Son of David[3].

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[1] Richardson's Travels, Vol. II. p. 312.

[2] See Mr. Catherwood's view in Fergusson's Essay, p. 96, and the Plan in Plate V., which makes this building 67 feet by 37. Mr. Bonomi says it "once formed a stately portico of Roman workmanship." (Robinson's Bib. Res. I. 437, 8.)

[3] Richardson, l. c.

I must now proceed to a survey of the exterior walls of the Haram which I shall commence at the North-east angle, and pass round in order to the East, South, West, and North sides. The Eastern and Southern walls have been constantly measured within these few last years, with strangely different results[1]. I follow the scientific survey of the Engineering Officers, to whose Field-Book I have had access, comparing the careful observations of Mr. Tipping, which, if not conducted on the most approved principles, yet descend to the minutest particulars[2]. Its extreme length is 1533 feet[3]. Courses of massive, ancient masonry may be traced almost in a continuous line along the whole of the eastern side, on the brow of the steep Valley of Jehoshaphat, rising sometimes nearly to the height of the modern walls, in other places scarcely protruding above the soil. This may be accounted for in part by the inequality of the ground and the unequal accumulation of *débris*, in part also by the ruin of the wall, more complete in some parts than in others. At the N. E. angle of the Haram, *e. g.* several courses of ancient masonry form a corner tower, projecting slightly from the general face of the wall along a length of 81 feet. Many of the stones measure from 17 to 19 feet in length, while a few exceed 24 feet. They vary from 3 to 4 feet in depth, and from 5 to 8 in

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[1] Viz. by Dr. Robinson in 1838. By Lieutenants Aldrich and Symonds, of the Royal Engineers, in 1841. By Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping in 1842. By Mr. Eli Smith, (at Dr. Robinson's request,) early in 1844.

[2] Mr. Tipping's measurements and observations are given in Traill's Josephus, pp. xlii—xlvii. His views of these interesting remains are of great value from their extreme accuracy.

[3] So the Officers' Field-Book; Mr. Tipping makes it 1525 ft., nearly agreeing with Dr. Robinson and Eli Smith. Catherwood, (in Bartlett's Walks, p. 174,) makes it 1520 ft.

width. At a distance of 375 feet from the point where the southern angle of the N. E. tower recedes, the Golden Gateway projects six feet from the wall, along a frontage of 53 feet. It consists of a double circular archway of Roman construction, but the details of its architectural features are much disfigured by time, and by the process of blocking up the gateway, which was probably first done by Christians from devotional feeling. It was opened only on Palm Sunday, in commemoration of our Lord's triumphant Entry into the Temple through that identical gate, as the Christians of that day were persuaded; and on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, because it was through this gate that the Emperor Heraclius entered the city, bearing the Cross recovered from the Persians[4]. The Moslems continued the obstruction, apparently to add to the security of the city against the wild Bedawîn of the eastern desert[5], and not from superstitious forebodings of a Christian enemy, as is sometimes represented. Forty feet South of the Golden Gate is a small Saracenic portal, now closed, which owes it origin to the period of the Frank kingdom, when it was called "the Gate of Josaphat." It was pierced for convenience of entrance to the enclosure when the Golden Gate had been walled up[6].

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[4] See Gesta Francorum Expug. Hierus. in Bongar, Tom. I. p. 572, and the citations in Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 336, &c., and the Norman writer, cited by Beugnot, Assise de Jérusalem, Tom. II. p. 531. In Schultz, p. 111.

[5] This is the only reason stated by Arabian writers. Mejr-ed-din, in Mines d'Orient, Tom. II. p. 96. He says, however, that they were closed by Omar, and shall never again be opened until the end of the world.

[6] It is spoken of by Parchi (A.D. 1322,) as the Gate Shushan, closed by large square stones. See more particulars below. Mejr-ed-din, Tome II. p. 96, places it near the Gates of Mercy, opposite to the ascent to the platform, named the Stairs of Borak.

South of this portal the indications of ancient masonry are interrupted for a time; and at a distance of 111 feet from the Golden Gate the wall advances again two feet, and then continues in the same line, almost to the S. E. angle. One hundred feet South of the projection eleven shafts of columns protrude horizontally from the wall, in which they have been inserted; they are composed of porphyry and verd-antique. Three similar shafts are found somewhat further South; and after an interval one other projects much further, where the wall is pierced with a Saracenic arch. This is to allow access to the column, which is regarded with especial veneration by the Moslems, as the judgment-seat of Mohammed, in the last day, when the whole world shall be gathered together in the Valley of Jehoshapat, and the invisible Bridge, suspended from this column and reaching to the opposite mount, shall conduct the elect to Paradise, but precipitate the reprobate with a double destruction into the torments of Gehennah.

Proceeding further South the ground descends rapidly, and discovers several more courses of the cyclopean stones: the last 60 feet project about six inches from the general line of the wall, furnishing a confirmation of Mr. Catherwood's observation concerning the chamber within, which he remarks has the appearance of a tower[1].

This S. E. angle of the Haram is perhaps the most imposing object in or about Jerusalem, consisting of

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He calls it "the Gate of Borak," because the Prophet entered by it on his nocturnal journey: and the "Gate of Expiations," because he again made his exit by it. It was also then closed, A. D. 1495.

[1] See above p. 311.

enormous blocks of stone, rising to a height of about 70 feet, and based upon the brink of the valley, which has here a depth of 129 feet almost precipitous[2]. It will be remembered that the entrance to the extensive vaults through the Cradle of Jesus is at this angle[3]: and it is perhaps important to remark, that the lowest level of these vaults is considerably above the base of the exterior wall. The greatest height of the vaults is stated by Mr. Catherwood to be about 35 feet, so that their floor must be an equal height above the ground without. This phænomenon must be accounted for by supposing that the native rock of Moriah has been here artificially cut into a perpendicular angle, and merely faced with masonry, in the same manner as the Castle of David[4]; an arrangement which may be found in many parts of the City-walls[5].

Proceeding with our survey on the South side[6], at the distance of 93 feet from the angle we find a

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[2] These measures are from Mr. Tipping in Traill's Josephus, Vol. I. p. xlv. In p. xliii. he had directed attention to the fact, "that the Jews seem to have bestowed more pains upon the corners than upon any other part:— they exhibit greater care of finish, and a better choice of materials; and 'the chief corner-stones' are of surpassing magnitude." In p. xxxi. he gives the two faces of the South-east angle with his usual accuracy of delineation.

[3] See above p. 311.

[4] See above p. 16.

[5] It may be seen in the Sections in the Plan, that in some places the rock is cut almost the whole height of the wall. Opposite the Cave of Jeremiah on the North, the wall is merely a facing of rock, and so again at the South-east angle of the City-wall. See Sections on the Plan.

[6] The results of the measurements of this South wall are as follow:

1. Mr. Catherwood in 1833, from his notes, 932 ft., but in Bartlett, p. 174, 940 ft.
2. Dr. Robinson, in 1838, (see Bib. Res. I. p. 431,) 955 feet.
3. Lieutenants Symonds and Aldrich, 1841, 537+340=877 ft.
4. Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping, in 1842, (Bib. Sac. 1843. p. 23,) 915 ft.
5. Mr. E. Smith, in 1844, 906½ ft. (Theol. Rev. Nov. 1846. p. 626. note 1.)

Saracenic doorway, now built up[1], which must formerly have given entrance to the vaults, though it seems to have escaped Mr. Catherwood's observation. Not so the three Roman arches commencing 200 feet West of the Saracenic doorway. They are 25 feet high and 14 wide[2], and formed, as we have seen, a grand gateway with two portals, having corresponding passages through the vaults within, probably leading to the upper area[3]. At a total distance of 372 feet from the S. E. angle we meet with a breach in the wall extending 110 feet westward, occasioned "by a decay of masonry effected by a pressure of water from heavy rain;" and at a distance of 55 feet from the Western termination of this breach, the modern city-wall starts off from the wall of the Haram at a right angle[4], at the precise point where is found the ancient double gateway under the Mosk el-Aksa, which is actually divided by this wall, so that one-half is included, the other excluded, from the modern city[5]. Part of the entablature may still be seen above the mass of modern masonry, by which the entrance has been blocked up; and the curious traveller may obtain a furtive view of the double corridor by climbing up to the iron grating in the same wall, which a mound of

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[1] Wolcott in Robinson's Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. I. p. 23.

[2] So Wolcott, l. c. but the Officers' Field-Book represents them as extending only 30 ft. along the wall. The statements will agree, if we suppose them to have measured from the middle of the arches.

[3] See above p. 312.

[4] Thus the Officers' measurement gives 537 ft. of the South wall of the Haram, without the city; Dr. Robinson, 570. Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping, 550. (Bib. Sac. p. 23.) But according to Mr. Tipping 545, and in all 916. (Traill's Josephus, p. xlv.)

[5] This is well shewn in Mr. Tipping's outline-drawing of the Gateway, and the other view. Ib. p. xxii.

débris will enable him to reach without much difficulty[6]. Here a rude pile of Saracenic buildings abuts upon the wall of the Mosk, in one of the deserted chambers of whose basement-story, approached from within the city, the Western end of the frieze and architrave may be distinguished. From this chamber I effected a stealthy entrance into the corridor, on two occasions, under the guidance of Mr. Wolcott, through an accidental hole in the wall, which was afterwards discovered and secured by the Moslem authorities. This mass of buildings are merely offices connected with the Mosk[7].

The ancient cyclopean masonry was traced by Mr. Tipping from the S. E. angle of the Haram wall, beyond its point of junction with the modern city-wall, though only one or two courses are visible. "With the West side of the gateway the bevelled masonry ceases; and up to the S. W. corner we have a fine lofty wall, with a row of windows [those of the Mosk Abu Bekr], and the upper part is of uniform and excellent masonry, similar to what may be seen in later Roman erections. But at the S. W. corner we find again the ancient bevelled masonry, equal to the colossal corner-stones at the other, and already-described angles. Indeed, the lowest course on the west face is the largest anywhere in the wall, measuring full thirty feet in length[8]."

And here we reach some interesting remains, to which greater importance has of late been attached

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[6] Wolcott in Bib. Sac. pp. 18, 19. The history of the discovery of this aperture is given by Mr. Tipping, in pp. xvi. and xvii.

[7] Catherwood, in Bartlett's Walks, p. 169.

[8] Tipping, in Traill's Josephus, p. xlvi.

than to any others in the city[1]; and it is therefore a subject of congratulation that the pencil of a skilful artist has been employed to aid the descriptions of travellers, which must always fail to convey any satisfactory impression to the mind of the reader[2].

These remains consist of "several large stones jutting out from the Western wall, which at first sight seems to be the effect of a bursting of the wall from some mighty shock or earthquake;" but on further inspection "the courses of these immense stones, which seem at first to have sprung out from their places in the wall in consequence of some enormous violence, are found to occupy their original position." Three courses of these stones, commencing at 39 feet from the S. W. corner, have "their external surface hewn to a regular curve; and being fitted one upon another, they form the commencement or foot of an immense arch, which once sprung out from this Western wall, in a direction towards Mount Sion, across the valley of the Tyropœon[3]." "The extreme width of the abutting stones is 51 feet: of these stones one measures 24 feet 6 inches in length, and several of them exceed 5 feet

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[1] The merit of the priority of the discovery of these ruins, or rather of their importance in an archæological view, has been warmly and earnestly contested in America between Drs. Robinson and Olin,—and Europe and Asia have been called on for witnesses, in the persons of Mr. Catherwood and Mr. Nicolayson respectively. As I do not attach so much importance to them as either of the combatants, for reasons which will presently appear, the contest seems rather amusing. I may mention, however, that my friend Mr. Young, formerly Consul at Jerusalem, assures me that when he saw these stones on his first visit to the city in 1836, he was persuaded that they were the remains of the bridge spoken of by Josephus; he declared his conviction to Messrs. Nicolayson and Whiting, and was surprised that the ruin had not attracted more attention.

[2] I allude particularly to Mr. Tipping's drawings, pp. xx. and xxv.

[3] Bib. Res. Vol. I. pp. 351, 424.

in thickness. The *chord* of the remaining portion of the arch is 12 feet 6 inches, the *sine* 11 feet 10 inches, and the *cosine* 3 feet 10 inches[4]." Its total span, if restored, (according to the statement of an English engineer[5],) would be 41 feet 7 inches, supposing it a circular arch with a radius of 20 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

About 100 feet northward of the arch, Abu Se'ûd's house abuts upon the wall, and presents a barrier to further investigation in the same line. The ancient masonry, however, may be traced quite up to this abutment, and is recovered at the Jews' Wailing Place, which extends along the line of wall between the Gate of the Moghrebins and that of the Chain, at the causeway, and is reached by "a narrow lane, through a cluster of humble, one-storied tenements." Here occur some of the finest and best preserved specimens of ancient masonry in the Haram wall, consisting of "five courses of bevelled stones, and over these four courses of smooth-faced stones, little if at all inferior in size." "Owing to the continuous mass of houses built up against the west side of the Haram, it is next to impossible to inspect it any further; but from some glimpses stolen here and there, among the houses, Mr. Tipping believes the west side to be the best preserved of the three, and that the covered bazaar (the Cotton Mart) has been, judging from the size of the stones, erected with ancient materials[6]."

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[4] Tipping, in Traill's Josephus, p. xxvi. and Robinson l. c.

[5] Mr. J. C. Brettell, who measured it in June 1840. Mr. Young has furnished me with his restoration.

[6] Traill's Josephus, p. xlvi. The promised careful delineation of the Wailing Place was never given, but it is well represented by Mr. Bartlett, Walks, p. 154. He also gives the spring-stones of the arch in p. 150.

There is, however, an important fact relating to this western wall, which has escaped the observation of all except Lieutenant Symonds, who surveyed the interior of the city in 1841, with the utmost care, and whose Plan, so far as I have been able to test it, will bear the closest scrutiny. It is this; that the western wall is not continued in an unbroken line from its southern to its northern extremity, but presents two distinct angles in its southern half; the former at a distance of 180 feet from the S. W. angle of the Haram, at the point where the house of Abu Se'ûd Effendi abuts upon the Mosk; the latter, at a further distance of 320 feet North, just South of the causeway at the Mehkemeh, or Town Hall of the city. It results from this, that the Jews' Wailing Place is 140 feet West of the wall at the ruined arch, and that the line of the wall from the causeway nearly to the N. W. corner is 90 feet West of the Wailing Place. The importance of this fact will appear in the sequel. It was so wholly unsuspected by myself, so strongly confirmatory of my previously-formed theory, and so subversive of the opposite, maintained by Dr. Robinson and others, that I have taken great pains to test the accuracy of the survey in this part, although the skill of the Officer, the scientific principles on which the survey was conducted, and the minute accuracy of the Plan in all other respects, scarcely allowed room to doubt that its departure from all preceding authorities on this point had not been made without sufficient warrant. The result of my investigation and enquiry has served to justify this confidence, for not only do some ancient and modern drawings clearly indicate a contraction of the area at these points, and so serve to

confirm the testimony of the Plan[1], but the subsequent observations of Dr. Schultz, to whom I communicated this important discovery, with a request that he would test its accuracy on the spot, appear, though doubtingly, to lead to the same conclusion. At first indeed he was disposed to question the accuracy of the Plan; he writes[2]: "According to the measurements of your Engineering Officers, this wall does not run in a straight line. They have been able to go into the Mosk, I suppose: I am not allowed to do so, you know: but, as far as I see, they must have made a mistake, not in their measurements, I am sure, but most likely they supposed that the house of Abu Se'ûd Effendi, lying towards the south-western angle of the outer court of the Mosk, did not belong to the Mosk itself, as it really does; or they have, which I think not quite so probable, taken the outer walls of Abu Se'ûd's house and the Mehkemeh for part of the Mosk[3]. The latter supposition is somewhat likely with regard to the Mehkemeh. If my survey is correct, the western wall of the outer court of the Mosk is straight and in one line, at least

[1] I refer particularly to the ancient and accurate coloured drawing of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, apparently executed in the early part of the 15th century, now preserved in the Cambridge University Library: to Breydenbach's large drawing, A. D. 1483, which is also very accurate: modern drawings also sometimes betray the fact; which, I may add, my friend Mr. Rowlands suspected at Jerusalem, before he saw the Plan.

[2] Dated Jerusalem, March 1, 1847.

[3] This seems to be the fact; and if, as he has just said, this house does really belong to the Mosk, they were right in doing so; and the error of other surveys is explained by their having excluded this house from the Haram. It is curious, however, that Mr. Catherwood, whose interior survey of this part of the enclosure seems to have been hastily executed, represents angles at the two spots required, though he gives no account of them. See his large Plan of the area in Fergusson's Essay (Plate IV.) I suspect that he ought to have carried out the west wall beyond those angles, instead of continuing it in the same line.

from the south-western corner up to the Mehkemeh, that is, beyond the Jews' Wailing Place towards the North." Subsequently, however, he writes[1]: "I readily believe the Officers who measured Jerusalem in 1841, may be right in what they state about the south-west corner of the Haram, though it does not appear to me, when I look to it with my eyes only, having no instruments for ascertaining mathematically what we want to know."

Further, the two angles in question and the increasing width of the Haram towards the North, will satisfactorily account for the difference that all statements shew between the north and south walls[2]; which, even according to the lowest estimate, is too great to be accounted for by an obtuse angle at the south-east angle, and we are informed that the angle at the south-west is a right angle[3].

For the completion of the survey it remains only to notice a few points without the northern boundary of the Haram. The Seráiyâh, or Government House, with a barrack and extensive offices, stands on the north side of the north-west angle, "probably occupying in part the site of the ancient fortress Antonia[4]." "It rests upon a precipice of rock, which formerly swept down abruptly, and has obviously been cut away to form the level below, which also bears marks of having been scarped[5]." This rocky precipice, forming the base of

[1] Under date, Beyroot, October 16, 1847.

[2] Mr. Catherwood makes the length of the South wall to be 940 feet, the North 1020 feet. Bartlett, p. 175. The Officers' Survey gives the former as 877, the latter as 1180 feet.

[3] Catherwood, in Bartlett's Walks, p. 174.

[4] Robinson's Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 420.

[5] Bartlett, p. 156, represented in a drawing, p. 108, of the same Work.

the building, rises to a height of upwards of 20 feet, as was seen in the interior survey[6].

The Gates and Pool on this side have been already noticed; but the latter will here require a fuller description. "It measures 360 English feet in length, 103 in breadth, and 75 in depth to the bottom; besides the rubbish which has been accumulating in it for ages. It was once evidently used as a reservoir;" and apparently was filled with water: for large fragments of the cement, which once cased the tank throughout, may still be seen on the wall, and the action of water is discernible upon it even in the upper parts. On the western side of its south-west angle, "two lofty arched vaults extend in westward, side by side, under the houses which now cover that part. The southernmost of these arches is 12 feet in breadth, and the other 19 feet." Notwithstanding the accumulation of rubbish within and before them, "yet 100 feet may be measured within the northern one, and it seems to extend much further. This gives the whole work a length of at least 460 feet, equal to nearly one-half the whole breadth of the enclosure of the Mosk; and how much more we do not know[7]." The vaults, even to the top of the arches, are cased with hard Roman cement, such as was commonly used in their baths, and the casing is much less decayed in the vault than in the tank itself. Whence this Pool received the enormous supply of water that was necessary to fill it, is a question of great interest, which will be discussed when I come to speak of the waters; but the masonry of the Pool is of peculiar construction, and deserves a more detailed notice. It consists of three distinct

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[6] See above, p. 300. [7] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 434, &c.

layers of stones, one upon another. Of these the lowest is composed of courses of massive masonry, in which are inserted stones of a smaller size, which again form the basis of a thick layer of mortar, studded with the stones of the superficial coat, consisting of small pebbles, or quarries, set thickly, but not closely, so as to afford a strong hold to the exterior cement, which was profusely spread over these pebbles[1]. The east end of this pool is close to the city-wall, leaving only a narrow causeway between, which forms a communication from S. Mary's Gate with the Haram, through the Gate of the Tribes.

Having thus again reached the north-eastern corner of the enclosure, where our survey of the exterior commenced, I must endeavour to assign the various points which we have noticed, within and without the enclosure, to their respective places in the topography of the ancient city; a difficult task indeed; and if my deductions from existing phænomena should not prove more felicitous than those of earlier writers, I fear that the results will be far from satisfactory. In this case, however, as in many others, it is much more easy to detect and expose the errors of others than to discover and establish the truth. Still, as it will serve to familiarize the reader with the bearings of the question, and to demonstrate the nature of the difficulties in which it is involved, I shall examine, by the way, some modern theories: and if I succeed in proving them to be untenable, because inconsistent with historical evidence or existing monuments, I shall at least have cleared the ground for a new hypothesis, which must then be sub-

[1] Mr. Wilde has given a woodcut sketch of this masonry in illustration of his description. Narrative, Vol. II. p. 398.

jected to the same test, and accepted or rejected on its own intrinsic merits.

But as a few preliminary notes on the site of the Temple and its later history will much facilitate our subsequent enquiry, I shall address myself to this, when I have premised that in speaking of the Jewish Temple, I must be understood always (unless the contrary be distinctly stated) to refer to it in its latest aspect, as it was left by Herod the Great: For, as Josephus and the Rabbinical writers are well-nigh the sole authorities for any particulars of the arrangement and construction of the Temple, and as their accounts relate neither to the Temple of Solomon, (though they undoubtedly borrow much of their language, and probably something more, from that building,) nor to the restoration of Zerubbabel and Joshua, but to the Herodian structure, our enquiry is necessarily restricted to the last; for it were a vain attempt to recover, from the scanty records of the Scripture-narrative, the particulars of the Solomonic Temple[2]. There is another observation which it is important to bear in mind in investigating this subject. It is this; that the technical language of ancient writers is liable to considerable misconstruction, and we must carefully guard against the notion, that the terms popularly employed in a translation are exact equivalents to those of the originals. It may frequently happen, on the other hand, that the terms employed by the writers were not technical terms at all, but simply accommo-

[2] Josephus published his Jewish War at Rome cir. A.D. 75, and his Antiquities at the same place, cir. A.D. 93. The Tracts of the Mishna are of various and mostly of uncertain date, but the earliest are subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The Middoth may be referred, with considerable certainty, to the end of the second century.

dations of ordinary language; for it must not be supposed that Josephus or the authors of Middoth, Yoma, and other Tracts of the Mishna, were professional architects, or thoroughly versed in the clerical language of the masonic craft.

With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to a general description of the arrangement of Herod's Temple, referring to the former volume for an account of the site and its original dedication to this sacred use[1], and not designing here to enter into details of its architecture, of which we know next to nothing[2].

The Temple, then, in its widest signification (τὸ ἱερὸν), consisted of two Courts, one within the other, though the interior is sometimes further subdivided, and distributed into four other courts[3]. The area of the outer Court, (or Temple, as it is sometimes called,) was in great part artificial; for the natural level on the summit of the Mount being found too small for the Temple with its surrounding chambers, courts, and cloisters, was gradually increased by mechanical expedients[4]. This extension was commenced by Solomon, who raised from the depth of the eastern valley a wall of enormous stones,

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[1] Vol. I. pp. 15, 16.

[2] Except that the Royal Cloister at the South was Corinthian: Ant. xv. xi. 5.

[3] Viz., sometimes into 1, the Women's Court; 2, the Court of Israel; 3, the Court of the Priests; 4, the Inner Temple, as in Middoth; sometimes the Court of the Priests is regarded as τρίτον ἱερόν, as in Ant. xi. xi. 5.

[4] The process is described by Josephus, Ant. Lib. viii. cap. iii. sect. 9; and xv. xi. 3: and Bell. Jud. v. v. 1. Hrr. Krafft (p. 57, note 1,) says that a Leyden MS. of Josephus reads ἠλιβάταις πέτραις for κατὰ λίβα ταῖς πέτραις, in the second passage here referred to. This would make very good sense, and the received reading makes none; for the context shews that the embankment was not on the South but on the East, as is further proved by the passage in the Wars, and by a comparison of Ant. xx. viii. 7 with xv. xi. 3. Besides, there was no valley on the South, whereas the Valley of Jehoshaphat is on the East. See Bib. Res. I. p. 429, note 2.

bound together with lead, within which he raised a bank of earth to a level with the native rock. On this was erected a cloister, which with its successors ever retained the name of "Solomon's Porch[5]," in memory of the great king who had first reared it on an artificial embankment. This process was continued by subsequent kings, so that the dimensions of the area were continually enlarged until the days of Herod the Great, who, not satisfied with a complete reconstruction of the Holy House, further enlarged the outer court to double its former extent[6], and adorned it with stately cloisters[7], that it might be in better keeping with the Temple which he had erected.

Of these cloisters the Royal Portico on the South deserves a fuller notice, as one of the most remarkable of all Herod's magnificent works. It consisted of four rows of Corinthian columns, distributed into a central nave and lateral aisles—if I may be allowed, for convenience, to use terms (intelligible to all, though not so applied until a much later period,) borrowed from Christian Churches, which certainly borrowed much of their architectural arrangement from this and other Basilicas. Each aisle was 30 feet in width and 50 in height, and the nave was half as wide again as either aisle[8], and double the height,

[5] John x. 23; Acts iii. 11; v. 12. Lightfoot's Chorographical Inquiry Cap. VI. Sect. II. Vol. X. p. 350, &c. Pitman's ed.

[6] This is not admitted by Dr Robinson (see B. R. Vol. I. pp. 418, 427, 452.) Josephus says (Bell. Jud. Lib. I. cap. xxi. ap. init.) Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ γοῦν ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας, αὐτόν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασε, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνετειχίσατο χώραν τῆς οὔσης διπλασίαν, ἀμέτροις μὲν χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν ἀνυπερβλήτῳ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ.

[7] Fully described in Ant. XV. xi. 5.

[8] So also Dr Robinson understands the term εὖρος μὲν ἡμιόλιον—*i.e.* 45 ft. Bib. Res. I. p. 429. Krafft, however, makes it 67 ft., and in all 127, instead of $30 \times 2 + 45 = 105$ feet. Topographie, p. 70.

thus rising into a clerestory of unusually large proportions. The shafts of the columns were monoliths of white marble, 27 feet in height, and of such ample circumference, that it required three men with their arms extended to compass them. They had a double base moulding and Corinthian capitals; the roofs of the cloisters were of cedar elaborately carved. The cloisters on the other three sides of the area were only double, and their entire width only 30 cubits. This outer court had four gates on its western side, towards the city[1]. It had also gates in the middle of the South side[2], and one entrance on each of the other sides[3].

Such was the first enclosure, in the midst of which and not far from it was the second[4], to which was an ascent by a few steps. This court had a wall and cloister of its own, and was entered by one great gate at the East, and three at equal distances in the northern and southern walls. It was distributed into several members, assigned to the various orders of the Hebrew Community, but was all sacred; and inscriptions in Greek and Latin, set on pillars about the wall, forbade foreigners under pain of death to violate the sanctity of the precinct[5]. The Women's Court, occupying the East of this second enclosure, was a square of 135 cubits, with gates in the middle of its four sides, and chambers at the angles, each 40 cubits square, assigned to different purposes[6]. It was on a lower level than the

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[1] See above, p. 42, note 1.

[2] Ant. xv. xi. 5.

[3] Proof of this will be adduced below. See Middoth, Cap. i. Sect. 3.

[4] Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος περίβολος ἦν· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ, ἀπέχων οὐ πολὺ, δεύτερος, προσβατὸς βαθμῖσιν ὀλίγαις· κ.λ. Ant. l. c.

[5] ὃν περιεῖχε ἑρκίον λιθίνου δρυφάκτου, γραφῇ κωλύων εἰσιέναι τὸν ἀλλοενῆ, θανατικῆς ἀπειλουμένης τῆς ζημίας· Josephus, l. c. This is the same with the δρύφακτος λίθινος τρίπηχυς μὲν ὕψος, κ.λ. Bell. Jud. v. v. 2.

[6] The measures and distributions of the Temple, its courts and chambers,

Court of Israel, which was accessible from its West side, by an ascent of fifteen semicircular steps through the large brazen gates[7]. This Court was assigned to the Hebrew males. It extended in length along the whole breadth of the Court of the Women, but was only 11 cubits in width. To the West of this again, was the Court of the Priests, of like dimensions, rising two cubits and a half above the Court of Israel. Immediately within this stood the brazen altar, its base being 32 cubits square, removed 22 cubits from the Porch of the Temple, and situated before its eastern door. The Temple proper (ναὸς) extended 100 cubits westward, leaving a space of only 11 feet between the western wall of the inner enclosure and the Most Holy Place, thus giving to the third or inmost court a total length of 187 cubits, with a width of 135. The arrangements made for the orderly performance of the sacrifices, the distribution of the Temple into the Porch, the Sanctuary, and the Most Holy Place, with the dimensions of each, and their furniture and adornment, the account of the surrounding chambers and their several uses, belong rather to a book of Jewish antiquities than to such a work as the present, and cannot here be detailed. I have collected as much as will aid me in attempting to ascertain the exact position of the Temple with reference to the present Haram.

But before I proceed to this, another investigation will be necessary: for undoubtedly the task would be much facilitated by any trustworthy historical records

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is fully given in the tract of the Mishna named Middoth (*i. e.* Measures), the 10th Tract in the 5th Book, in cap. II. sect. 5, chiefly, and cap. V. sect. 1.

[7] Bell. Jud. v. v. 2. These were the Corinthian Gates, where the portent took place. J. W. VI. v. 3.

or traditions respecting the old Temple; especially could we find reason to believe that any of the still existing remains had been identified with the Temple at a period when its desolation was comparatively recent.

The following remarks will, I apprehend, enable us to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of Jewish and Christian testimony on this subject: for that of the Moslem writers is clearly worthless, as they could know nothing of the localities prior to Omar's conquest, except what they learnt from the others.

First then for the Jews. It has already been noticed that, within about 50 or 60 years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and the slaughter and dispersion of the entire nation, they were again in a position to attempt a restoration of their civil polity, and to endanger for a time the Roman tenure of the country, and that their insurrection was not crushed without the most strenuous efforts on the part of the government[1]. In order to account for this, we must suppose that they had returned to their old seats very shortly after the desolation of the city, and had been permitted by the Roman garrison to establish themselves among its ruins; as we have seen good reason to believe that the Christians also had done[2]: and I can no more doubt that a continuous tradition of the site of the Temple was current during this interval, than I can question the same concerning the site of the Holy Sepulchre.

The attempt of the revolted Jews to rebuild the Temple at this time[3], intimates that the tradition of its

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[1] For the insurrection under Hadrian, see Vol. I. p. 207, &c.

[2] Vol. I. p. 202.

[3] Mentioned by S. Chrysostom, Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων β. Tom. VI. pp. 333 and 237, Ed. Eton; where he speaks of three attempts to rebuild the Temple, viz. under Hadrian, Constantine, and

site was still retained; and it would be perpetuated after their reduction, and during the period of their jealous exclusion from the city and its neighbourhood[4], by the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, erected by the Emperor to desecrate the spot[5]; as in the parallel case of the Holy Sepulchre, polluted by a Temple of Astarte[6]: so that however long the law of Hadrian continued in force, there would be no danger of a breach in the tradition. The Idol Temple was probably demolished in the time of Constantine; but two equestrian statues of Hadrian still marked the spot, and were seen by the Bordeaux Pilgrim A.D. 333, when the site of the Temple and Altar and the extent of the area seem to have been clearly determined[7]. At this period, too, the Jews were accustomed to resort once a year to the site of the

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Julian. Other authorities are quoted for the first by Bishop Münter, Translation in Bib. Sac. p. 431, note 3.

[4] See the references in Vol. I. p. 213, notes 4 and 5. The terms of the law were very stringent: thus Aristo of Pella (ap. Euseb. H. E. IV. vi.) τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πάμπαν ἐπιβαίνειν εἴργεται· νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν Ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἂν μὴ δ' ἐξ αὐτόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῶον ἔδαφος, ἐγκελευσαμένου. The parallel passage in the Apology of Tertullian is well known, and proves that the edict was still rigorously enforced, "Dispersi, palabundi, et cœli et soli sui extorres vagantur per orbem, sine homine, sine Deo Rege, quibus nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur." Cap. XXI. p. 20. Ed. Rigaltii, 1634.

[5] Dion Cass. LXIX. 12. ἐς τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τόπον, ναὸν τῷ Διὶ ἕτερον ἀντεγείραντος. The well-known coin of Ælia Capitolina, representing Jupiter in a tetrastyle temple, is conclusive on this point. It is quoted by Vaillant and Eckhel, under the reigns of Hadrian and his successors. See Doct. Num. Vet. Pars I. Tom. III. p. 443: a copy will be found at the foot of this chapter.

[6] See Vol. I. pp. 240, 41; and for the coin, p. 128 of this volume.

[7] "In æde ipsa ubi templum fuit, quod Salomon ædificavit, in marmore ante aram, sanguinem Zachariæ ibi dicas hodie fusum. Etiam parent vestigia clavorum militum, qui eum occiderunt, in totam aream, ut putes in cera fixum esse. Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani." Itin. Hierosol. ed. Wesseling, pp. 590, 91.

Temple, and to anoint a pierced stone with oil[1]: and although it would appear that they abused this newly-recovered liberty to visit Jerusalem, and made another unsuccessful attempt to build the Temple[2], which led to the re-enactment of the law of Hadrian[3], yet the statue of the God or Emperor still stood to mark the spot[4]; and many of the Jews, in the time of Julian the Apostate, would remember the annual visit of their countrymen to the pierced stone, which would enable them clearly to identify the site: so that I can have no doubt that the foundations which they began to open up, when at the instigation of Julian they commenced their third infatuated attempt, were really the foundations of the Temple[5], and that this design to falsify our Lord's prophecy

[1] "Est et non longe de statuis lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judæi singulis annis, et unguent eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu, et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt." Ibid.

[2] The second attempt mentioned by S. Chrysostom l. c. and barbarously punished by the Emperor. *αὐτοὺς δείκνυμι οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρὶς ἐπιχειρήσαντας καὶ ῥαγέντας.* Then, after detailing the attempt under Hadrian, he proceeds, *ὁρᾷς τὴν πρώτην ἐπιχείρησιν τῶν ἀναισχύντων Ἰουδαίων; βλέπε δὲ καὶ τὴν μετ' ἐκείνην· ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρησαν· ὁ δὲ τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν ἀποτεμὼν καὶ τὸ τῆς παρακοῆς σύμβολον ἐνθεὶς αὐτῶν τῷ σώματι πανταχοῦ περιῆγε, καθάπερ τινὰς δραπέτας καὶ μαστιγίας, διὰ τῆς τοῦ σώματος πηρώσεως ἅπασι καταδήλους ποιῶν,* κ.λ. p. 333. This event he speaks of as within the memory of man, *τοῖς ἔτι πρεσβυτέροις ἡμῶν γνώριμον·* and then proceeds to speak of the attempt under Julian, as *καὶ τοῖς σφόδρα νέοις δῆλον καὶ καταφανές.* p. 334.

[3] This is nowhere stated *totidem verbis*, but I find evidence of it in this, that while at the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim's visit (A.D. 333), they were allowed to enter the city at least once a year, Eusebius, writing later, Comment. in Psalm. LVIII. p. 267, *Νόμοις γοῦν τῶν κρατούντων ἐξ ἐκείνου πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπηγόρευται τοῖς τόποις ἐπιβαίνειν, ἀπαιραιτήτου τιμωρίας, ἐπαιωρουμένης τοῖς τοῦ νόμου παραρβάτοις· διὸ εἰς ἔτι καὶ σήμερον ἀμφὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους κύκλῳ παρίοντες πόρρωθεν ἵστανται, μηδ' ἐξ αὐτόπτου τὸ πάλαι νενομισμένου αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν ἔδαφος θεάσασθαι καταξιούμενοι.* Conf. Gregory Nazianzum, Orat. XII. p. 202.

[4] See the passages quoted from S. Jerome, p. 338, note 3.

[5] See the narrative and references in Vol. I. pp. 254, 5. And S. Chrysostom l.c. p 334.

only led to its more complete accomplishment, by the entire destruction of the ruins in the fiery eruption[6]. It seems certain that the edict of Hadrian was again enforced subsequently to the time of Julian[7], probably until the Saracenic conquest; and it is in this interval that the Jewish traditions would suffer most materially. Yet I cannot but think that the main sites, such as Sion and the Temple Mount, would still be had in remembrance by a small remnant of mourners who might bribe the Roman soldiers, if not to connive at their residence in the city, at least to allow them to pay periodical visits to the ruins, as their forefathers had done[8].

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[6] As may be gathered from S. Chrysostom's language, after relating the defeat of Julian's attempt, in his second Homily against the Jews. Καὶ νῦν ἐὰν ἔλθῃς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, γυμνὰ ὄψει τὰ θεμέλια. p. 334; and in the 3rd, p. 342, ἐρείπιον ἐγένετο ὁ ναός.

[7] When S. Hilary wrote his Commentary on the Psalms the prohibition was in full force. The date usually assigned to this work is cir. A.D. 365, only two years after the death of Julian the Apostate, A.D. 363: his words are (Tractat. in Psalmum LVIII. sect. 7. Op. col. 130). "Quinetiam nunc ingressu civitatis ejusdem, edicto Romani regis inhibentur;" and a little below, col. 133, "Amissa civitate Temploque deserto, et secundum Romani regis edicta circumeuntes tantum, non etiam ineuntes civitatem," &c. In S. Chrysostom's time the edict was still enforced. Thus he argues that if God had willed the continuance of the Jewish sacrifices he would not have allowed them to be scattered through the world, and have made that city alone inaccessible to them, in which only sacrifice could be offered. Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων, α. p. 315—317. So, p. 318, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν θυσιῶν ἀπήγαγε, τὴν πόλιν καθελὼν, καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὴν ἄβατον πᾶσιν; and a little after, ἡ μὲν οἰκουμένη πᾶσα ἀνεῖται τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔνθα οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν· μόνη δὲ ἡ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἄβατος γέγονεν, ἔνθα μόνον θύειν ἐξῆν.

[8] So touchingly described by S. Jerome in Comment. in Soph. I. 15, 16, where, referring to the parable of the unthankful husbandmen (in Matt. XXI. 35, 43,) he writes, "...usque ad præsentem diem, perfidi coloni, post interfectionem servorum, et ad extremum, Filii Dei, excepto planctu prohibentur ingredi Jerusalem: et ut ruinam suæ eis flere liceat civitatis, pretio redimunt; ut qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi, emant lacrymas suas. Et ne fletus quidem eis gratuitus sit, videas in die quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Jerusalem, venire populum

However, it is to the Christian community that we must chiefly trust for the preservation of the traditions relating to the Temple and its precincts; and certainly their testimony is not less trustworthy than that of the Jews themselves; for the native Church, in the earlier times, consisting principally of Hebrew converts, would be as well versed in the Jewish antiquities of the city as the unbelievers; while their continued residence on the spot, at least from the time of Hadrian, when the Jewish traditions were fresh, would cause these traditions to be handed on in an unbroken continuity of succession, however their disregard for the holy places of the Jews might lead to the desecration, and gradually to a partial oblivion, of the site.

It will be worth while, then, to gather into one view the scattered notices of the Temple that occur in Christian writings, before I adduce some points of agreement between the Christians and Jews of the middle ages, which I shall attempt to shew are entitled to some consideration.

The Bordeaux Pilgrim has already been mentioned in connexion with the sacred stone, which was an object of annual pilgrimage and veneration to the Jews. He speaks also of two large pools on the side of the Temple, one on the right, the other on the left, evidently shewing that the limits of the area were then well defined[1]. He

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lugubrem, confluere decrepitas mulierculas et senes pannis annisque obsitos, in corporibus et in habitu suo iram Domini demonstrantes. Congregatur turba miserorum..... plangere ruinas Templi sui.....adhuc fletus in genis, et livida brachia, et sparsi crines, et miles mercedem postulat, ut illis flere plus liceat...Ululant super cineres Sanctuarii, et super altare destructum, et super civitates quondam munitas, et super excelsos angulos templi, de quibus quondam Jacobum fratrem Domini præcipitaverunt." Op. Tom. III. col. 1655.

[1] "Sunt in Hierusalem piscinæ magnæ duo ad latus Templi, id est, una

notices moreover the crypt where Solomon tortured the demons; the lofty angular tower whereon our Lord was set by the Tempter; and under the wing of the tower itself, many chambers where Solomon had his palace, and the identical one where he wrote his description of Wisdom, which last was vaulted with a single stone. The wonderful reservoirs are also mentioned in connexion with the Temple. In the very house where stood the Temple built by Solomon, on the marble before the altar was seen the blood of Zachariah as though recently shed; and the dints of the nails in the shoes of the soldiers who slew him could be traced over the whole area, as though they were fixed in wax. There were two statues of Hadrian; the pierced stone, annually anointed by the Jews, and bathed with their tears; the house of Hezekiah, and the Judgment-hall of Pilate, where our Lord was heard before His Passion.

Now granting at once the simplicity, credulity, and barbarous Latinity of the western Pilgrim, we must at least conclude from this account, that the position of the Temple and the extent of its area was clearly ascertained in his days, and that certain localities within and about it were regarded with veneration by Christians and Jews, as associated with passages of Scripture history. I have no doubt that I shall be able

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ad dexteram, alia ad sinistram, quas Salomon fecit...Est ibi et crypta, ubi Salomon dæmones torquebat. Ibi est angulus turris excelsissimæ, ubi Dominus ascendit, &c.....Ibi est et lapis angularis magnus, &c. Item ad caput anguli, et sub pinna turris ipsius, sunt cubicula plurima, ubi Salomon palatium habebat. Ibi etiam constat cubiculus, in quo sedit et sapientiam descripsit; ipse vero cubiculus uno lapide est tectus." Then after the passage quoted p. 333 n. 7, 334 n. 1. "Est ibi et domus Ezechiæ Regis Judæ:...ad partem dextram, deorsum in valle, sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive prætorium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur." Itin. Hierosol. ap. Wesseling, p. 589—593.

to identify several of these localities. At present I confine myself to testimony, and pass on to Eusebius. His notices of the Jewish remains of Jerusalem are not full, but very unequivocal as far as they go. A passage will be cited from his Theophania, in which he considers and answers an argument that might be brought against our Lord's predictions, from the actual state of the Temple, whose complete overthrow He had foretold; and the reply concedes the fact that large fragments of the Temple, in the more extended sense of the word, still remained *in situ*[1]. This was about A.D. 320.

Prudentius again, (*cir.* A.D. 394,) after the frustration of Julian's design, speaks of the Pinnacle of the Temple and the Beautiful Gate as still standing[2]; and S. Jerome, about the same time, notices an image of Jupiter and an equestrian statue of Hadrian on the place of the Holy of Holies; the gate of the Temple that led to Siloam, and indeed the whole area of the Temple[3],

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[1] Theophania, B. IV. ch. 18, p. 247 of Dr. Lee's translation. See the passage quoted in the text at the end of this Chapter.

[2] "*Pinna Templi.*

Excidio Templi veteris stat pinna superstes,
Structus enim lapide ex illo manet angulus usque
In seclum secli, quem spernunt ædificantes,
Nunc caput est Templi, et laterum compago duorum.

.....

Porta Speciosa.

Porta manet Templi, Speciosam quam vocitarunt,
Egregium Solomonis opus: sed majus in illa
Christi opus emicuit; nam claudus surgere jussus
Ore Petri, stupuit laxatos currere gressus."
Enchiridion Hist.

I have no doubt that the Christian Poet, in this passage, refers to the "angulus turris excelsissimæ," which the Bordeaux Pilgrim mentions as the scene of our Lord's Temptation; and that this is identical with the "excelsos angulos Templi," from which, according to S. Jerome, the Jews precipitated S. James. See the passages in p. 336, note 1, and p. 335, note 8.

[3] "Ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum est." Comment. in Isaiæ Proph. cap. II. comm. 8. Op. Tom. III. col. 25. And in explaining the abomination of desolation in Matt. xxiv. 15, he writes, "Potest autem simpliciter aut de Antichristo accipi, aut de imagine Cæsaris, quam Pilatus posuit in Templo; aut de Hadriani equestri statuâ, quæ in ipso Sancto

in such a manner as to leave no doubt that its position and limits, with several of its leading features, were sufficiently marked in his day. But from this time forward I have not met with any clear notices of the site, until shortly before the Saracenic conquest, when Antoninus Placentinus (*cir.* 600) distinctly alludes to the ruins of the Temple of Solomon[4]. It has been stated that Omar, having enquired for the Mosk of David, was conducted, after some hesitation, to a neglected and polluted site, where traces of ancient masonry still existed[5]. Over these he commenced the erection of his Mosk, which with its more splendid successor has perpetuated the tradition unto this day. The Patriarch Eutychius (A. D. 940) accounts for the desertion and desecration of the site as follows[6]: "When the Greeks embraced the Christian faith, Helena the mother of Constantine built Churches in Jerusalem. But the Sakhrah and the parts about it were then covered with

Sanctorum loco usque in præsentem diem stetit. Abominatio quoque secundùm veterem Scripturam, idolum nuncupatur: et idcirco additur, desolationis; quòd in desolato Templo atque destructo idolum positum sit. Comment. in loc. Op. Tom. IV. col. 115. See p. 127, note 4, for the passage relating to the Temple area, and the gates leading to Siloam; and p. 335, note 8.

[4] It is to be regretted that we have no trustworthy notices of Jerusalem between S. Jerome (cir. 400) and Arculfus (c. 697), except such as are scattered in the pages of Cyril of Scythopolis, and writers of that class. Antoninus Martyr certainly wrote before the time of Mohammed, for he speaks of the Saracens as idolaters, and describes their idol, of snow-white marble but chameleon propensities (for it became black as pitch at the time of the festival), their priest, and rites in Mount Horeb; but this writer is so obscure, and draws so largely on the faith of his readers, that his narrative serves rather to bewilder than to guide. Of the Temple he says, "Ante ruinas Templi Salomonis sub platea aqua decurrit a fonte Siloe. Secus porticum Salomonis in ipsa Basilica est sedes, in qua sedit Pilatus, quando audivit Dominum." Sect. XXIII. Ugolini Thesaurus, Tom. VII. p. mccxvi.

[5] See the account in Vol. I. p. 316, and notes.

[6] Eutychii Annales, Arab. et Lat. Oxon. 1658, 4to. Tom. II. pp. 286, 289.

ruins, and were so left. Indeed, they had cast soil on the rock, so that it became a large dunghill, and was altogether neglected by the Greeks, who did not reverence it as the Jews had done. Neither did they build any Church upon it; because our Lord Christ had said in the Holy Gospel, 'Behold, your house shall be left unto you desolate;' and again, 'There shall not be left one stone upon another which shall not be cast down and laid waste.' On this account the Christians had left it in ruins, and built no Church upon it."

Notwithstanding, however, this neglect and contempt, it may, I think, be safely admitted that the ruins would not allow the tradition to pass into complete oblivion, and that Omar did succeed in recovering the actual site, as the universal consent of Christian and Jewish writers attests. Nor can I doubt that the venerated pierced rock of the Jews, mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim[1], is identical with the sacred Sakhrah of the Moslems, and that it marks the position—not of the Holy of Holies, as the later Christian, Jewish, and Moslem authors profess, but as an earlier Christian tradition consistently maintains—of the brazen altar[2]

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[1] See the quotation above, p. 334, note 1.

[2] I find a curious confirmation of the idea, that the *lapis pertusus* is identical with the Sakhrah, and that this rock marks the site not of the Holy of Holies, but of the brazen altar, in this, that while the Bordeaux Pilgrim places the *lapis pertusus non longe de statuis*, S. Jerome states that the *statue* occupied the place of the Holy of Holies, see p. 338, note 3. The Christians in later times seem to have fallen into confusion, by supposing that the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, where David erected the altar (which they uniformly identify with the Sakhrah), became, in the arrangement of the Temple, the place of the Holy of Holies; not, as it really did, of the brazen altar. Compare 1 Chron. xxii. 1, with the preceding Chapter. P. Lemming, in his Specimen de Kemal-ed-din, has collected the various traditions of this Rock, pp. xvi—xxi.

before the Porch of the Temple; for this confusion and disadjustment in detail, while the main tradition has remained fixed, is exactly what might have been anticipated, and remarkably parallel to what we have seen in the case of the Holy Sepulchre.

The following considerations will, I think, set this matter at rest, and establish an important starting-point for our further investigations. I find, then, the following curious coincidences result from a comparison of the raised platform of the modern Haram with the Rabbinical specifications of measures and with the notices of Josephus. The general dimensions of this platform as given by Mr. Catherwood are 550 feet from North to South, and 450 from East to West[3]. Now assuming the western boundary of this platform to be identical with that of the court of the inner Temple, and measuring Eastward 200 feet, (the approximate value of 133 cubits)—the distance, i. e. of the brazen altar from the western boundary of the inner Temple[4],—we come to the sacred rock, which I have mentioned as the probable place of the brazen altar, and idential with the *lapis pertusus*, the object of Jewish veneration in the time of Constantine. It is a happy suggestion of Professor Willis, that the excavated chamber at the South-east corner of this rock, venerated by the Mohammedans as

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[3] Bartlett's Walks, p. 165. Another statement, privately made by the same gentleman, makes it 530 by 425. Mejr-ed-din (l. c. Tome II. p. 93) makes it 253 ziraas from North to South, and 189 from East to West: *i. e.* (reckoning the ziraa, as 2·2 feet English,) 556 feet by 416. Ali Bey (Travels, Vol. II. p. 218,) gives it as 460 Paris feet from North to South, and 399 from East to West, elevated 16 feet above the general plane of the Haram.

[4] Middoth, cap. v. sect. i. p. 375, states it thus, measuring westward: from the Altar to the Porch 22 cubits, total length of the Temple 100 cubits: behind the Most Holy Place to the wall 11 cubits.

the Noble Cave, is the cess-pool of the great Altar, the entrance to the canal through which the blood of the victims flowed off to the brook Kedron; for at the South-east horn of the altar was a place in the pavement, one cubit square, where a ring was fixed in a slab of marble, by which was a descent into a pit or chamber, for the purpose of cleansing the drain and removing obstructions[1]. The base of the altar was 48 feet (32 cubits) square, and to the East of the altar we should require 235½ feet (157 cubits) for the Court of the Priests, the Court of Israel, and the Court of the Women[2]. The sum of these numbers exceeds the measure of the present platform by about 20 feet; but considering the uncertainty of the reduction which I have followed[3],

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[1] Middoth, cap. III., sects. ii. & iii., Tom. v. p. 357. It is a singular fact that this descent still exists; Ali Bey, writing of the excavated chamber, says, "In the roof of the room, exactly in the middle, there is an aperture almost cylindrical through the whole thickness of the rock, about three feet in diameter. It is called the Place of the Prophet." Travels, Vol. II. p. 221. There is a corresponding bore "in the centre of the rocky pavement" noticed by Catherwood as the *Bir arruah* (see above, p. 303). The present entrance was probably formed at a much later period. It is a remarkable coincidence that Middoth places the entrance to this canal at the S.E. horn of the altar, and that both Ali Bey (Vol. II. p. 220) and Catherwood, l. c. p. 167, expressly state that the cave is in the S.E. corner of the rock. So again, Richardson, Vol. II. p. 301.

[2] Given thus in Middoth, commencing from the East: The Court of the Women 135 cubits, whence was an ascent by 15 semicircular steps to the Court of Israel (cap. II. sect. v. p. 341, 2), which was 11 cubits wide; beyond which, 2½ cubits higher, was the Court of the Priests, also 11 cubits wide; then the base of the altar, (cap. II. sect. vi. p. 344. Comp. cap. v. sect. i. p. 375).

[3] Reland (Palæstina, p. 397) has remarked that the Rabbinical cubit sometimes exceeds that of Josephus one-third, as *e.g.* the former state the height of the altar to be 10 cubits, the latter 15; the gates, according to the former, were 20 cubits high and 10 wide; according to the latter, 30 high and 15 wide. This he accounts for by supposing that Josephus, writing for the Romans, used the Roman measures: but then, as he truly remarks, his specifications elsewhere coincide with those of the Talmud; as *e.g.* when he states the height and width of the Temple to

and the roughness of both the ancient and modern measurements, I think this excess need not prevent us from concluding, with considerable certainty, that the present platform, in its width from West to East, represents the length of the inner Temple. The 202½ feet (135 cubits), assigned by the Mishna as the width of the inner Temple[4], cannot be so clearly accounted for, but it would appear from Josephus that the oblong parallelogram, formed by the courts above specified, stood within a square area; so that there must have been a considerable space on the North and South, between the gates of the inmost court and the low wall of the sacred precinct[5]. If this view be correct, it is very possible that the existing platform may represent, in its length as well as in its breadth, the dimensions of the inner Temple, understanding that expression in the

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be 100 cubits. I apprehend that the Hebrews in Roman times reckoned by Roman measure, and have assumed the cubit to be equivalent to 1·5 ft. English.

[4] The Women's Court was a square of 135 cubits, the Court of Israel and the Court of the Priests were each 135 cubits long by 11 cubits wide, so that they must have extended along the whole West side of the Women's Court, (see the particulars in Middoth ll. cc.)

[5] Considerable confusion has arisen from the apparent discrepancy between the two accounts of the Temple, furnished by Josephus in B. J. Lib. v. cap. v., and in Ant. Lib. xv. cap. xi. The following remarks will clear them, and reconcile them both with the Middoth. According to the former account, the second Temple or Holy Place was surrounded with a stone fence (δρύφακτος λίθινος) three cubits high. It was raised 14 steps above the first Temple, was square (τετράγωνον), and had a wall of its own, the apparent height of which from without was 40 cubits, but within only 25; for the higher elevation of the stage reduced the apparent height of the wall. Above the 14 steps was a level space of 10 cubits, all plain; then five more steps to the gates; of which there were four on the North, four on the South, two on the East, and none on the West. In the Antiquities, ὁ ἐντὸς περίβολος, which is identical with this, has only three gates on the North, three on the South, and one on the East; the reason of which is, that the three gates of the Women's Court, on the West, the North, and the South, are excluded from the reckoning here, which were included before.

wider sense of Josephus, not in the more confined sense of the Mishna[1].

I proceed now to the outer Court: and here, at the very outset, we encounter a most perplexing discrepancy between the historical notices and modern observation: a discrepancy far too considerable to be accounted for by any looseness of statement, or any accidental variations. It is this: That according to the testimony of the Jewish historian, which is confirmed by the traditionary account in the Mishna, the outer Temple was a square[2], whereas the length of the present area exceeds its breadth, as we have seen, "by 573 feet, or more than one half[3]." But this difference in the pro-

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[1] It is clear that if the inmost Court of the Priests, where was the altar and Temple, was 135 cubits wide, the 14 steps, the level space between them and the wall, the other five steps, the treasuries and cloisters described by Josephus, must have occupied a considerable space on either side, and all this Josephus reckons as the second Temple.

[2] Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὸ πᾶν περίβολος, τεττάρων σταδίων τὸν κύκλον ἔχων, ἑκάστης γωνίας στάδιον μῆκος ἀπολαμβανούσης· Ant. xv. xi. 3. Middoth, cap. II. sect. i. p. 334. הר הבית היה חמש מאות אמה על חמש מאות אמה.

[3] See above, p. 297. n. 2. In addition to the exterior measures of the wall there given, it may be well to put on record the following interior measures from various authors. Mejr-ed-din (l. c. Vol. II. p. 93,) found the length to be from South to North (including the cloisters, but not the thickness of the walls) "669 ziraas ordinaires:" this length was measured near the East wall: the width from East to West, "406 ziraas ordinaires d'architecture," measured apparently from near the Golden Gate. Now supposing this ziraa to be the Constantinople *pîk* or cubit, about 2·2 feet English, the area would be 1471 feet long by 893 wide. But Mejr-ed-din elsewhere gives three other statements (l. c. Tome v. p. 160). Hafiz ben Asakir made it 755 by 465 royal ells, "aunes de roi." The author of Mesir-ol-ghoram found it marked up on the North wall as 784 by 455, but whether in royal ells or others was not specified: it was measured in his time, and found to be 683 by 483 (what—is not stated!) Mejr-ed-din accounts for the discrepancies by saying that the measures, though the same in name, have varied in value from time to time: some have used "l'aune dite *de fer*," others "l'aune *de main*, (la longueur du bras)" l. c. Tome II. p. 94. Ali Bey writes (Travels, Vol. II. p. 215): "The Mussulman history assigns to the ancient Temple of the Jews a length of 750 *Pik Stambouli*, or cubits

portions of the Temple area and the modern Haram is not the only, nor indeed the chief difficulty; for here, at least, Josephus and the Mishna are agreed. Not so with the dimensions, which the former reckons a stadium, or 608 English feet, on a side; the latter, 500 cubits, or 750 feet—according to the reduction which I follow. Here then we encounter a variation in the Jewish accounts, which adds to the complication; and, what is still worse, neither of these statements at all falls in with the well-ascertained measures of the present Haram; for we have seen that the lowest statement of the measure of its shortest wall, the South, exceeds the greatest Jewish measure by upwards of 100 feet. These are some of the difficulties that encompass this subject; and the points to be considered are, First, whether the conflicting statements can be in any way reconciled; or, if not, which are entitled to the preference: and Secondly, whether any are consistent with modern measurements.

First, then, it may be well to enquire whether the dimensions of Josephus and the Mishna can be any way reconciled. It has been suggested by Professor Robinson that "the Rabbinical specification of 500 cubits or 875 feet[4], if to be reckoned only from portico to portico, would not vary materially from the results of (modern)

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of Constantinople; and a breadth of 450, *i.e.* 1563 ft. 3 in. (French), by 938 ft. 3 in. in breadth. The new Temple is composed of a large court, the length of which is 1369 feet, and the breadth 845." Dr. Richardson was told by the cousin of Omar Effendi, that the dimensions are 660 pîks of Constantinople, or 1489 feet, by 440 pîks or 995 feet. Lastly, Catherwood states the measures from the centre of the dome of the rock to the walls, as follows: North 760 + South 815 = 1575 interior length (the exterior East wall being 1520!) East 620 + West 350 = 970 interior width. It will be observed that the proportions vary almost as much as the dimensions.

[4] He assumes the cubit = 1·75 ft., I suppose it to be 1·5. See p. 342, note 3.

measurements[1];" and I was myself fain to adopt this explanation until further examination has proved it to be untenable. If indeed the Rabbinical specification were lower than that of Josephus, a plausible method of reconciliation might be suggested, on the supposition that they reckoned within, he without, the porticoes; and as it is, I should be glad to believe that the excess of their statement over his, might be accounted for by the contrary supposition. But the language of Josephus is too precise to admit of such an interpretation. For not only does he broadly state that the outer Temple was a square containing a stadium a side; but, in his very particular account of Herod's Royal Portico, he expressly gives its length from wall to wall, (identical of course with that of the Temple area,) as one stadium, and further adds, that this length was limited on either side by the Eastern and Western valleys, which did not allow the Portico to extend further[2]. So in like manner the length of the Eastern cloister is limited to 400 cubits, very nearly a stadium, in two passages, describing Solomon's Porch; the latter of which evidently refers to the latest phase of the Temple's existence, after its extension by Herod, and indeed not long before its destruction by the Romans[3].

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[1] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 430, l.

[2] Τὸ δὲ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ (τοῦ ἱεροῦ) μέτωπον, τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, εἶχε μὲν.....ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλικὴν στοὰν τριπλῆν κατὰ μῆκος διΐουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑῴας φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκτεῖναι, προσωτέρω δυνατόν· ...εὖρος ἑκατέρας πόδας τριάκοντα... μῆκος δὲ στάδιον. Ant. xv. xi. 5.

[3] Μεγάλας γὰρ ἐγχώσας φάραγγας, ...καὶ ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τετρακοσίους πήχεις τὸ ὕψος, ἰσοπέδους τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐφ' ἧς ὁ ναὸς ᾠκοδόμητο, κατεσκεύασε. Ant. viii. iii. 9. It is obvious that the 400 cubits must be referred to the length of the work; it were absurd to apply it to its height. But the next cited passage is more clear. 18,000 men having finished the works about the Temple, which had occupied them many years, and being thus thrown out of employ, the people ἔπειθον τὸν βα-

But while the entire consistency of these particulars with his more general statement forbids me to adopt the explanation of Dr. Robinson, I regret that I have no other to offer, but must confess myself wholly at a loss to understand how the limits of the outer Temple could be so circumscribed. Were the Middoth only in question, the difficulty would be very unimportant; not so much because their measure exceeds that of Josephus, for it would still fall far short of the existing area, but because it might be supposed that they had adopted the proportions and dimensions assigned to the prophetic Temple of the New Jerusalem in Ezekiel's vision, without reference to fact: and no one, probably, would maintain that his numbers are intended to represent the actual dimensions of the ancient Temple, any more than the description of the prophetic Jerusalem was literally true of the historical city. I am driven to the miserable expedient of suggesting, that the difference between Josephus and the Middoth proves that no reliance can be placed on either statement, and that the only satisfactory method for ascertaining the probable extent of the outer Temple, is by an observation of the actual site. Yet, while I distrust the figures in which they disagree, I cannot reject their harmonious witness to the general form and proportions of the area; viz. that it was a square, or at least so nearly a square as to appear so to the eye.

The next question then that arises, is, How are we to account for the present proportions of the area, and

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σιλέα τὴν ἀνατολικὴν στοὰν ἀνεγεῖραι· ἣν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, κειμένη δὲ ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, τετρακοσίων πηχῶν τοὺς τοίχους ἔχουσα..... ἔργον Σολομῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως πρώτου δειμαμένου τὸ σύμπαν ἱερόν. Ant. xx. viii. 7.

at which end has the addition been made?—for I have shewn good reason to believe that the Temple did really stand within the present area, and I must be allowed to assume that the width of the Haram from East to West, limited as it still is by the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the East and by the Tyropœon on the West, represents, at least approximately, the width of the Temple area. Dr. Robinson has accounted for the difference by an ingenious hypothesis[1], that the fortress Antonia covered the whole North side of the Temple, and that the space formerly occupied by that fortress was taken into the court of Adrian's idol-temple, and is now included within the Haram; and this hypothesis he thinks is supported by the remark of the Jewish historian, that the circuit of the Temple, including Antonia, was six stadia[2]. Now, as it is obvious that this theory would most satisfactorily explain the meaning of this obscure passage, I regret that there is one insuperable objection to its adoption, which he had entirely overlooked when he originally proposed it[3], and which I do not think he has fairly met when pointed out. It is obvious from numerous passages, that the whole of the North wall of the Temple was not covered by the fortress in question.

First; when Hyrcanus, aided by the arms of Aretas king of Arabia, had conquered his rival Aristobulus in battle, the latter fled to Jerusalem, and fortified himself in the City and Temple. The Arabians then

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[1] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 430, &c. Reasserted and maintained in Theol. Rev. Vol. III. p. 616, &c.

[2] Bell. Jud. v. v. 2. Ὁ δὲ πᾶς κύκλος αὐτῶν [τῶν στωῶν] εἰς ἓξ σταδίους συνεμετρεῖτο, περιλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας.

[3] Or he would not have written "this conjecture...is supported by various facts, while it is, so far as I know, *contradicted by none.*" Bib. Res. I. 432.

attacked the Temple, and only raised the siege by command of Scaurus, who accepted the alliance of Aristobulus rather than of Hyrcanus, because the former had the city in his power[4].

Again, shortly after, when Pompey had been received into the city and palaces by the Roman faction, he proceeded to force the Temple, which was occupied by the adverse party of Aristobulus. To effect this, he encamped his army within a wall, which he had erected on the northern quarter of the Temple, whence it was assailable; but here also it was defended with great towers, and an artificial fosse, besides being encompassed with a deep valley. A bank was raised with much labour, and the fosse filled in, though but poorly, by reason of its immense depth, and on this were placed the engines brought from Tyre, with which the wall was battered until a breach was effected, through which the Temple was taken[5].

Thirdly; when Herod the Great, three years after he had been declared king by the Roman Senate, proceeded to invest the city occupied by Antigonus, he pitched his camp before the Temple, with the design of proceeding against it as Pompey had done. He accordingly drew three ramparts and erected towers round this part, and prepared timber. He then com-

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[4] ...Ὁ Ἀριστόβουλος ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀγαγὼν, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπολιόρκει, κ.λ. Ant. Lib. XIV. cap. ii. sect. 1. See Vol. I. p. 105.

[5] Πομπήϊος δὲ Πείσωνα τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πέμψας σὺν στρατῷ, τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐφούρει καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ ὅσα ἦν ἔξω περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠχύρου· καὶ...τὰ πέριξ ἐτείχισε χωρία...Πομπήϊος δὲ ἔσωθεν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος, ὅθεν ἦν ἐπίμαχον. κ.λ. Ant. Lib. XIV. iv. 2. Compare Bell. Jud. I. vii. See also Vol. I. p. 106.

menced the assault, assisted by the Roman general Sosius and his legions. Having taken the first wall in forty days, the second in fifteen, he was thus put in possession of the outer Temple and the lower City: and the Jews fled to the upper City and the inner Temple, which were next carried. Then, and not till then, Antigonus, who was still in possession of Baris, delivered himself up to Sosius[1].

Further, when Cestius having fired Bezetha at the beginning of the Jewish war, had attempted for five days, without success, to force the upper City, he diverted his attack to the Temple, and sought to break into it at the northern quarter; the Jews being then in possession of Antonia. He was repulsed by the Jews from the cloisters; when the soldiers undermined the wall, and prepared to set fire to the gate of the Temple[2].

Once more, when Titus had taken the outermost wall which put him in possession only of Bezetha, or the New City, "the Jews divided into several bands, and courageously defended the wall; John and his faction fighting from the tower Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the Temple[3]," which would have been unnecessary, or rather absurd, if the whole space of Antonia, with its deep fosse, had been interposed between them and the enemy. The same remarks will apply with almost equal force in the last passage which I shall adduce. When Titus had taken the lower City, he relaxed the siege for a while, in order to allow the Jews to surrender: he held an inspection of his army, in a

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[1] Ant. XIV. xv. 14; XVI. 1, 2. More briefly in Bell. Jud. I. xviii. See Vol. I. p. 115.

[2] Bell. Jud. II. xix. 5. See Vol. I. p. 166.

[3] Bell. Jud. V. vii. 3.

conspicuous place near the city, which was regarded with amazement by the Jews from the old wall, and from the northern quarter of the Temple[4].

Now, the force of these passages Dr. Robinson has attempted to evade[5], by suggesting that "the fortress Antonia was so connected with the Temple, that it came to be regarded as an integral part of it, and was often comprehended with it under one general name[6]:" and accordingly that when, in the passages above referred to, the historian mentions the Temple, not the Temple but the Fortress is to be understood. But, besides that we have no warrant for supposing that the historian allowed himself in a latitude of expression involving such confusion, the explanation itself, if admitted, would only remove the difficulty one step further back: for if it is certain that Aristobulus was in possession of the whole city and Baris at the time of the siege of Aretas, it is no less clear that Pompey was master of the same fortress and the city when he besieged Antigonus in the Temple[7]. However then the

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[4] Bell. Jud. v. ix. 1.

[5] Theol. Rev. Vol. III. p. 627. He notices, however, only the three passages which I cited in the first edition, and not the others to which I there referred, and then carps at me for writing "numerous passages." I have now adduced those to which I then referred (1st ed. p. 328, note 2).

[6] Theol. Rev. pp. 618, 9. I cannot find the slightest evidence for this hypothesis. It is simply assumed in all the passages adduced to support it. And it is curious that in the only two passages said to *imply* it, the Fortress and the Temple are distinguished in the most explicit terms: viz. 1st, where Antonia is said to have been "the fortress of the Temple as the Temple was of the city." Φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν, τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία. Bell. Jud. v. v. 8. And, 2ndly, where the circuit of the Temple, Antonia included, is said to be six stadia. See above, p. 348, note 2. Dr. Robinson indeed admits (p. 619, note 5) that "in the account of the proposed assault of Florus, and *also usually in the account of the siege by Titus, Antonia is distinguished from the Temple.*"

[7] For his lieutenant, Piso, was sent to fortify the city and palaces which

former passage is open to the explanation offered by Dr. Robinson, the latter will by no means admit of it: for as the narrative does not permit us to assume that Pompey's assault on the North of the Temple was made from the fortress, so neither have we any authority for believing that such a fosse as that described by Josephus and Strabo, separated Baris from the Temple. The siege of Herod is no less conclusive, for here again the approaches were made on the North, and the outer Temple actually carried, while the enemy was in possession of the fortress[1]. The language relating to the sieges by Cestius and Titus as little admits the sense which Dr. Robinson would put upon it[2],

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the citizens had delivered up, Οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι δεξάμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐνεχείρισαν Πομπηΐῳ τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. Ant. XIV. iv. 2. It is expressly stated that the party of Antigonus had only the Temple (τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι), and we should have had no right whatever to include Baris under this name, even if it had not been expressly said that the palaces, in which Baris must be included, had been delivered up to Pompey, and fortified by him. Yet, says Dr Robinson, "it was, in fact, this fortress Baris that Pompey thus assailed from the North," p. 627. Similarly, Sabinus occupied Antonia when the revolted Jews divided into three bands, one of which encamped πρὸς τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κλίματι. Bell. Jud. II. iii. 1.

[1] Herod is supposed by Dr Robinson to have given up his attempt on the North of the Temple [*i. e.* Baris], and to have made his assault from the lower City: of which there is not a word in the passages referred to.

[2] L. c. pp. 627—629. With regard to Cestius, Dr Robinson maintains that κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον ἐπιχειρεῖ κλίμα τῷ ἱερῷ means the northern part of the western wall of the Temple. He denies that there was a gate in the North wall of the Temple, which, he says, I *assume* (p. 624, note 2), though in the place referred to, I gave my authority for it with its name from Middoth. The silence of Josephus is no valid argument against it, for he says nothing of a gate on the East, which is also given in Middoth and elsewhere in the Mishna; an authority quite as respectable, to say the least, as Josephus. How this northern gate Tedi was approached, I am not bound to shew: but I can very well imagine an arched bridge such as now leads to the northern gate of the Haram (Bab-el-Hitta) over the two vaulted passages. The supposed parallel in J. W. v. xi. 4, compared with VI. viii. 1, is a mistake: the banks alluded to are not the same, and why should the places be? The

for not only is the northern wall of the Temple mentioned as the point of Roman attack, but the northern cloister as the Jewish line of defence[3], and one which challenged the admiration of the Romans[4]. In neither instance was the fortress in possession of the assailants. The conclusion seems to me inevitable, that the tower Antonia did not cover the whole northern front of the Temple-area.

Now although it does not necessarily follow from this that the northern boundary of the modern Haram is coincident with that of the ancient Temple, yet I think that the affirmative of this may be concluded with considerable certainty from the following considerations.

The great trench on the North of the Haram, known as *Birket Israîl*, does so entirely answer to the description of the fosse on the North of the Temple, as given both by Strabo and Josephus, that I cannot question their identity[5]. Then, although I do not attach

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banks of v. xi. 4 are destroyed in v. xi. 5, and never reconstructed.

[3] In the case of the siege of Titus we have three solutions of the difficulty offered—two by Dr Schultz, and one by Dr Robinson. Dr Schultz (p. 69) suggests that Josephus may only be referring to the defence of the Temple from one post to another; in which case the northern portico would be the last station; or else as signifying the portico which ran northwards, *i. e.* the eastern portico (which was probably in ruins. See Ant. xx. viii. 7). Dr Robinson thinks that ἀπό τε τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ μαχόμενοι means only that the Jews of John's party now made Antonia and this northern portico *their headquarters*. A gloss that will probably be as unsatisfactory to others as Dr Schultz's is to him.

[4] Ipsæ porticus, queis Templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum. Tacitus, Hist. Lib. v. sect. 13.

[5] Αὐτὸς δὲ (Πομπήϊος) ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔρχεται, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα οὖσαν ὀχυρὰν, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ βορείῳ μέρει φαύλως ἔχουσαν· περιέρχεται γὰρ αὐτὴν φάραγξ εὐρεῖά τε καὶ βαθεῖα, ἐντὸς ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερόν, λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρτερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον... Then after the passage already cited, p. 349, note 5, he proceeds, Ἀνεστήκεσαν καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι, καὶ τάφρος δὲ ὀρώρυκτο, καὶ βαθεία περιείχετο φάραγγι .....μόλις πλησθείσης τῆς τάφρου διὰ βάθος ἄπειρον, κ. λ. Ant. xiv. iv. 1, 2. Conf. Bell. Jud. Lib. i. cap. vii. and Strabonis

so much weight to the perpendicular rock at the north-west angle as is attached to it by Mr. Catherwood, who concludes that it "must of course be of the time of Solomon[1]," yet as a link in a chain of argument for the identity of the northern boundary of the Temple-court, with that of the present Mosk, it is fairly entitled to some consideration; for if not connected with the Jewish Temple, it is certainly difficult to imagine when, and by whom, and with what object, so great a work was effected. This is at the N. W. angle. Again; at the N. E. angle, not far from S. Mary's Gate and close to the Gate of the Tribes, we have those very ancient stones which appear to have occupied an angle of a Jewish wall, and never to have been disturbed from their original position[2]. These then would seem to determine the limits and the direction of the northern and eastern walls of the Temple-area; for it has been shewn that they could not belong to the fortress Antonia; nor do I doubt that in this venerable mass of masonry we see the remains of one of those imposing towers with which we know the Temple to have been fortified, particularly on the North side[3].

Geograph. Lib. XVI. Vol. II. p. 1085. Ἦν γὰρ πετρῶδες εὐερκὲς ἔρυμα....τάφρον λατομητὴν ἔχων, βάθος μὲν ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν, πλάτος δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ λατομηθέντος ἐπεπύργωτο τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

[1] Bartlett's Walks, p. 175, note *. "The cutting away of the rock must of course be of the time of Solomon. It could need no repair, and is the only work (connected with the Temple) that can with absolute certainty be referred to that monarch."

[2] Described above p. 314, and very faithfully represented in an Outline Plate, from a drawing of Mr. Tipping, in Traill's Josephus, p. xlii.

[3] Yet Dr Robinson says, Theol. Rev. III. p. 619, "there is no mention nor trace of any towers in connexion with the wall of the Temple proper." Certainly not, if Josephus and Strabo, ll. cc. when they mention the Temple, are understood to mean Antonia: but this is a mere *petitio principii*. The statement is also directly opposed to Ecclus. L. 1, 2; and to several passages

Lastly, the hypothesis of Professor Robinson excludes the Golden Gateway from the Temple-area, which I feel obliged to include, in conformity not only with the traditions of Christians, Jews, and Moslems, but also with the notices of the Mishna, and with its own architectural features. This Gateway has been already described as situated in the eastern wall of the Haram enclosure, at the distance of 1024 feet from the S. E. angle, or 456 feet from the the N. E. angle; for the Gate itself occupies 53 feet of the wall, projecting about 6 feet from its general line. Now we know from the Mishna, that there was a gate in the eastern wall, through which the priest, and all engaged in burning the red heifer, went out with the victim to the Mount of Olives, across a bridge or scaffold, erected for the purpose of guarding against defilement those engaged in this service, or in that of the scape-goat[4]. It was named the Gate of Shushan[5], in consequence of a representation of that royal city painted within a chamber of the Gate[6]. We find the existing gate

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in the books of Maccabees and Josephus, which mention the fortification of the Temple.

[4] See notice of this כבש פרה וכבש שעיר המשתלח in Mishna Tract. Shekelim, IV. 2. Tom. II. p. 188, and in Tract Yoma, VI. 4, p. 240. See also the notes of R. O. Bartenora, and R. M. Maimonides, ll. cc. Conf. Parah III. sect. 6, Vol. VI. p. 276, and the note of Maimonides. See also Lightfoot, Chorog. Cent. cap. xxxviii. Vol. X. p. 79.

[5] Mishna in Tract. Middoth, cap. I. sect. 3, Tom. V. p. 326. The reader must beware of the Latin translation there given of the clause: שבו כהן השרף את הפרה ופרה וכל מסעדיה יוצאין להר המשחה for if the gloss of the translation, and of Maimonides, here and in cap. II. 4, were admissible, it would almost follow of necessity that the eastern gate was over against the Altar and entrance to the Temple, as Lightfoot understands it. I have looked in vain for authority in the Mishna. See Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, chap. iii. Vol. IX. pp. 219, 20.

[6] Lightfoot, l. c. says it is called the King's Gate, 1 Chron. ix. 18. This was certainly "eastward;" but was

mentioned from very early times, in Christian descriptions of the city[1]; and, as I have already intimated, the consonant traditions of Christians[2], Jews[3], and Moslems[4],

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perhaps the East gate of the Inner Temple, afterwards called the Gate of Nicanor. Midd. II. 4, Vol. v. p. 327, *i.e.* the Corinthian Gate of Josephus, Bell. Jud. Lib. v. cap. v. sect. 3. I could rather believe with Abarbanel and others, that this Gate Shushan is identical with the שַׁעַר סִיר of 2 Kings xi. 6, called in the parallel place 2 Chron. xxiii. 5. שַׁעַר הַיְסוֹד *i.e. the Gate of the Foundation;* the reason of which would be obvious. See L'Empereur's Plan of the Temple, prefixed to the Tract Middoth in his edition of the Mishna, Vol. v. p. 323.

[1] This is, no doubt, the "*Porta Speciosa*" of Prudentius (cited above, p. 338, n. 2.), and it retained the name there assigned to it for centuries. Antoninus Placentinus (*cir.* A.D. 600), entering Jerusalem from the Valley of Jehoshaphat writes, "Portam civitatis (quæ cohæret portæ speciosæ, quæ fuit Templi, cujus liminare et tribulatio stat) ingressi sumus in sanctam civitatem." Sect. XVII. Ugolini Thes. Tom. VII. p. mccxiii. The transference of the "Porta Speciosa" to the West of the Temple is much later. Will. Tyrensis, VIII. iii. p. 748 in Bongar.

[2] To those already cited, add those adduced by Adrichomius, Theat. Terræ Sanctæ. Jerusalem, No. 156, p. 167. Those later than the Crusades are too numerous to refer to.

[3] Benjamin of Tudela, A.D. 1160, calls it the Gate of Jehoshaphat, and places the Gate of Mercy on the West of the Temple area. See Asher's ed. Vol. I. p. 70. Rabbi Petachia, (*cir.* A.D. 1175,) speaks of it as שערי רחמים the "Gate of Mercy." He says that it was then blocked up with stones, and the Christians desiring to remove the obstruction, were miraculously prevented. Itin. in Ugolini Thes. Tom. VI. p. mccvii. Parchi, A.D. 1322, speaks of them, under the same name, as always closed by two iron doors. He thinks they may be the two gates built by Solomon, one of which was destined for bridegrooms, the other for mourners, or those who were under excommunication. But he speaks of the Gate Shushan, as a distinct gate (perhaps the Saracenic gate mentioned above), on this same eastern side, closed by large square stones, a bow-shot distant from the high closed Gates of Mercy. Zuntz, in Asher's Benj. Tud. Vol. II. pp. 397, 8. Ishak Khelo, A.D. 1334, speaks of two Gates of Mercy, one on the East, the other on the West, of the Temple, so reconciling Benjamin of Tud. with R. Petachia. He gives the same account of the former as Parchi. See Chemins de Jérusalem, Ed. Carmoly, in his Collection of Jewish Travels, Brussels, 1847, pp. 235, 7, 9. Uri de Biel (A.D. 1564) has the same tradition, and speaks of them as Jewish masonry. Tombeaux des Patriarches, ibid. p. 438, and Hottinger's Cippi Hebraici, p. 41.

[4] See Edrisi and Mejr-ed-din, cited below, p. 358, note 4, and 359, note 6.

represent it as a gate of the Jewish Temple. It was probably the place of the Beautiful Gate celebrated in the Acts, which the Sacred narrative would lead us to connect with Solomon's Cloister[5].

It doubtless suffered materially at the time of the combustion of the eastern cloisters in the Jews' revolt against Sabinus, but may have been sufficiently restored to be fit for use, although the cloister was allowed to continue in ruins[6].

Neither is there anything in its architecture that militates against this supposition; for although the interior arrangement and decoration have undergone, as was natural, many changes in the lapse of ages, yet the strictly constructive part is apparently as early as the Christian era, and has been so regarded by modern artists. The exterior walls above the doorway on either face are mere patchwork, of much later date than the arches themselves, as is obvious to a mere tyro in architecture; and the dome-vaulting of the present chamber is certainly not earlier than Justinian; but the capitals of the Corinthian pilasters, in pure classical taste, may well be coeval with Herod's Temple: and the double archway in the exterior wall is not of later date[7]. Such, at least, is the opinion of Mr. Catherwood, and others, who have had the opportunity of examining its architectural features more closely than ordinary travellers are permitted to do. They all agree in assigning it a Roman origin[8]; and if it did not belong

[5] See Acts iii. 2, 11.

[6] See Joseph. Ant. XVII. x. 11. Bell. Jud. II. iii. 3; and conf. Ant. XX. ix. 7.

[7] Thus Mr. Fergusson remarks on the "regular Corinthian pilasters;" he says, "On the outside the order has almost classical forms and proportions." p. 98.

[8] Bartlett's Walks, pp. 171, 2, 178. And Dr Robinson's B. R. I. pp. 437, 8; embodying a statement from Mr. Bonomi the architect.

to the later Temple, it is impossible to say when it was erected: for no evidence whatever has been, or can be, adduced in support of either hypothesis advanced by Dr. Robinson—that it served as an eastern gate to Antonia[1], or that it formed the principal approach to Hadrian's Pagan Temple, when the area of Antonia was thrown into the Temple-area[2]. The theory of Mr. Fergusson, who ascribes a Constantinian origin to this antiquity, has already been disposed of, and will probably find but one advocate, to whose mind "it appears as clear as the sun at noon-day[3]."

The reasons assigned for the blocking up of this Gateway are variously stated by Christians, Jews, and Moslems[4]. Mejr-ed-din informs us that "these are the

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[1] Bib. Res. 1. p. 437. The assertion "that the walls of the Haram were at this time rebuilt," at least is equally unsupported. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus does not seem to have been a very imposing building; to judge from the representation on the coin. It was probably only a tetrastyle shrine, like that of Venus on Calvary.

[2] This second theory is reasserted with great confidence in Theol. Rev. p. 626, where it is said that this Gateway "is usually referred by architects to the time of Herod." The projection mentioned in confirmation of this is not noticed by Mr. Tipping or the Engineers; nor is the break, mentioned by both these at 913 ft. from the S.E. angle, noticed by Dr Robinson. He supposes that the projection, mentioned by Mr. E. Smith, (extending about 174 ft. along the wall, *i. e.* from 963—1137, about the middle of which stands the Golden Gate,) was the S. E. tower of Antonia, 70 feet high, mentioned by Josephus, J. W. v. vi. 8; but, he adds, "it is not necessary to suppose that this tower extended over this whole projection." Ergo, cadit quæstio—the projection, supposing it to exist, proves nothing.

[3] Fergusson's Essay, p. 99. This author has, however, one remark worthy of notice. It is this, that the Golden Gate is evidently not meant for defence; has no flanking towers; is entirely open from side to side: "but was a propylæon or festal entrance to some public building." The inner face of the Gateway still stands, and the arches appear to correspond with those on the outer face. See Mr. Catherwood's sketch in p. 94 of the Essay. I could believe that the eastern cloister, 45 feet (30 cubits) wide, ran through this gateway; and that the north and south walls are a mere blocking up of the intercolumniar space. The Gate is 70 feet interior length.

[4] Edrisi merely speaks of it as the

two gates spoken of in the Koran, the interior, (*i. e.* the western,) called the Gate of Mercy; the exterior, (*i.e.* the eastern,) the Gate of Torment, as opening on the Valley so called. They exhibit within the only remains of Solomon's work to be found about the enclosure. He learnt from an ancient, that this Gate had been closed by Omar Ibn-Khatab, and shall only be opened at the end of the world, when Jesus the Son of Mary shall descend upon the earth. It appears," he adds more reasonably, "that they have been blocked up for fear, and for the security of the Sanctuary and the city, because they open towards the desert, and would not be of much service, except to facilitate the entrance of the Bedawîn[5]." Consistent with the former part of this tradition is the story reported by Bonifacius[6], who was assured by a learned Moslem doctor, that this Gate was kept closed for some great king, though he would not say what king. Nor does the latter part militate against another report of Quaresmius; only that the Christians have, with pardonable partiality, substituted themselves for the Bedawîn, and by confounding the traditionary with the historical reason, have represented that this Gate is kept closed for fear of a powerful king who shall take Jerusalem and become Lord of all the earth[7].

Having thus disposed of the Golden Gate, and shewn reason, from it and from other considerations, to

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"Gate of Mercy," commonly closed, and only opened on the Feast of Palms, A.D. *cir.* 1150. Jaubert's Translation, Vol. I. pp. 341, 344. So also Ibn-el-Wardi, p. 180, ed. Koehler.

[5] In Mines d'Orient, Tome II. p. 96. He wrote A. D. 1495.

[6] In Quaresmius, Vol. II. p. 332.

[7] Ibid. p. 340, after Radzivil. There is a curious coincidence, whether designed or not I cannot say, between this tradition and Ezekiel's notice of the Eastern Gate in his prophetic vision, xliv. 1—3.

believe that the northern boundary of the present area is identical with that of the Temple, we must submit Josephus and the Rabbies to another test, and consider what objections there will be to cutting off a space from the southern end of the present enclosure, so as to square the width determined now, as of old, by the valleys; for unless the two accounts, of the proportions in which these writers agree, and of the dimensions in which they differ, be wholly and entirely false, we are not at liberty to suppose that both its northern and southern limits are identical.

Still the ancient remains on the South of the Haram, commencing with the south-east angle, continued through the large substructions within the same, and the vaulted passage beneath El-Aksa, to the fragment of the massive arch at the western extremity, have been thought to present incontrovertible evidence that the outer court of the Temple did extend thus far[1]; and a coincidence has lately been observed between the measures of Herod's Royal Cloister, described by Josephus, and the substructions within the S. E. angle, which seems to afford decisive evidence that the latter were arranged with a view to the former. As it is the only argument of any weight, I will here consider it; and if I am not able to answer it fully, I must leave the reader to determine whether the coincidence, remarkable as it undoubtedly is, may not, after all, be

[1] Mr. Catherwood, *e. g.* gives up Josephus altogether. Bartlett's Walks pp. 171, 175, and solves the difficulty by supposing that the Temple-area occupied the whole modern Haram. Hrr. Krafft and the Reviewer in the Neues Repertorium agree with me that the Temple extended as far North as at present, but carry Herod's Royal Cloister along the south wall of the Haram. Robinson's theory has been stated; and Dr Schultz professes not to have directed his particular attention to this branch of the subject.

accidental, and whether this single fact can countervail against so many opposing difficulties.

Professor Willis has ascertained, from Mr. Catherwood's plan of the vaults in question, that they would range perfectly with the triple cloister of Herod, supposing the side-aisles to have been carried over two, and the nave over three, intervals of the columns beneath; for, according to Josephus, the side-aisles were in width 30 feet, and the nave an additional half-width, or 45 feet[2]. Now it were merely splitting hairs to object that the intervals between the square piers, supposed to support the aisles, are not uniform[3], and that one is a few feet below, the other a few feet above, the width required; for the actual coincidence is quite near enough to satisfy all requirements of the argument. I find also another coincidence, little less remarkable, viz. that the great gateway which once opened into these vaults is so situated, that, supposing Herod's cloister to have been a stadium in length, as Josephus affirms, its position would exactly correspond with that of the gateway in the south wall of the outer Temple, called the Gate of Huldah in the Mishna[4]; which, according to Josephus, occupied the middle of the south front[5]. In this case, again, the western termination of the stadium would fall in very nearly with the west side-wall of the vaulted passage, beneath El-Aksa, where, according to Mr. Tipping, all traces of

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[2] Ant. xv. xi. 5. See above p. 329, note 8. Comp. Plate V. in Mr. Fergusson's Essay.

[3] "The spaces between the ranges of arches are, as will be seen by reference to the Plan, of irregular dimensions." Catherwood, p. 170.

[4] Middoth, cap. i. sect. 3, in Mishna. Tom. v. p. 325.

[5] Τὸ δὲ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ μέτωπον, τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, εἶχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον, ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ τὴν βασιλικὴν στόαν. Ant. xv. xi. 5.

"the Jewish bevelled masonry" cease, until they are recovered at the S. W. angle, near the ruined archway[1]. These are undoubtedly startling facts, and nothing but my respect for the Jewish authorities, and the great difficulties which the theory involves, prevent me from accepting them as conclusive evidence to the point which they are adduced to maintain, and oblige me to assign a later date and another use to these subterranean works.

To state the difficulties first: Immediately after describing this Royal Cloister of the outer court, Josephus proceeds to the inner, which, he says, was "in the middle, and not far distant from the former[2];" evidently speaking with reference to the Royal Cloister, which he had just described. But he would hardly have written thus of the space that intervenes between the southern wall and the raised platform of the Haram. Again, the silence of Josephus is another serious objection to the belief that these substructions existed in his time, for they must certainly have been among the most noticeable wonders of the Temple[3], as they now are of the Haram. It is worthy of particular remark,

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[1] In Traill's Josephus, p. xlvi.

[2] Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος περίβολος ἦν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπέχων οὐ πολὺ δεύτερος, κ.λ. Ant. xv. xi. 5. It has appeared above, p. 305, that there is a distance of 350 feet between the platform and the porch of El-Aksa, which is 280 feet long, *i.e.* in all 630 feet to the south wall of the Haram.

[3] Dr Robinson (Theol. Rev. p. 609) wishes to make τοὺς ὑπονόμους τοῦ ἱεροῦ (in Josephus Bell. Jud. v. iii. 1), and even those of the Upper City, (through which Simon endeavoured to escape, Ibid. VII. ii. 1,) do duty for these vaults. But first, this is the word that Josephus invariably uses for caves, mines, quarries, natural or artificial, (as *e.g.* aqueducts or sewers); and next, the latter is expressly spoken of as ὄρυγμα, l. c.; Tacitus also, as cited by Dr Robinson (ibid. note 3), obviously alludes to excavations, "cavati sub terrâ montes," which clearly cannot describe these vaults, but such caverns as those of the Sakhrah, and others to be afterwards noticed.

that the process, which he more than once describes, for enlarging the platform of the outer court, differs essentially from the plan of these vaulted substructions. It consisted in erecting massive walls from the depth of the valleys to the requisite height, and then filling in the cavity with earth, until the accumulated soil was level with the pitch of the hill[4]. And this expedient was adopted apparently only on the East side[5]. Or if it be supposed that such works did exist on the South, the objection still remains in full force; for an embankment is described, and substructions are found. Besides, with what propriety could the historian write that the Royal Cloister could extend no further because of the valleys[6], if he knew that it rested throughout on an artificial foundation, which had encroached upon the valleys on either side, and might have been similarly extended, at the pleasure of the architect? Then, for the very remarkable coincidence of measures, it may be said that, if the arrangement of these piers points to a superstructure running East and West, as did the Royal Porch, the vaulted corridor beneath El-Aksa, which certainly appears to have formed part of the

[4] Σολομῶν μεγάλαις ἐργασίαις ἀπετείχιζεν ἄνωθεν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἀπετείχιζε δὲ κάτωθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ῥίζης ἀρχόμενος, ἣν βαθεῖα περιθεῖ φάραγξ κατὰ λίβα ταῖς πέτραις μολίβδῳ δεδεμέναις πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἀπολαμβάνων ἀπὸ τῆς ἔσω χώρας, καὶ προβαίνων εἰς βάθος·.....τῆς δ' ἐργασίας οὕτω συναπτούσης εἰς ἄκρον τὸν λόφον, ἀπεργασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν κορυφὴν, καὶ τὰ κοῖλα τῶν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐμπλήσας ἰσόπεδον τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν ἄνω καὶ λεῖον ἐποίησε. Ant. xv. xi. 3. Conf. B. J. v. v. 1.

[5] See Bell. Jud. l.c. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Σολομῶνος.....τὸ κατ' ἀνατολὰς μέρος ἐκτειχίσαντος, εἶτ' ἐτέθη μία στοὰ τῷ χώματι. Conf. Ant. xx. viii. 7, cited above p. 346, n. 3. Dr Robinson truly says, B. R. i. p. 429, note 2, "that Josephus speaks only of valleys on the East and West sides;" and Niebuhr, in the place there referred to, correcting Michaelis, says that there is no valley on the South.

[6] See the passage cited above, p. 436, note 2.

same general design[1], as clearly points to one having a direction North and South. The argument from the triple gateway in what would be the middle of the South side, is also weakened by the existence of that double gate in the same wall, which is generally taken to be of the same date; since the existence of a second gate on the South is utterly ignored by the Jewish authorities; who further inform us, that the Gate of Huldah was a double gate, and not triple, as is that in the place where it ought to be, supposing the premises correct[2].

Still more serious is the following objection. The first or old wall, which encompassed Sion on the South, was joined to the eastern cloister of the Temple, after passing Ophel[3], which is supposed to be the remainder of the ridge of Moriah, South of the Temple, descending rapidly down towards the Pool of Siloam, between the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Tyropœon. Now the South-east corner of the Haram-enclosure "impends over the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which here actually bends South-west round the corner, having a depth of about 130 feet[4]." It is, then, impossible to imagine that the eastern wall was ever continued in the same line further South than at present; there must always have been an angle here, and most probably an angular tower; so that had this been an angle of the Temple, it is clear that the Wall of Sion could not have joined its eastern wall, as Josephus asserts it did[5]: its

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[1] So Catherwood in Bartlett, p. 171.

[2] Middoth, as referred to above, p. 133, note 3, says, שנ שערי חולדה מן הדרום. Josephus is cited in the same page, note 4.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 147, given in the original in the Appendix. For Ophel, see Bib. Res. I. pp. 390 and 460.

[4] Ibid. pp. 420 and 429.

[5] Hrr. Krafft argues that the south wall of Herod's Portico could not be North of this angle, because Josephus

point of juncture must have been West of this angle, and so it would have joined the southern and not the eastern portico, precisely as the present city-wall is attached to the south and not to the east wall of the Haram[6]. I cannot help suspecting, then, that in this massive corner we have a fragment of "the great outlying tower," which must have occupied a space not far from the original Ophel[7], in the first or old south wall

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describes the giddy height from the top of this cloister at its Eastern extremity, above the valley. This can only prove that its Eastern end stood on the brink of the valley; since the very same thing is said of the end of the *Western* cloister. J. W. VI. iii. 2. See Topographie, p. 72; and Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 429.

[6] I cannot comprehend Dr Robinson's answer to this argument (Theol. Rev. p. 607, note 2), which I have now endeavoured to make more clear. He admits, "the Eastern portico was doubtless extended to the South-east corner, where it was connected with the Southern portico, and also, according to Josephus, with the old wall," which was impossible at the corner, but not so 500 feet North of the corner, where the junction would not be made "under precisely the same circumstances."

[7] As commentators differ much about Ophel, the following remarks may not be out of place. עֹפֶל occurs but eight times in the sacred books as a substantive, with or without the article. Of these passages five relate to this place at Jerusalem, and in none of these is the word translated by the LXX., but they represent it as ὠφέλ, ὀφέλ, ἀφλά, and ὀφλά, and write it with the article, except in one place. The Scripture notices are as follows: Jotham built much on the wall of Ophel; 2 Chron. xxvii. 3. Manasseh "compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height;" 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. The Nethinims dwelt in Ophel; Nehem. iii. 26; xi. 21. And it was apparently situated near "the great tower that lieth out," between "the water-gate" and "the horse-gate;" Nehem. iii. 27, 28. In all these passages the Authorized Version has *tower* in the margin. In 2 Chron. xxvii. 3, the Targum has "the wall of *the interior palace*." "But others," says Patrick, "understand by Ophel a high place or cliff where there was a tower." So also Pool. See Barrett's Synopsis in loc. Gesenius and Lee make it "an eminence." But as Reland says, "Ophel pro monte vulgo haberi solet; dubito an sufficienti ratione." See further in Palæst. p. 855. That it was a large public building seems to be countenanced by this, that it is connected in Bell. Jud. VII. xiii. with the βουλευτήριον: conf. VI. i. The other passages in which it is used, viz. 2 Kings v. 24; Isai. xxxii. 21; Mic. iv. 8, all seem to imply a building; the second (where it is joined with בַּתִּן), and third (where it is paralleled with מִגְדָּל), a large and fortified building. It may,

of Sion, which having been joined to the southern extremity of the eastern portico, about 500 feet North of this tower, ran South to this point, and here bent with the valley towards the West, until a more gradual slope allowed it to descend the ridge towards Siloam. And I would further suggest, whether traces of the eastern extremity of the Royal Porch may not, perhaps, be discerned in those shafts of porphyry and marble columns which project from the Haram Wall, at intervals, between this angle and the Golden Gate[1], particularly at a point where is a decided break in the eastern Wall; the masonry of which wall, Dr. Robinson has remarked, has quite a distinct character in its northern and southern parts[2].

The first historical notice of this tower, posterior to the Christian era, appears to be that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who confounded it with the pinnacle of the Temple on which our Lord was placed by the Tempter; and found in it the corner-stone rejected by the build-

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possibly, have given its name to the quarter in which it was situated (as in the similar case of Acra), although this is not clear: for certainly the description of the old wall in Bell. Jud. v. iv. 3 does not countenance the notion. Yet I have so marked it in the Plan, in deference to a widely-received opinion.

[1] Mr. Tipping regards them as indications of "the *Eastern* Portico:" but since the eastern cloister extended all along the eastern wall, why should they appear here rather than elsewhere in that line? If, on the contrary, they belonged to the Southern cloister, they would be ready to hand at this particular spot. See Traill's Josephus, p. xliv.

[2] Theol. Rev. p. 625, "the present eastern wall of the Haram-area exhibits in the northern portion, as compared with all the southern part, traces of a difference of architecture and probably of era." This argument may tell either way; but Dr Robinson ought not to parade the indications of a tower, and the projections in the northern half, without noticing the tower at the south-east angle, and the projection of two feet in the southern half. Mr. Tipping remarks that South of the Saracenic doorway "stones of the largest class cease; yet the lowest course, though smaller, bear the not-to-be-mistaken stamp of antiquity." p. xliv.

ers[3], &c. Nor can I doubt that, in what immediately follows, we have allusion to some ancient remains, where the vaults now exist; for he writes that "at the head of the corner," and under the pinnacle of the tower itself, are many chambers, where Solomon had his Palace, and the one in particular in which he sat and described Wisdom, was covered with one stone[4]: for, comparing this with the modern accounts, I find that the legends of the vaults, as far back as we can trace, and those that are still current, are mostly connected with Solomon, that the whole work is called by his name, and the erection of the columns is ascribed to him[5]. Now Dr. Richardson remarks, that "the style of cutting and joining the stones of these piers is quite

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[3] "Ibi est angulus turris excelcissimæ, ubi Dominus ascendit et dixit ei is qui tentabat eum. Et ait ei Dominus: Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum, sed illi soli servies. Ibi est et lapis angularis magnus, de quo dictum est: Lapidem quæ reprobaverunt ædificantes. Item." &c. as above, p. 337, note. Compare S. Jerome in p. 335, note 8, and Prudentius, 338, note 2.

[4] See Mejr-ed-din as cited above p. 311, note 6; and Felix Fabri, Evagratorium, Tom. II. pp. 125, 128. "Ibi erant VIII. ordines columnarum, testudines sustentantes et superiora ædificia, quæ olim erant superædificata, jam vero superius est viridarium olivarum ad latus Templi. Dicunt autem Judæi et Saraceni quod illa subterranea habitacula fuerint equorum Solomonis stabula. Sed melius est dicere, quod ibi fuerint Nethota, hoc est, pigmentaria et apotheca aromatum." He imagines that the "domus saltus Libani" stood on these substructions. Benjamin of Tudela, A.D. 1160, calls them "the Stables of Solomon," which formed part of his house, unless he is writing of the passage beneath El-Aksa, as I have supposed above, p. 310, note 2. It is more true of the latter than of the former, that "immense stones have been employed in this fabric, the like of which is nowhere else to be met with." pp. 36 and 71.

[5] Richardson's Travels, II. pp. 309, 311. There is one very extraordinary coincidence, probably not accidental: the Bordeaux Pilgrim writes, immediately before he speaks of the tower, "Est ibi crypta ubi Solomon dæmones torquebat," l. c. p. 589. Dr Richardson says, "between the first row of columns and the wall on the right, whence I entered the colonnade, they shewed me a large slab that covers a stone chest, in which Solomon had shut up the devil."

different from any other architecture in Jerusalem, and from anything he had ever seen, except in the foundation-stones of the temple or castle at Baalbek." He adds, "The whole of this subterraneous colonnade is called *Habsul*, or the Hidden; and when we compare the accumulation of rubbish in other parts of the town, with the depth of the rubbish in the Haram es-Sherif, I think there is little doubt that the columns once were above ground[1]. They rest upon rock or large coarse stones, regularly laid." To the arches he ascribes a later date, and calls them "the same as those in the Sakhrah and el-Aksa." From all which I am disposed to believe, that if the piers are in their original positions, they belong to a period anterior to the arches, and may probably have been connected with the chambers (not crypts) described by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, possibly ruins of the Ophel, or "interior palace," situated certainly in this part; but that the arches which they now support belong to a later date, and are, in fact, connected with another work, which will immediately demand our notice.

It has been already related that the Emperor Justinian, in compliance with the request of S. Saba, completed at Jerusalem the Church of S. Mary, which had been commenced by the Patriarch Elias[2]. The architect was Theodore, the most skilful mechanic of his

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[1] In confirmation of this, see his remark cited above, p. 311, that the stones are much more disintegrated than they are likely to have been in their present position, &c. His notion that these columns are constructed of the "three rows of hewn stones," mentioned in "the *inner court* of Solomon's Temple," (1 Kings vi. 36,) or of the "three rows of great stones" mentioned in "the order of Cyrus for rebuilding the Temple," (Ezra vi. 4,) is, of course, a mere fancy.

[2] See in Vol. I. pp. 289 and 292, the account of Cyril of Scythopolis, a contemporaneous writer.

time[3], and his engineering skill was called into requisition in the erection of this Church, the full particulars of which are supplied by a contemporary historian, better versed than any writer of antiquity in architectural technicalities and phraseology. I will first transcribe, and then comment on the narrative of Procopius[4].

"In Jerusalem, too, he dedicated a Temple to the Virgin, to which no other can be compared, and which is called by the natives, the 'New Church'. I will describe its character, after premising that the city is for the most part hilly. The hills however are not of earth, but rise up roughly and precipitously, with passages like a ladder, stretching from the steep to the descent.

"Now it so happens, that all the other buildings of the city are on one kind of ground, being either built on the hill or on the level where the earth expands. But this Temple alone is not so placed. The reason is, that the Emperor Justinian ordered it to be built on the most prominent of the hills, with directions what character he required it to have generally, and what breadth and length. The hills however had not sufficient space for the completion of the work according to the Emperor's order; but a fourth part of the Temple was

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[3] When the Persians under Chosroes I. were besieging the Romans in Dara, they designed to effect an entrance into the city by a mine which was to pass under two walls of great strength with an intermural space of 50 feet. Theodore, being aware of this, sunk a deep trench within the intermural space, in the line of the enemy's mine, into which the Persian sappers fell, and became an easy prey to the Romans. Procopius, de Bell. Pers. Lib. II. cap. xiii. p. 121. See his commendation in Vol. I. p. 292, note 2.

[4] The passage occurs in his work, De Ædificiis Justiniani, Lib. v. cap. vi. Tom. II. p. 465. Paris ed. The original is given in the Appendix. I have adopted the translation of a friend, to avoid, if possible, the charge of colouring the statement in "a paraphrase." See Dr Robinson in Theol. Rev. p. 608, note 3, and p. 414, note 2.

deficient, towards the South and the East, just where it is lawful for the priests to perform their rites. Hence, the following device was conceived by the persons who had charge of the work. They laid the foundations at the extreme of the flat ground, and raised a building of equal height with the rock. When, then, they had brought it as high as its extremity, they placed over the intervening space arches from the top of the walls, and connected the building with the remainder of the Temple's foundation. In this way the Temple is in part founded on solid rock, and in part suspended; the Emperor's power having contrived a space in addition to the hill.

"The stones too of this building are not of such a size as we know elsewhere. For the workmen who had charge of the task, contending against the difficulty of the site, and labouring to gain a height equal and opposite to the rock, disdained all ordinary modes, and had recourse to strange and altogether unprecedented devices. They hewed therefore rocks of immense size from the mountains, which rise to an extraordinary height immediately before the city, and having carved them skilfully, carried them thence as follows. First, they made wagons of a size equal to the rocks, and placed a single stone in each wagon; when oxen, chosen by the Emperor's order for their excellence, drew the stone with the wagon, forty to each. Then, as it was impossible for the roads leading to the city to bear these great wagons, they cut out to a considerable extent the mountains, and made a passage for the wagons, as they arrived. Thus they completed the Temple to an extraordinary length, according to the wishes of the Emperor.

"They also made its breadth in proportion, but had the greatest difficulty to place a roof upon the Temple. They went round, therefore, all the woods and thickets, and whatever spot they could hear of as planted with trees of extraordinary height, until they found a shady wood producing cedars which reached ever so great a height. With these, then, they roofed the Temple, having raised its height equal in proportion to its width and length.

"So much was accomplished by the Emperor Justinian by the means of human power and art. His pious confidence, however, which requited him with honour and co-operated in this effort, went further: That is to say, the Temple had need of columns all around, not inferior in appearance to the beauty of the precinct, and of such a size as might be likely to support the weight of the superstructure. The place, however, being situated inland, at a great distance from the sea, and fenced off with abrupt mountains on all sides, as I have described, rendered it difficult for the contrivers of the Temple to introduce columns from elsewhere. But, as the Emperor was distressed at the difficulty of the task, God shewed a kind of stone in the nearest mountains well adapted for the purpose, whether it existed and was concealed previously or was now created. In either case, there is credibility in the account to those who refer the cause to God. For though we, measuring everything by human power, believe many things have been excluded as impossible; yet nothing could be either difficult or impossible to the God of all.

"Hence, then, extraordinary columns of great size, and resembling in their colour the brightness of flame, support the Temple on all sides, some from beneath,

some from above; and others about the porches which surround the whole Temple, except on the eastern side. Two of these stand before the gate of the Temple, of exceeding splendour, and inferior perhaps to no column in the world. From thence proceeds another porch, called Narthex, as I imagine from its want of width. After this is an atrium raised upon like columns in a square. The intermediate doors are of such grandeur as to give those who enter an idea what a great spectacle they are about to encounter. The propylæum from hence is of wonderful beauty, and has an arch raised upon two columns to an immense height; while, as you go forward, two semicircular buildings stand facing each other on each side of the way to the Temple. There are two hospices on either side the other way, the work of the Emperor Justinian. The one is a lodging-house for visitors from a distance, the other a resting-place for the sick poor.

"This Temple of the Virgin was endowed also by the Emperor Justinian with a revenue of large amount. The works then of the Emperor Justinian in Jerusalem were of this kind."

Thus far Procopius; and the first remark that I have to make on his narrative is this, that it is a subject of regret that his account of the site is not more definite, or is perhaps rather calculated to mislead[1]. This difficulty, however, is obviated by a general agreement altogether consonant with existing phænomena; for "there is nothing in subsequent history nor in the modern topography of

[1] For the position of El-Aksa is not "on the most prominent of the hills;" but if by the words ἵνα ὀργιάζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θέμις, he means to describe "the Mount of Offence," he determines the position of the Church very accurately, for that mount is towards the South-east of the Church.

Jerusalem, which in the least corresponds to his description, except the present Mosk el-Aksa[2]." It is a happy circumstance that all agree[3] in almost the only point on which the language of Procopius is at all ambiguous; for with what justice it can be said that "his account of the construction of this edifice is not very clear, and borders somewhat on the fabulous," any reader may judge who will be at the pains to compare the passage just extracted with the description already given of the Mosk el-Aksa and its vaulted substructions[4], through which, "by means of steps and an inclined plane," the passage ascends from the double gateway on the South to the level of the area[5]. To me it seems one of the most minute, graphic, and intelligible architectural descriptions imaginable, worthy of the historian of S. Sophia at Constantinople; and if, as Dr. Robinson imagines, "he did not write as an eye-witness[6]," this fact will account for any slight inaccuracy or confusion that may be discovered in his narrative. And I cannot help thinking that I detect an instance of this in the account of the Narthex, the vestibule, and the propylæum, which the unusual arrangement of these members of the building may easily excuse, if he had really not been on the spot; for I must identify with these, respectively, the double

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[2] Bib. Res. I. 439, 451. II. 29, 30.

[3] I ought perhaps now to except Mr. Fergusson. But his theory is so very wild and fanciful, that his singularity cannot affect the general consent. I am glad to be able to quote the Rev. W. D. Veitch in agreement with me. "Since reading Mr. Williams' remarks on this building, I feel little doubt of his being correct in imagining this to be the celebrated Church erected by Justinian and dedicated to the Virgin. .....The text of Procopius seems to me well to warrant all he desires to establish from it." Letter VI. in Church of England Mag. Vol. XXIII. p. 35. Hrr. Krafft too is satisfied of its identity. Topographie, &c. p. 71.

[4] See above, pp. 306, 7, 9, 10.

[5] Catherwood, p. 170, in Bartlett's Walks.

[6] Theol. Rev. p. 608, note 3.

corridor the spacious hall, and the double Corinthian Gateway, still existing beneath El-Aksa.

However this may be, in these substructions we find precisely such works, and employed for exactly the same purpose, as those described by Procopius; and the vaults supporting the platform at the South-east angle appear to form part of the same plan[1], and correspond equally well with the description, but not at all with any known works of any other period[2]. They were probably constructed with old materials, to support various buildings connected with the Church and hospitals[3]; and the late Roman Gateway[4] with portals may safely be referred to the same date. Now although the unanimous agreement of all archæologists in the general identity of Justinian's Church and the Mosk el-Aksa, might well supersede the necessity of proof, yet there are some points of identification, based on historical deduction and architectural observation, too remarkable to be passed over in silence; and the vicissitudes that have affected this venerable pile cannot but be interesting to the Christian antiquary.

Almost the only writer to whom we could look for mention of this Church between the period of its erection and the Saracenic conquest, when it was seized and appropriated by the conquerors, is the credulous

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[1] So Catherwood in Bartlett, p. 171. Compare Bib. Res. I. pp. 448, 450.

[2] Indeed Procopius calls these works παράδοξα καὶ ὅλως ἀγνῶτα, which he would scarcely have said had similar works existed previously on the very spot.

[3] As Dr Robinson writes, "it very probably had many side buildings, and was more extensive than the present Mosk el-Aksa." Bib. Res. I. p. 443.

[4] "Apparently of the late Roman epoch." Tipping in Traill's Josephus, p. xlv. A section of the vaults is given by Mr. Fergusson, p. 121, who ascribes them also to Justinian, and is, by accident, right.

pilgrim of Placenza, (*cir.* A. D. 600), who accordingly notices it, with his usual complement of marvels. He calls it the Basilica of S. Mary[5], with a large congregation of monks, innumerable tables for women, and beds for upwards of five thousand patients, or at least three! He connects it with the Prætorium of Pilate and the Basilica of S. Sophia[6]; and places it before the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, within the porch of Solomon, by which name he probably designated the cloisters, with which Justinian had adorned his Church, according to Procopius. But in the Church was Pilate's seat, and a quadrangular stone on which the accused was raised, that he might be heard and seen by all. On that our Lord was raised, when heard by Pilate, and the surface of the rock retained the impression of His foot. Now it is a remarkable fact, that in a niche at the South extremity of the present Mosk is a rough calcareous stone,

[5] "De Sion usque Basilicam S. Mariæ, ubi est congregatio magna monachorum, ac mulierum mensæ innumerabiles, lecta languentium plus quinque millia ad minus tria: et oravimus in Prætorio, ubi auditus est Dominus, et in eo Basilica S. Sophiæ. Ante ruinas Templi Solomonis sub platea aqua decurrit a fonte Siloe. Secus porticum Salomonis in ipsa Basilica est sedes, in qua sedit Pilatus quando audivit Dominum. Petra est quadrangula in qua reus levabatur, ut ab omnibus audiretur et videretur. In ea levatus est Dominus, quando auditus est a Pilato, ibique remansit imago, pedem habens modicum pulchrum subtilem.....Etiam de ipsa petra multæ fiunt virtutes: tollentes mensuram de ipso vestigio, ligant per singulos languores et sanantur." Anton. Placent. Itin. Sect. XXIII. in Ugolini Thes. Tom. VII. p. mccxvi.

[6] These places were similarly identified before in Sect. IX. p. mccxii. where is the following marvellous exposition of the 3d verse of Psalm cxxxiii. Close to the place of our Lord's baptism in the Jordan is the little Mount Hermon. At the foot of the mountain a cloud ascends from the river and, in the first hour after sunrise, comes to Jerusalem, "super Basilicam S. Mariæ ad S. Sophiam, quæ fuit Prætorium ubi auditus est Dominus." Here the dew descends like rain; and the physicians collect it: "et in ipso coquuntur omnes confectiones per xenodochia, nam multi languores sanantur ibi ubi cadit ipse ros. Ipse est ros de quo canitur, Sicut ros Hermon qui descendit in Sion!"

still venerated by the Moslems as bearing the print of a foot believed by them to be that of our Lord Jesus[1].

How this Church escaped destruction in the sack of the city by the Jews and Persians under Chosroes II. it is not easy to say; but certain it is that Eutychius[2] and other writers who specify the Churches then destroyed make no mention at all of this. It would therefore be standing, probably in its original state, in the time of Omar, and I think we may discover both its name and its position among the earliest traditions of the conquest, in the confused and conflicting records of the Arabian Chroniclers. We must not expect to find it under the name El-Aksa, which it now bears, for it was before said, that this name was at first common to the whole enclosure, and only afterwards appropriated to this particular building[3]. But I find mention made by the companions of Omar of a building, which must, I think, be identical with the S. Mary's Basilica described by the Christian writer last cited. When the Patriarch Sophronius was endeavouring to fulfil the Khalif's order to conduct him to the Mosk of David[4], he first brought him to the Church of the Resurrection, and then to the Church of Sion; but as Omar was not satisfied of their identity with the object of his enquiry, he next led him to a great Church, near the gate which is called Mohammed's. Water was running down the steps of the gate, and along the street that led to the

[1] It was pointed out to General Noroff, who supposed it to be the fellow to that shewn on Mount Olivet; but was probably not aware of the other tradition. Ali Bey marks it in his Plan (No. 41) as Sidina Aaiza, Vol. I. p. xxxvii., in Vol. II. p. 218 as the Place of Christ: but he does not mention the foot-print.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 301, and references in the notes.

[3] See above, p. 297, note 3.

[4] The narrative is given in Vol. I. p. 316, &c.

gate of the city, so that great part of the gate was under water; or, according to another report, the entrance was obstructed by rubbish accumulated on the steps of the gate, until it reached the narrow passage in which was the door, and on the steps until it touched the roof of the Porch. Here they were obliged to proceed creeping, until they arrived at the hill-top, where the vestiges of ancient buildings enabled them to identify the site of the Temple[5]. Now, since the Placentine pilgrim, in the very middle of his description of the Basilica of S. Mary, speaks of water running down a street before the ruins of Solomon's Temple[6], I think we may safely conclude that in the great Church of the Arabic narrative we must recognise the Basilica of S. Mary, and that in the great Gateway and vaulted passages beneath we may probably find the counterpart of the gate of Mohammed[7], with its narrow passage and door leading to the upper area: I hope to be able hereafter to give some account of the water, and of its subsequent disappearance.

But we have another mention of it by name, in connexion with two other ancient traditions. Sophronius, distressed at the conqueror's beggarly appearance,

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[5] See Mejr-ed-din in Mines d'Orient, Tome v. p. 161, and compare Kemal-ad-din, ed. P. Lemming, p. 54, and Jalal-addin as translated by Reynolds, p. 176. In the two last passages the Church is called Mesjid Beit el-Makuddus, by which name it probably came to be called, when appropriated by the Moslems.

[6] See the passage cited above in p. 375, note 5.

[7] It is certain that the great double gate under El-Aksa must have had steps to ascend to it, as described in the Arabic accounts, though the mound of rubbish now conceals them from view. Felix Fabri writes, "Ibi tempore Christianorum fuit ascensus per gradus lapideos ad altam portam, per quam erat ingressus in illam ecclesiam.....Dicitur quod xv. gradus ad illam portam fuerint per quos Virgo Maria et puer triennis...ascenderat in Templum, &c." Vol. II. p. 125. Comp. Dr Robinson's Bib. Res. I. p. 440.

had intreated him to be decently habited, and apparently provided him two garments. At any rate, "he had upon him two perfumed outer robes. Thus therefore he prayed in the Church of Maria. Then he spat on one robe. And it was said unto him, Dost thou spit here, seeing this is the place in which She communed with God? But this assertion Omar absolutely denied, as an invention of the Christians[1]." The other story, equally to the purpose, is also connected with the Khalif's nasty propensity. It runs thus, "As he was worshipping in the Church of S. Mary, the blessed Virgin, he spat on one of his garments. His companions suggested that there could be no reason why he should not spit in a place defiled by idolatry; but he answered, that for the future the praise of God should be celebrated in that place[2]." Here then we have the announcement of his intention to appropriate this S. Mary's Church to the disciples of the Koran, and the Khalif's prayer may perhaps have afforded the Moslems a pretext for claiming it[3]. In any case the Moslems shew in the Mosk at the present day the place where Omar prayed, and still preserve the tradition of the Presentation[4].

In prosecuting our historical inquiry we find that, during the Saracenic occupation, the building suffered severely on many occasions from the frequent earthquakes to which that country is exposed; which fact will readily account for any debasemnts and barbarisms that may now be observed in its style and decoration,

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[1] Jalal-addin in Reynolds, p. 182.

[2] Kemal-ad-din, l. c. p. 56.

[3] See his care not to compromise the Church of the Resurrection in Vol. I. p. 315.

[4] See Plates lxxi. lxxii in Ali Bey, and in Vol. I. pp. xxxvii. xxxviii., and Vol. II. p. 217. Richardson, pp. 304, 5.

though the principal modification in its arrangement was the result of design. El-Mahadi (A. D. 775—785) found the Mosk in ruins; "he commanded it to be rebuilt, and said, This Mosk was narrow and long, and was deserted of man. Diminish from its length and increase its width. And it was finished in his khalifat[5]." No wonder that the result is a "piece of Saracenic patchwork[6]," in which the materials of the original Church have been used up again and again, without much regard to taste, and have become so blended with purely Saracenic elements, that it would require drawings much more in detail than we yet possess to enable us to disentangle them. It is only marvellous that after such vicissitudes, and with such scanty materials, we should still be able to restore the plan of the original building, and to determine with a great degree of certainty how the order of El-Mahadi was executed upwards of ten centuries ago. It was noticed that the double passage runs beneath the eastern half of the nave and its inmost aisle[7]. This first led me to limit the original superstructure to one lateral aisle; for the substruction is obviously complete in itself; and although the two other aisles on this side must certainly require some artificial support, I would venture to assert that should that ever be discovered, it will prove to be of a totally different character from this vaulted corridor. Assuming, then, this as a datum, I find much to countenance it: For first, the three inner

[5] See Vol. I. pp. 318, 319, and Jalal-addin, p. 194.

[6] Fergusson's Essay, p. 109. This author supposes the Mosk el-Aksa to be the Dome of the Rock erected by Abd el-Melik, and that the Church of Justinian has wholly disappeared. "On this point, however, as indeed on almost every other, he must beg leave to differ from all those who have preceded him," p. 118.

[7] See above, p. 310.

compartments of the northern portico differ no less in constructive style and proportion from those of the two exterior on either side, than in their architectural decoration[1]. And the same difference is to be remarked in the roofs; for while that of the nave has a low pitch, and those of the aisles next it are sloping like the lean-to roof of an early Church, the two exterior aisles on either side are covered with a flat roof of an entirely different character.

Thus much for the exterior; but within are indications yet more convincing: for here, as I have already remarked, from Ali Bey, the aisles of the nave have this peculiarity, that those nearest the nave on either side are higher than the other four, and have a flat roof of timber, like that of the nave, while the others are vaulted[2]. Then further, the irregular massive piers that separate the inmost aisles from the middle aisles, are just such as might have been formed out of the thickness of the original wall when broken through for the addition of the aisles. Again; the transeptal arrangement has been noticed at the South end of the nave[3],

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[1] A very beautiful elevation of this North front, drawn by Mr. Arundale, is now before me, and from this I write.

[2] See p. 305, and Ali Bey, II. p. 217. "The two naves nearest the centre have a flat roof of timber, which is a little more elevated than that of the four naves of the extremities, the roofs of which are composed of square or of carved vaults." Of "the central nave," he says, "the roof is of timber without being vaulted."

[3] See above, pp. 305, 6. Ali Bey, with consistent confusion of terms, after speaking of El-Aksa as "composed of seven naves," adds, "two other naves branch off right and left, at right angles with the principal body of the edifice." Vol. II. p. 216. In the following page they are, "the collateral naves of the cupola." M. Noroff is more happy. "Le Temple est bati en croix. La partie inférieure de la croix se compose d'une longue galerie [nave] qui a deux rangs de colonnes de chaque coté ..... A l'extrémité de la galerie les colonnes, suivant la forme de la croix, se séparent des deux cotés.....Au dessus de la tête de la croix s'eleve la cupole," &c.

which would be a strange anomaly in a Saracenic Mosk, whereas the cruciform plan of Churches seems to have been first adopted about the time of Justinian. It is very possible that the substructions of the eastern transept may still exist within the doorway that once opened into the vestibule of the ancient gateway from the East[4], for the doorway would appear to be coeval with the remainder of the work, and to indicate an extension of vaults in this direction. Lastly, the Church of Justinian would probably have an apsidal termination for the Bema; and traces of such an apse may yet be seen in the middle of the south wall, which exhibits from without evident marks of a breach filled up with later masonry[5], as in many examples of ruined apses in various parts of our own Cathedrals.

From all these facts, I conclude that the original Church of S. Mary consisted of a nave with single aisles, a transept, and an apse; and that the reduction of its length and extension of its width, ordered by El-Mahadi, was effected by the demolition of the apse, and the addition of two aisles on either side[6]; the result of which was to give to the whole building a width equal to the length of the original transept; and it will be found that a restoration conducted on this principle will give to the building a symmetrical ground-plan, quite conformable to the type of a Church of that period.

It has been already stated that this Church, with the adjacent buildings, was appropriated to the "Poor Fellow-soldiers of Jesus Christ," by the Frank King, Baldwin II. (A. D. 1119), and that from it they derived

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[4] See above, p. 310. There is no corresponding doorway on the West side, though Mr. Tipping's plan so represents it. See Mr. Catherwood's Plan, in Mr. Fergusson's Essay, Plate V.

[5] As seen in the lithograph.

[6] A very frequent practice of the Saracens, as may be seen in Coste.

their new name of Templars[1]. How the Church first acquired the name it is difficult to discover[2]; for the Christians do not seem ever to have supposed that it occupied the site of the ancient Temple. The most probable account to be given of the matter is this: That several buildings on this spot being supposed to occupy the site of a palace of Solomon, came to be called, respectively or indifferently, the Palace, Porch, and Temple of Solomon; but that the principal building of the group, viz. the Church, gradually absorbed the others, until all were comprehended under the general name of the Temple of Solomon[3]. But the Christian traditions connect it rather with the history of the Holy Virgin, than with that of our Blessed Lord[4].

During their tenure, the Warrior-Monks took great liberties with the buildings: they walled up the great Mihrab in the southern wall, and converted it into a

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[1] See Vol. I. p. 390. William of Tyre, however, who consistently speaks of these buildings as "Palatium," says that the Templars derived their name not from this, but from the "Templum Domini," *i.e.* the Dome of the Rock: "Qui, quoniam juxta Templum Domini, ut prædiximus in palatio regis mansionem habent, Fratres Militiæ Templi dicuntur." XII. vii. p. 820.

[2] I could almost believe that Josippon Ben Gorion had borrowed his idea of the Palace of Solomon (Cap. XCII. p. 429), at the side of the Temple, from the buildings there existing at his time; and that these buildings afterwards derived their name from his book; which was written in the 10th and generally received in the 11th century. See Lardner, Vol. I. cap. vi. p. 209, &c.

[3] Raimondus de Agiles has, "Templum et porticus Salomonis," Gesta Dei p. 179. "Palatium Salomonis" in Alb. Aquen. VI. 20, 22. Ibid. p. 280. "Templum Salomonis," Fulcherius, Carnot, pp. 397, 8; Jacobus de Vit. cap. 62, p. 1081. William of Tyre calls it "domus regia, quæ vulgari appellatione Templum Salomonis appellatur." VIII. vii. p. 748.

[4] For proof of this see Quaresmius, who discusses the questions at large in Elucid. Terr. Stæ. Perig. II. capp. XVIII—XX. Tom. II. pp. 77—82. He was apparently the first to identify it with the Church of S. Mary, built by Justinian, and shews that it was not called originally the Church of the Presentation, which Presentation also is that of S. Mary by her parents, and not of our Lord by S. Mary.

granary, or to a more degrading purpose. To the West of the Kiblí they erected a large building, and a great Church. These were demolished by order of Saladin, and the Mihrab was restored[5]. But indubitable traces of the Frank occupation, impressed upon the front of the building, are still undefaced by force or time. The three middle compartments of the Porch, it has been said, differ materially from the other four; for while the arches composing the latter are entirely open, those of the former are filled in with light shafts, surmounted by plain cushion-capitals with their abacus; while round the great centre-arch runs that peculiar moulding, vulgarly known as the ziz-zag, which impresses a Norman character upon the building.

Thus much may suffice for the Church; but the substructions demand a few more words, in order to identify them with Justinian, and to prove that they did not belong to Herod's Temple, as Dr Robinson[6], Mr. Wolcott[7], and Mr. Tipping[8], imagine; nor yet to the supposed restorations of Hadrian, as Hrr. Krafft has more lately suggested[9]. Now, as it is only from Josephus that we learn the position of the southern gate of Herod's Temple, it is surely somewhat arbitrary to set at nought his authority to the extent that we are forced to do, if we admit this to be the gate described by him, as situated in the middle of the South side[10]: for even

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[5] See the Arabic history, entitled The Two Gardens, in Michaud's Bibliographie des Croisades, Tome II. pp. 599, 600.

[6] Dr Robinson, however, offers the choice of three periods. "It may have been erected, or at least decorated by Herod, and perhaps rebuilt by Hadrian, or at the same time with the Church under Justinian." Bib. Res. I. p. 451.

[7] In Biblioth. Sac. Part I. p. 19.

[8] In Traill's Josephus.

[9] Topographie Jerusalems, pp. 71—73.

[10] Πύλας κατὰ μέσον. Ant. XV. xi. which I understand of a double gate-

though we allow considerable latitude to his language, it will scarcely cover the condition of this gate, which is almost one-third nearer to the western than to the eastern extremity of the South wall [1]. On this account, then, I cannot recognise it as the Gate of Huldah, however a respectable Rabbi of the 14th century may wish to do so [2]. Neither can I, with Herr Krafft, assign it to Hadrian, chiefly because of that inscription cited by him in support of his theory. "It is found upon a stone in the outside southern wall of the Haram, just by the East end of the lintel of the ancient subterranean gateway, under the Mosk el-Aksa [3];" and reads as follows:—

TITOAILHADRIANO
ANTONINOAVGPIO
PPPONTIFAUGVR
DD PP

A convincing proof, Herr Krafft thinks, that this Gateway is rightly ascribed to the period of Hadrian; for as the wall does not appear to have been disturbed, the stone is probably *in situ*. But then, unhappily for the theory, the stone is "inverted," the inscription stands "on its head [4]; and speaks, besides, not of Hadrian, as

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way in the middle, and not, as does Lightfoot, of two gateways equally removed from the angles and from each other. Prospect of the Temple, chap. VI.

[1] See the measures above, p. 317, note 6. Dr Robinson makes very light of this difficulty, and is very supercilious. Theol. Rev. p. 608, note 3.

[2] Parchi, by Zunz. Asher's Ben. Tud. Vol. II. p. 397.

[3] So Mr. Eli Smith in Bib. Sac. I. p. 562, to whom we are indebted for a faithful copy of this inscription (for the I for L in AIL is probably a misprint) of which Krafft has made sad work, l. c. p. 73. Besides minor errors, he omits the first letter T, reads ITOAIL, as ΠΟΛΗ, and having thus introduced what he takes for Greek into a Latin inscription, he next translates it as though it were ΠΟΛΙC, "Stadt," (City).

[4] Bib. Sac., and Krafft, l. c.

he imagines, but of Antoninus Pius[5], and therefore proves, beyond question, that the wall and the gate are later than Hadrian or Antoninus; so much later, that the altar, or shrine, or statue, or whatever it was in which this stone was inserted, had fallen to ruin, when the materials were worked into this building: and if history had been silent on the subject, yet the architecture of this great gateway, the debased style of its mouldings and capitals, the composite order of the monolithic column, above all, the dome-vaults with pendentives in the vestibule, and the segmental arches in the passages, would force us to conclude that this later period was no other than the period of Justinian.

To what use these and the other substructions were converted by the Templars, or how the buildings above were arranged for their accommodation, does not appear from the Frank annals of the City during their occupation[6]. I have suggested that the name of "Solomon's

[5] This is another strange blunder of Herrn Krafft. Seeing "Hadriano" in the inscription, he concludes that it must belong to Publius Ælius Hadrianus, without waiting to enquire whether he was ever called Titus Antoninus Pius, which he certainly was not. On the contrary, it is very natural that, as Hadrian had assumed the name of Trajan from his adoptive father, so his adopted son Titus Arrianus Antoninus, who for his affection towards him was by the Senate surnamed Pius, should assume his names: and the insertion of these names would be particularly appropriate in the city named from him: and it is observable that the nomen "Ælius" is prefixed to that of Antoninus only on the coins of Ælia Capitolina and Cæsarea of Palestine. (See Vaillantius de Nummis, Tom. I. p. 237, &c.), nor have I met with the nomen and cognomen "Ælius Hadrianus," ascribed to Antoninus Pius, except in this inscription.

[6] The Frank writer in Beugnot (Sect. IV.) merely mentions this as "*li Temples Salemon* là où li frere du Temple menoient." Edrisi, also of the period of the Crusades, is somewhat more explicit, "Ils [les Chrétiens] ont converti cette chapelle en un couvent où résident des religieux de l'ordre des Templiers." Of the Canons of the "Templum Domini" (Dome of the Rock), he says, speaking of that building, "La porte Septentrionale est située vis-a-vis d'un jardin bien planté de di-

Stables" may have been attached to the substructions, in consequence of the use to which they applied them[1]. The Church was apparently used as a Palace, or Court of Justice, by the Frank Kings[2], and afterwards as a Convent[3]. A new Church was erected on the West, around which would be grouped, as in European monasteries, the dormitory, refectory, and infirmary, with their various offices; partly consisting of ancient buildings, partly of new constructions; the former of which were purified, the latter demolished, as we have seen, by Saladin.

But here the question arises, What could induce Justinian to hang his church and hospitals on the hillside, when the whole of the temple-enclosure lay unoccupied immediately to the North of the appointed site? But, independently of the clear testimony of Procopius that thus they were built, it is to be considered that the denunciations of our Lord were not yet fully accom-

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verses espèces d'arbres et entouré de colonnes en marbre sculptées avec beaucoup d'art. Au bout du jardin est un réfectoire pour les prêtres et pour ceux qui se destinent à entrer dans les ordres." Par Jaubert. Recueil de Voyages, &c. Tome v. p. 344.

[1] See above, pp. 310, 11, and notes.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 399.

[3] Edrisi, as quoted in p. 385, n. 6. This is confirmed by S. Bernard, (Exhort. ad Milites Templi, cap. v.) who speaks of their living in common in the Temple, which he thus graphically describes, contrasting its ornaments with those of Solomon's Temple. "Ornatur tamen hujus quoque facies Templi, sed armis non gemmis: et pro antiquis coronis aureis, circumpendentibus clypeis paries operitur; pro candelabris, thuribulis, atque urceolis, domus undique frenis, sellis, ac lanceis communitur ..... Devotus exercitus ..... in domo sancta cum equis et armis commoratur.....ipsi in ea die noctuque tam honestis quam utilibus officiis occupantur." Benjamin of Tudela (p. 69) states the number of Knights as 400, and implies that it was a hospital for sick likewise. So also R. Petachia calls it a hospital for the poor: השפיטול שהעניים שם מצד Ugolini Thes. Tom. VI. p. mccvii.; and Ishak Khelo (A.D. 1334) says that in Christian times it was a hospital for the sick: "now, a large market is held there." Carmoly, p. 238.

plished in the view of the Christians of those days[4], who were, as we shall presently see, looking for their *literal* verification by the gradual operation of the prophetic Word. Was it likely that such an emperor as Justinian would venture to interfere with a site connected with such awful associations in his mind, and in the minds of his advisers? Besides which, the attempt of the apostate Julian to set up the ruins of former desolations on the spot which they had before occupied, had been so strangely visited[5], that his example might well have led to the idea that the ground within the ancient enclosure was accursed; and we accordingly find that, on the capture of the City by Omar, the sacred Rock was neglected, and polluted[6], and all but forgotten; from which I conclude that the church and hospitals of Justinian were built entirely without the enclosure of the Jewish Temple, and, consequently, that the present boundary of the Haram on the South is not identical with that of the ancient Temple.

But there yet remains to be noticed the last broken link in that chain of evidence that has been adduced in support of the affirmative. It is found in the ruined arch at the South-west corner, which Dr. Robinson imagines "could only have belonged to the bridge, which, according to Josephus, led from the south part of the Temple to the Xystus on Sion[7]."

Now if it did belong to such a bridge as Dr Robinson supposes, it must have been a most stupendous

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[4] Matt. xxiv. 2. Luke xiii. 35; xix. 44.

[5] See Vol. I. pp. 254, 5.

[6] Supra, pp. 339, 40, and see the references in Vol. I. p. 316, note 1. Eutychii Annales, Vol. II. pp. 286, 289. Elmacinus, Hist. Saracen. p. 28, and Will. Tyr. I. ii. p. 630, in Bongar.

[7] See Bib. Res. I. pp. 425, 6, 7.

work—350 feet in length, and at least 51 feet in width, composed of huge stones, stretching across the deep bed of the Tyropœon, (still deep, though it "has doubtless been greatly filled up with rubbish") to the "abrupt precipice of rock, from 20 to 30 feet high, lying over against it[1];"—and it does seem to me quite inconceivable, that Josephus, generally so minute in detail, should pass over, without a word of description or admiration, such an astonishing performance, in the passages where the bridge is referred to; and that no traces of its intermediate piers and arches, nor of its western termination, can be now discovered.

But there is a much greater difficulty in the way of the reception of this hypothesis, amounting in my mind to an absolute impossibility. This ruin is nearly, if not quite, level with the present bed of the Tyropœon, on the East side of the valley; on the West side of which rises "the precipitous natural rock of Sion, from 20 to 30 feet high," the present base of which stands on a steep ridge of at least an equal height above the bed of the valley[2]. This ridge is now co-

[1] See Bib. Res. 1. p. 390.

[2] I feel confident that the top of the perpendicular rock of Sion on the West can be little short of 80 feet higher than the spring-course of the arch on the East. Mr. Bartlett's sketch (Walks, p. 150) gives a very good idea of their relative height; but Mr. Tipping's view "from the Brow of Sion" (Traill's Josephus, p. xx.), and Lady Louisa Tenison's from the same point, a still better. In both these you look over the west wall of the Haram, whose height Dr Robinson estimates at about 60 feet (Theol. Rev. p. 610, note 2), into the enclosure, and see the ruined arch—much exaggerated in the latter—springing out near the bottom of the wall, as may be seen again in Mr. Tipping's "Elevation of the Wall and Spring-Stones," p. xxvi.; and in p. xxviii. Dr Robinson ought not to represent me as saying "at most" in the text, where I say "at least;" and then charge me with inconsistency and stupidity, as he does in the note just referred to. The drawings of Mr. Tipping and Lady L. Tenison will prove that if Mr. Bartlett's sketch does "represent the

vered with prickly pears, and appears to be formed in great part from rubbish thrown down from the height above. Now whether "Solomon and his successors," or any others "at a period long antecedent to the days of Herod," could have constructed such an arched bridge as this must have been, which, springing from so low a level on the East, would reach the very much superior elevation on the West, I must leave it to architects or antiquaries to determine: I can only say, it must have been very unlike any bridge I ever saw, and must have looked exceedingly awkward[3]: and some architects "do not suppose arches were in use in the time of Solomon, however far back the mere invention of the arch may go[4]."

Haram wall and Sion as of equal altitude," (which I think it does not,) it is not accurate.

[3] Dr Robinson, l. c., who unhappily appears to be too angry with me to give my arguments a fair consideration, meets the difficulty by stating that "the fragment in question is so far from being on a level with the bed of the valley, that the height of the concave surface of the upper course above the ground is about 12 feet by measure," and that "the elevation of the bridge was naturally not much less" than that of the whole wall, *i.e.* 60 feet. This I cannot comprehend. The base of the ruin, *i.e.* the spring of the arch is on a level with the present bed of the valley —(which was all I said, and is plain, beyond all contradiction;) now the radius of the arch, as restored by Mr. Brettell, would be 20 ft. 9½ in., that is the highest point of the concave surface; and I never saw a bridge with a space of 40 feet between the concave surface and the road above. If we suppose three arches, one above another, as in some ancient aqueducts, we raise the bridge too high on the East; or if a bridge of ascending steps, such as one sees in some old attempts at a restoration of the City, the only difficulty would be the construction. It never occurred, even to me, to reduce the "level of the whole bridge to that of the present fragment:" but I imagine that the western arch must be on a level with the eastern, to prevent lateral pressure. At least in all bridges that I have seen, however the arches near the middle are higher than those at the side, yet the extremes are always on the same level. Hrr. Krafft adopts my argument, (without acknowledgment, as usual), as decisive against Dr Robinson's hypothesis of the bridge. Topographie, p. 61.

[4] Catherwood, Bartlett's Walks, p. 178.

Can, then, any other account be given of these stupendous stones? and does their appearance agree in general character with any described by ancient historians, or by modern explorers? They do; and the grand substructure already described from Procopius may help us to solve the difficulty. Dr. Robinson himself is of opinion, that "the ranges of vaults," commencing from the East, "extended not improbably quite to the western wall of the enclosure, where are now said to be immense cisterns[1];" and to these vaults, whatever was their original design or present use, I would propose to add another arcade at the western extremity, in order to bring in this arch[2]. In so doing

[1] Bib. Res. 1. p. 450. It was wrong of Dr Robinson to misrepresent me as saying that "this external arch once went to form a huge covered cistern above ground," or that I *insist* that "the vaults within the west wall are cisterns." Theol. Rev. p. 611, note 11. I neither say one thing, nor insist on the other: but I adopt his report of the *cisterns* in proof that the *vaults* (which may or may not be used as cisterns, or may have been converted to that purpose,) extended thus far West. When Mr. Catherwood (p. 171) suggests that "those portions of the vaulting now walled up may have been used as cisterns," (Bartlett, p. 171), he never meant to suggest that the double gateway under El-Aksa was a cistern, nor could Dr Robinson seriously suppose that even I did. The cisterns at Constantinople may be similar in construction, and belong, as I am persuaded they do, to the same period, and yet have been designed for a widely different purpose.

[2] I am happy to find that this explanation approves itself to Mr. Veitch, who has passed some years at Jerusalem, is well acquainted with the remains, and is besides no partial critic—to say the least. He writes (l. c. p. 35), "This is the famous spring of the arch supposed by Dr Robinson to mark the termination of a bridge once connecting Moriah and Mount Sion; but with far greater probability supposed by Mr. Williams to be a portion of one of those arches on which it is known part of Justinian's Church was built." Dr Robinson complains (Theol. Rev. p. 611, note 1) that I do not explain why it is that this arcade, unlike all the others, "commences at 39 feet from the south wall, and extends northwards only 51 feet." In truth, I thought that the dilapidated state of the wall was a sufficient explanation, and, in any case, he can shew no more traces of the bridge than I can of the arcade, neither "the foundations of the piers," (Bartlett, p. 151,) nor "the western termination," (Bib. Res. p. 426). Mr. Catherwood, however, did unconsciously

I shall be thus far borne out by Mr. Catherwood and his brother architects, as indeed I believe by all who have examined them, viz. that they assign one date, and one general plan, to all the substructions of this southern side[3]. True, they refer them to an earlier period, and connect them with the Jewish Temple under Herod, as though the massive blocks of stone described by Procopius as a sufficient draught for forty choice bullocks, did not find their exact counterpart in these enormous substructions, which answer so precisely to his description; while all the superstructures along the whole line of wall which have any decided architectural character, (except the Saracenic Gate), viz. the Roman arches, the vaulted hall and gateway, and the "fine lofty wall" of the Mosk Abu Bekr, ("of uniform and excellent masonry, such as may be seen in the later Roman erections,") connecting this gateway with the S. W. angle, lead directly to the same conclusion[4].

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remark the continuation of these substructions South of the fragment, in the Schools at the West end of the Mosk Abu Bekr. See above p. 307.

[3] See Catherwood in Bartlett's Walks, p. 171. Mr. Bonomi in Bib. Res. I. p. 447.

[4] Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. I. 423, 4. Mr. Wolcott, Bib. Sac. I. p. 19, and Mr. Tipping, Traill's Josephus, pp. xviii, xlvi., seem to consider the bevelled stones as a sure indication of Jewish masonry; but, as Mr. Catherwood writes, (Bartlett's Walks, p. 178), "What proof of antiquity is to be seen in this I am at loss to conjecture." It appears in mediæval buildings, *e. g.* in the Castle at Banias. I am disposed to believe that the ξύσαντες αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένως in Procopius may refer to this very bevelling. Even granting a Jewish origin to the huge bevelled stones (though in size also they correspond with those described by Procopius), why may they not have been taken from the old ruins, to be used in later buildings? In the Theol. Rev. p. 615, Dr Robinson cites bevelled stones at Hebron, Baalbek, Bâniâs Hûnîn, es-Shûkîf, and Jebeil on the island Ruad, the ancient Aradus. How many of these can be shewn to be Jewish, except by assuming the bevelled stones as a proof? Some of them certainly are not. His admission in note 6, l. c. would explain all, even with this assumption: the Romans imitated the stones which they found on the spot.

And with respect to the Bridge, it is entirely gratuitous to force this ruined arch into service for that purpose, since there is yet existing an antiquity which may clearly be identified with the Bridge described by Josephus. I allude to the Causeway which has been so often before noticed, as joining the North-east corner of Sion with the Haram, and over which runs that part of the Street of David, which is sometimes distinguished as the Street of the Temple [1]. The truth is, that the original word, (γέφυρα), which we translate *Bridge*, as also its Latin equivalent (*pons*,) will answer equally well for a dam or embankment [2], so that the passages in

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[1] See the account of this Causeway above, pp. 43, 44. It is a satisfaction to find that this *Erdwall* has taken its place as an established fact in the Topography of Jerusalem, (Dr Schultz, pp. 81, 106. Hr. Krafft, *Register* in voce, and their Plans, and Mr. Fergusson's), and I have no doubt will maintain it, notwithstanding Dr Robinson's reclamations. Having owned in Bibl. Sac. p. 33, note 1, that "one of the chief streets passes over the whole length of the mound into the Haram," so that "in passing down the street one is not usually aware of the mound at all," that "he traversed the street that crosses it only once, and did not then note that the top of the ridge was occupied by a street," that "he had at the time no suspicion of the nature of the mound," and "had only imperfect notes of an imperfect observation:" after these admissions in 1843, he undertakes to say in 1846 (Theol. Rev. pp. 611, 12), that "the Causeway runs merely from the base of Sion," that "its length between Sion and the Haram is nearly or quite double the distance between the fragment of the arch and the opposite cliff of Sion," and that "it is a low mound, apparently raised for the purpose of introducing the aqueduct into the Haram." Pretty strong deductions from "imperfect notes of an imperfect observation," and how wide of the truth has already appeared, and is proved by the very aqueduct itself, which, "after it has been for some distance carried along or through the steep face of Sion," under the foundations of the houses on its eastern brow (Mr Wolcott in Bibl. Sac. pp. 31, 32), crosses to the Haram *some way beneath* the surface of the Causeway. Certainly, by the course here adopted, "insuperable difficulties" may be raised to any theory.

[2] I am sorry to be obliged to say that this has been much misrepresented by Dr Robinson. I had inadvertently spoken as though the Antiquities was written before the Wars; this was wrong; but did not affect the argument, which was this—that the *word* was ambiguous, and must be explained by the *periphrasis*. Dr Robinson (Theol. Rev. p. 613, note 4) calls the

which the word only occurs prove nothing either way: but there is fortunately one passage where the historian uses a periphrasis, in describing the southernmost of the four western gates to the outer Temple, for he says that it led to the Upper City, the valley being cut off, or interrupted for the passage[3]; which it clearly

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five passages where the *word* γέφυρα occurs, the "*clear* passages," and the one where the fuller notice is given, "the *more doubtful* one," and says, "we must explain the *one* doubtful phrase by the *five* clear and explicit ones:" *i. e.* he begs the whole question of the meaning of γέφυρα, and rejects the explanation of it furnished by Josephus himself. Further; in p. 611, he says that "γέφυρα, although in the Homeric and early poetic usage it is sometimes employed in speaking of *a causeway*, signifies nevertheless in the Attic and later prose-usage always and only a bridge," in proof of which he refers to "the Lexicons of Passow, of Liddell and Scott, &c." On looking at which I find the *first* sense, "*Damm, Erdwall*," "*a dam, mound of earth;*" the *third*, "*die Brücke*," "*a bridge;*" —what kind of bridge must always be determined by the context, whether in Homer or elsewhere. (See also under γεφυρόω). Sometimes it is a bridge of boats, sometimes of a fallen tree, &c. "It appears that γέφυρα is no less properly used of a solid embankment connecting the opposite sides of a valley than of a bridge with arches. In Herodotus II. (Euterpe) 99, the expression ἀπογεφορῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν doubtless means (as Schweighauser and others take it) "to fence off the city from the inundations of the Nile by an embankment." So Eusebius of Hadrian: γεφύρωσαι Ελεωσῖνα, κατακλυσθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Κηφισσοῦ ποταμοῦ. Γέφυρα is best understood of an embankment in Il. E. 89, for Diomede is there compared to a χειμαῤῥοῦς πόταμος, that is, as Creech observes (on Lucret. I. 286) not a regular river, but an occasional torrent, which would therefore not be likely to be spanned by bridges. Lucretius, l. c. imitating the passage of Homer uses *pontes* and *moles*. Comp. Il. Φ. 245. Pindar calls the Isthmus [of Corinth] πόντου γέφυρα (Nem. VI. 67). The words of Schweighauser on Herodotus are "γέφυρα non modo de ponte proprie nominato dicitur, sed et de aggere. ut Il. E. 89." The derivation of γέφυρα is hinted at as ἐφ' ὑγροῦ (Constantini Lex), but it would easily lose this primary sense. *Pons* is similarly used of an *agger* serving for transit. Tac. Ann. I. 63 applies it to an embankment across a marsh "Pontes longos (angustus is trames vastas inter paludes a Domitio *aggeratus*)." P. Freeman.

[3] Τῆς φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης. Ant. XV. xi.....Dr Robinson, l. c. renders the word "*being taken off, separated, intercepted*, so that the true sense is, the valley being intercepted for a passage." But then is a river "taken off, separated, intercepted," by an arched bridge? I find γεφύρᾳ ζευγνύναι ποταμόν· and "*fluvium ponte jungere.*" Passow, and Facciolati Lex. in vocc.

would not be by an arched bridge, but is by such an embankment as that which still exists, and gives access to the Gate of the Chain.

That this Causeway answers the conditions required by the Bridge of Josephus will be clear, from a review of the several passages in which its situation with reference to the Temple is indicated.

The bridge is first mentioned in the account of Pompey's operations at Jerusalem. Before that general entered the City, Aristobulus and his party had "seized upon the Temple, and cut off the bridge which stretched from it to the City, and prepared for a siege[1]." The Romans were then forced to proceed again regularly to the siege of the Temple on the north; "the part towards the City being rendered precipitous by the interruption of the bridge[2]." Notwithstanding the ambiguity of the original, it seems to be fairly deducible from this passage, that the bridge was on the West or city side; but this is all we gather from this context[3].

In the next passage its position is most clearly given in describing the situation of Agrippa's Palace,

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[1] Τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ τὴν τείνουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέφυραν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔκκοψαν εἰς πολιορκίαν εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. Ant. XIV. iv. 1. Compare B. J. I. vii. Εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρει καὶ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν γέφυραν ἀποκόψαντες, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Ἀπερρώγει γὰρ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τῆς γέφυρας ἀνατετραμμένης ἐφ' οὗ διῆγε Πομπήϊος. Ant. ut sup.

[3] The words ἐφ' οὗ διῆγε Πομπήϊος "interrupto ponte quâ parte degebat Pompeius" (as they are literally rendered in Hudson) might almost seem to bring this into doubt: for the historian had just before said that Pompey was encamped within the wall which he had drawn round the North part of the Temple: so that the πόλις may here mean the καινόπολις (Bezetha), and the bridge one extending across the West end of the fosse (Birket Isra'il), as must have been the case in the time of Cestius, and is so still;—then giving access to the gate Tedi, as now to the gates Dewatar and Hitta. Or the dam at the East end of the fosse, if it then existed, might be the γέφυρα in question.

identical with the House of the Asmonæans[4]. "This house was above the Xystus, at the extremity of the Upper City, and a bridge joined the Temple to the Xystus[5]." Subsequently we learn that it was at the southern part of the outer Temple, where was a gate opening on the bridge; and elsewhere the Xystus, the Bridge, and the Tower of Simon, are brought together[6]. This Tower of Simon was probably part of "the house of the Asmonæans[7];" but in any case, it is certain that this last-named Palace was above the Xystus, at the western extremity of the bridge that led to the Temple from the upper City. But the passage from the southern part of the Temple to the Palace on Sion was formed by an interruption of the valley[8], *i. e.* by the Causeway, as it is called in Scripture[9], terminating in

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[4] I have before suggested its identity with the Palace of Monobazus (Vol. I. p. 147, note 3), and it was here no doubt that the Royal Hall was built by Grapte (a female relative of Izates, king of Adiabene, and so of Helena and Monobazus), occupied by the tyrant John and the Zealots until he was driven from it by Simon's faction, who then held it. Jewish War, IV. ix. 11. It was at this same palace near the Xystus, on the West of the Temple, that Agrippa the younger erected his banquetting-hall, commanding the Temple. Ant. XX. vii. 11. See Vol. I. p. 158.

[5] Bell. Jud. II. xvi. 3. "Αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ ξυστοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ γέφυρα τῷ ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν." The Xystus, as is plain from the context, was a place for public assemblies.

[6] "Ιατο κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ. Ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν." B. J. VI. vi. 2. Κατὰ τὸν ξυστὸν ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν γεφύραν καὶ τὸν Σιμῶνος πύργον, κ.τ.λ.; ibid. viii. 1.

[7] In the conflict between the two factions, John, who held the Temple, built a tower above the Xystus, *i.e.* at the eastern extremity of the Causeway, at the Temple. Ant. XX. vii. 12. Bell. Jud. VI. iii. 2. Simon's was at the other extremity, at the Palace, as is clear from the passage just cited. Bell. Jud. VI. viii. 1. Nor can I comprehend why "such a proceeding in reference to the present Causeway would be utterly absurd." Theol. Rev. p. 613.

[8] "Τῆς φάραγγος εἰς δίοδον ἀπειλημμένης." See above, p. 274, n. 1.

[9] See 1 Kings x. 5, עֲלָתוֹ. Nehemiah iii. 31. עֲלִיַּת.

the gate Shallecheth, the gate of the Embankment, according to Lightfoot[1]. Therefore the Bridge and the Causeway are identical.

Again; the north Wall of Sion, as it approached the Temple, passed the Xystus, and was joined to the Council-chamber[2], so that it must have run in the same line with the Bridge, which also joined the Xystus. But it is surely very unlikely, to say the least, that this old wall, besides making an angle, contrary to the words of Josephus[3], should be carried down a precipitous rock of 20 or 30 feet, as it must have been had it crossed the valley near Dr Robinson's bridge, (where the Xystus must have stood, if his view be correct,) unless indeed it was carried over, or rather down the bridge; but then it would have been most manifestly inconvenient, as well as very difficult, to cut off such a bridge; and the silence of Josephus would be still more unaccountable, as the work must have been far more worthy of our admiration than any which he has mentioned. It is

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[1] See above, p. 274, note 3, and 1 Chron. xxvi. 16. שַׁעַר שַׁלֶּכֶת בַּמְסִלָּה הָעוֹלֶה. Dr Robinson says, "that profound scholar seems to be in error," with respect to his interpretation of these passages; and by some critical remarks, very much in his usual style, endeavours to make out that "the allusion is *to stairs* and *staircases*," and therefore that "the whole argument falls to the ground." But then again the sense is begged, not proved, and the critics do not bear him out. I may remark that Dr Schultz and Herr Krafft agree with me in taking הַמְסִלָּה הָעוֹלָה for the Causeway. Schultz, p. 81; Krafft, p. 109.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 147. It is perhaps worth remarking, that the Mehkeme, or Cadi's Office, the modern *βουλῆ* or *βουλευτήριον* of Jerusalem stands at the extremity of this Causeway, nearest the Haram. The sites of Antonia and of the palace of Herod —the garrison of the Roman legion left there by Titus—are now occupied by the Turkish garrison, as es-Seraiyáh, and el Kal'ah, respectively. The coincidences are singular.

[3] *Διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν ξυστὸν λεγόμενον, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ συνάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἀπηρτίζετο.* De Bell. Jud. v. iv. 2.

beyond belief that he should, neither in his account of the first wall, nor in any mention of the bridge, relate the wonderful fact of the wall being carried across it for 360 feet, or down such a precipice, such had been really the case. The same remark will apply, with almost equal force, to the aqueduct. For why should it be brought so far North, and a mound be erected expressly for it, when it might have reached its destination by the arched bridge to the South?

The old wall must have crossed the Tyropœon, even according to Dr Robinson's idea of the direction of the latter[4]. What can be more likely than that it was carried along the Causeway? But how then could the passage be cut off? Is it not conceivable that, with a view to the fortification of the Temple, the Jews might contrive to cut a deep trench in the embankment, passable in peaceful times by what would answer the purpose of a drawbridge in modern warfare, or at least by some contrivance short of Cyclopean architecture, and that the wall was carried by a single arch over this chasm? This would reconcile all the passages in which *the bridge* is mentioned, and satisfy the strictest sense of the word in our language; but I consider it much more likely that there was no arched bridge at all, but that the communication was "cut off," or "interrupted," for the occasion, by a detachment of Jewish engineers[5].

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[4] "It ran eastward along the northern brow of Sion, and so *across the valley* to the western side of the Temple area." Bib. Res. I. p. 459.

[5] Ἔκκοψαν, ἀποκόψαντες, ἀνατετραμμένης· ll. cc. I am sorry that this explanation appears "very lame" to Dr Robinson. And I should have been glad to have had a more satisfactory solution of the difficulty which his theory involves: but I find none attempted. Theol. Rev. p. 612, note 4. How could the North wall of Sion reach the Temple?

I apprehend then that none but such as have prejudged the question, will hesitate to admit that the claims of the Causeway to be regarded as the Bridge, are superior to those of the Arch: and it is a satisfaction to find, that the argument as above stated approved itself to archæologists before the discovery of another fact, which must determine the point beyond all doubt, at least as regards the ruined arch; for it now appears that this fragment is not in the same line with the remainder of the West wall of the Haram, but that there are two distinct breaks in the continuity of that line towards its southern part, one immediately South of the Causeway, the other South of the Jews' Wailing Place; so that this last-named fragment is 90 feet, and the ruined arch 250 feet East of the Gate of the Chain[1].

As this discovery will seem to jeopardy the authenticity of the Jews' tradition relating to the Wall, which I should be sorry to disturb, I will endeavour, for their sakes, to bring the Wailing Place within the boundary of the Temple. And though it is quite possible, (considering how long they were prohibited access to the City,) that they may be mistaken in ascribing to these stones, in their present position, such high antiquity, yet I think it not improbable that they do water with their tears the stones that formed the south-west angle of their fathers' temple.

It does not clearly appear indeed when this wall became an object of veneration to the mourners of Sion,

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[1] This will shew the value of Dr Robinson's remark quoted in p. 392, n. 1, on the relative distance between the brow of Sion and the opposite side of the valley, at the arch and at the Causeway. And see above, pp. 322, 3, for the authority for this part of the wall.

or what is their precise notion as to its place in the ancient temple[2]: they apparently regard the Gate of the Chain as an ancient gate of the Temple, identical with the Gate of Cephenus[3], which, according to Lightfoot, was the later name of the Gate Shallecheth[4]; and it is curious that a Jewish writer of the 13th century has remarked in the foundation of this Western Wall a kind of large Porch at the base of the Temple[5], probably the head of the identical subterranean gateway near the Gate of the Moghrebins, which we noticed from Ali Bey, in the interior survey of the Haram[6]. It would be presumptuous to attempt to determine anything with reference to this Gate without more light than can be obtained from the scanty and obscure notices of such an inaccurate writer as Ali Bey: and it is clear that the Gate must closely affect the question

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[2] Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1160) speaks of the "Western Wall" "in front of the Templum Domini," as one of the walls which formed the Holy of Holies of the ancient Temple. It is called the Gate of Mercy, and all Jews resort thither to say their prayers near the wall of the Court-yard. Asher, Vol. I. pp. 36 and 70. If he spoke of the present Wailing Place he was strangely out in his reckoning. He probably does not intend to say that there was any gate here: for the Jews of the present day regard the wall itself, or the spaces between the stones, as the *gate* through which all prayers ascend to heaven. So again, Ishak Khelo, (A.D.1334) in the *Chemins de Jérusalem*, (Carmoly, p. 237,) calls the *wall* the Gate of Mercy. In the Ykhus-Haaboth (A.D. 1564), by Uri ben-Biel (Ibid. p. 439. Hottinger's Cippi Heb. p. 41) it is simply the Western Wall.

[3] So Esthori Parchi (cited by Dr Zunz, in Asher, Vol. II. p. 397,) A.D. 1322, writes, "We further recognise the Gate of Chulda South, and the Gate of Kephinus Westwards."

[4] See Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, Chap. v. sect. i. Vol. IX. p. 226.

[5] Samuel Bar Simson (A.D. 1210). He speaks of the Gate of the Chain as the Gate Shacambo, without which is the road that leads to the fountain Etham, the bath of the priests: and after noticing the great porch (Portique), he remarks that it was by a subterranean passage that the priests went to Etham, where was formerly a bath. Carmoly, p. 127. All this is very obscure.

[6] See above, p. 308.

of the neighbouring wall. I would only suggest, in general, whether this ancient wall may not be the western termination of the Royal Porch of Herod, erected probably without the bounds of the ancient Temple, and so forming in the South an extension of its old limits, as Josephus describes: for the rapid convergence of the Tyropœon and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, would be a sufficient reason for not extending the cloister the full width of the ancient area. Thus will a satisfactory account be given of both the angles that break the continuity of the Western Wall; for that nearest the Causeway will mark the limit of the old area before its extension by Herod the Great; and the angle South of the Wailing Place will determine the line of the South Wall of the Royal Cloister; while all South of this will belong to the Church and Hospitals of Justinian, built in great measure on an artificial foundation, supported on arches, as described by Procopius; the continued convergence of the two valleys having so narrowed the intervening hill as to render such an expedient necessary in order to procure a requisite space for the given dimensions of the buildings. Here, then, it will be well briefly to recapitulate the various points which I have thus far attempted to establish; for it is time to bring this long disquisition to a close.

The correspondence between the great drain of the Jewish altar and the present sacred Cave of the Moslems, having fixed with a great degree of certainty the position of the brazen altar, and by consequence of the holy House and the sacred precinct, the agreement that was found between the proportions and measures of that Inner Temple and the present raised platform of the Haram, was a strong argument for their

general identity. Next arose the perplexing question concerning the extent of the outer area; in examining which I shewed reason to believe that the North boundary of the Temple is the same with that of the present Haram, arguing chiefly from the scarped rock in the N.W. corner, the angle of massive masonry at the N.E. corner, the deep fosse on the North, and the ancient gateway in the Eastern Wall. I then accounted for the remains at the South of the Haram, independently of the Temple, shewing that the S.E. angular tower must have belonged to the first wall of the city, and that the coincidence between the description given by Procopius of the erections of Justinian and the existing buildings and substructions in this quarter, must lead us to assign these great works to that Emperor's mechanical architect, Theodore; and in further confirmation of this view, I adduced the architecture of the Mosk el-Aksa, and an inscription of Antoninus Pius, on an inverted stone, in the original wall of the subterranean gateway. The ruined arch at the S. W. angle then invited more particular notice, and I endeavoured to prove that it could not have belonged to the bridge mentioned by Josephus, which bridge I have identified with the causeway which still exists, and is traversed by the Street of the Temple.

Thus then I have reduced the area of the Temple to the proportions of a square, as the consistent statement of the Jewish authorities demanded, and have brought the southern portico of the outer Court near to the inner platform, as the language of Josephus requires; but I do not and I cannot reduce the outer Court to the dimensions specified by the same authorities, nor does any other hypothesis do so, always

excepting one which disregards alike all ancient traditions and all existing remains; which utterly ignores or boldly over-rides all statements that make against it; which contrives, with consummate ingenuity, to place the Temple exactly without the ancient area, in a supposed angle of the Haram that does not exist; and which, lastly, finds the Sacred Rock of the Moslems in a Mosk where no native rock is to be seen, but the half of which is suspended on an artificial substruction[1]. All modern theories, with this exception, are open to the objection above stated; and that which I have here proposed is equally opposed to another statement of the Mishna[2]. It is to the effect that the greatest space of the Mountain of the House (*i. e.* of the outer Temple) was on the South, the next on the East, the next on the North, and the least on the West: a statement which I do not profess to understand; for the remark that follows completely mystifies what would otherwise be a clear, though very inconvenient, particular. "Where was the greatest space, there was the most service," adds the writer; whereas there was no part of the service performed in the outer Temple, as the Hebrew Ritual most clearly demonstrates.

But whatever becomes of this difficulty, it is clear that the passage in question militates as strongly against the only other plausible theory that materially differs from my own: since any disposition of the area which

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[1] I allude to Mr. Fergusson's theory, which I have partly undermined before, and which will soon be wholly overthrown.

[2] Middoth, cap. II. l. Mishna, Tom. v. p. 334. הר הבית היה חמש מאות אמה על המש מאות אמה רובו מין הדרום שני לו מין המזרח שלישי לו מין הזפון מיעוטו מן המערב מקום שהיה רוב שם היה רוב תשמישו.

would exclude the Golden Gate, must leave the least space on the North of the Rock[3], where Dr Robinson, no less than myself, is disposed to fix the Temple[4]; while the other arguments against that disposition remain in full force.

The truth is, that all hypotheses have their difficulties; that which solves the most and leaves the fewest is the best: and I think it more fair to so difficult a subject, as it is more honest, clearly to state the difficulties which I cannot solve, rather than to suggest a solution not fully satisfactory to myself; and I am not afraid that my credit will suffer by the avowal.

It remains now to take some notice of the position of the fortress Antonia, which I have removed from the place assigned it by Dr Robinson. This subject again is obscure, but to collect and arrange the scattered notices of Josephus may serve a good purpose and assist future investigations.

This historian does not mention the original builder of this tower, but refers it generally to the Asmonean princes[5]. Its original name was *Baris*[6], until Herod,

[3] Neither would this difficulty be removed, as so many others are, by the convenient, but wholly unsupported, assumption that the Antonia is comprehended in the Mountain of the House; for then the greater space would be on the North. It is obvious that the difficulty is not met in Theol. Rev. p. 624.

[4] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 444. Theol. Rev. p. 624.

[5] Ant. xv. xi. 3. Bell. Jud. I. iii. 3; v. 4; v. v. 8. Prideaux (in ann. 107) after Lightfoot, and both professing to follow Josephus, ascribe it to Hyrcanus, the son of Simon; but I cannot find any warrant for this. Lightfoot's reference, copied by Prideaux, is wrong, as usual.

[6] Of this name Prideaux says, "It was called *Baris* from *Birah*, which word among the Eastern nations signifies a palace or royal city; and in this sense it is often used in those scriptures of the Old Testament which were written after the Babylonish captivity, as in Daniel, Ezra, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Esther, which shews it to have been borrowed from the Chaldæans, and from them brought into the Hebrew language." ubi sup.

having greatly enlarged and beautified it, changed its name to Antonia, in honour of his friend Mark Antony. It combined the strength of a castle[1] with the magnificence of a palace, and was like a city in extent;—comprehending within its walls not only spacious apartments, but courts, and even camping grounds for soldiers. It was situated on an elevated rock, to the North of the Temple-enclosure, or more strictly to the North-west, forming an angular acropolis with four turrets at its angles, of which that to the South-east was the highest, and commanded a view of the whole Temple. It communicated with the northern and western cloisters of the Temple, at the angle of the area, by flights of steps, for the convenience of the garrison[2]; being the fortress of the Temple, as the Temple was of the city. It was defended towards Bezetha by a deep trench, so as to prevent its foundations from being assailed in that quarter. The Temple-enclosure, which was of itself four stadia in circuit, was six stadia including Antonia[3]. Thus much we have by way of description. From incidental allusions we gather a few more particulars, which it will be useful at least to note. Titus had hoped that if he made himself master of this commanding post, he should gain the Temple without more fighting[4]; and when he had carried it, some of his soldiers did actually chase the Jews into the enclosure of the Temple[5]. Yet for all

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[1] It is commonly called *φρούριον* in Josephus, but elsewhere *ἀκρόπολις*, Ant. xv. xi. 4: in Holy Scripture, *παρεμβολή*. Acts xxi. 34, 37; xxii. 24.

[2] *Καταβάσεις* in Josephus. *Ἀναβαθμοὺς*, Acts xxi. 35, 40. It was by these stairs that the chief captain had descended to the Court of the Temple, to rescue St Paul, verse 32.

[3] Compare Ant. xv. xi. 3, with Bell. Jud. v. v. 2.

[4] Bell. Jud. v. vi. 2; vi. i. 5.

[5] Ibid. vi. i. 7, 8.

this, he had still to make regular advances against the outer enclosure[6]. When in occupation of Antonia, and during the time that these operations were going forward, he would watch them from a commanding position—probably the South-east turret[7]—of the fortress.

Now to endeavour to get some light from these various hints. I presume, first of all, that Baris or Antonia occupied a position near to the site of that tower which Antiochus Epiphanes built in Jerusalem, overhanging and commanding the Temple[8], so that the Baris or Antonia of the Jewish War is equivalent to the Acra of the Antiquities and of the Maccabees[9], by which name that tower built by Antiochus is always designated[10]; and that it was this fortress which gave its name to the hill on which it stood, and to that part of the city which surrounded it on three sides[11]. It is no valid objection to this hypothesis that the tower is said, in the book of Maccabees, to have stood in the city of David[12]; for it is very uncertain what part of the city is to be understood by that term in this book, while it is manifest that its equivalent, "Mount Sion,"

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[6] Bell Jud. VI. ii. 7.

[7] Ib. VI. ii. 5; iii. 1.

[8] Joseph. Ant. XII. vii. which Antonia certainly did, as Titus says. B. J. VI. i. 5. Ἀναβάντες γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Αντωνίαν ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν. Compare the other passages referred to. Yet Dr Robinson says, it is not affirmed that Antonia overlooked the Temple, which Acra (though more distant according to his theory) did.

[9] I have before identified the same Antonia with the fortress of the house in Nehem. (Vol. I. p. 76,) as Dr Schultz also does (Jerusalem, p. 92). So that there is no disagreement between us on this point, as he imagines (p. 106). Dr Robinson takes these to be identical, but does not connect them with Acra: the situation of which is not defined by him, except negatively. See Theol. Rev. pp. 631, 2. sect. 4.

[10] This word ἄκρα occurs between 20 and 30 times in the books of Maccabees, always applied to this tower.

[11] Reland is of this opinion also. Palæstina, p. 853.

[12] 1 Macc. i. 33; ii. 31; xiv. 36.

is constantly used for the Temple-Mount[1]; and this tower is expressly said to have stood on the "*hill of the Temple*[2]." Besides, Josephus, whose language is probably more accurate, distinctly says that this tower was in the Lower City, on a high place overhanging the Temple[3]; nor can any other position so well reconcile all we read concerning the annoyance occasioned to the Jews through the occupation of this tower by a Macedonian garrison[4].

But it may be objected that this Acra was demolished by Simon, and the very hill on which it stood was levelled[5]. So Josephus says, but the author of the book of Maccabees gives an entirely different account. According to this earlier writer, Simon was so far from destroying the tower, that after having taken it by blockade, entered in triumph, and purified of its pollu-

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[1] 1 Macc. iv. 37, 60; v. 54; vi. 48, 61. This is denied but not disproved by Dr Robinson, in Theol. Rev. p. 633, n. 7; who, after having (Bib. Res. i. p. 410, n. 2,) maintained that the Acra of the Macedonians was in the "city of David, the Upper City of Josephus on Mount Sion," denies it in Theol. Rev. 631, sect. 2.

[2] Καὶ προσωχύρωσε τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ ᾤκει ἐκεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ. 1 Macc. xiii. 52. Comparing this with xiv. 37, 1 cannot doubt that this is the ἄκρα of which he had just spoken in xiii. 50, 51. Dr Robinson thinks that the passage cited does not bear me out, and yet immediately cites the passage himself to prove the identity of Baris with "the Temple-Hill which Simon fortified," &c. Theol. Rev. p. 631, note 3, and sect. 4.

[3] Ant. xii. v. 4. Τὴν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει ᾠκοδόμησεν ἄκραν· ἦν γὰρ ὑψηλὴ καὶ ὑπερκειμένη τὸ ἱερὸν, κ.τ.λ.

[4] *e.g.* "It was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary." 1 Macc. i. 36. Judas while purging the sanctuary was obliged to detach a party to keep them in check, iv. 41. See again, vi. 18, and xiv. 36.

[5] Ἐκπολιορκήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν..... ἄκραν, εἰς ἔδαφος αὐτὴν καθεῖλεν..... καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας, ἄριστον ἐδόκει καὶ συμφέρον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ὄρος ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν ἄκραν εἶναι συνέβαινε, καθελεῖν, ὅπως ὑψηλότερον ᾖ τὸ ἱερὸν.....καὶ πάντες προσβαλόντες καθήρουν τὸ ὄρος..... καὶ κατήγαγον εἰς ἔδαφος καὶ πεδινὴν λειότητα. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖχεν ἀπάντων (al. ἅπαν) τὸ ἱερὸν, τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν ἀνηρημένων. Ant. xiii. vi. 6.

tions, "he made it stronger than before, and there he dwelt himself with his company[6]." I do not think that these two accounts are irreconcilable. It appears very likely that the scarping of the rock at the North-west of the Haram, and the cutting it perpendicular at that angle to the depth of 20 feet, is to be referred to this time[7]; so that the rock in question, which rose perhaps higher than its present level in the direction of the Temple, was much reduced; for the labour of so many willing workmen, engaged incessantly night and day for three years and a half, must have accomplished a work of considerable magnitude. Probably some buildings on the northern quarter of the tower were left standing, or a fortress was soon erected there in which Simon dwelt, and which was afterwards occupied by Aristobulus[8], and used as a state prison by Alexandra[9]. It served now as a garrison for the Jewish

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[6] 1 Macc. xiii. 52. Compare xiv. 37. "He placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and of the city." Josephus, Ant. XIII. vi. 7. Dr Robinson's explanation (Theol. Rev. p. 633) is curious and original: Acra was probably taken in Simon's second year, and the public tablet recording this fact and his own occupation of Acra, was consecrated in his third year. 1 Maccab. xiii. 51; xiv. 27. He *afterwards* abandoned Acra and demolished it, and the rock on which it stood, and built another fortress on the North of the Temple, *i. e.* Baris. In other words, he demolished a fortress which did not occupy any part of the Temple Mount, nor was connected with its precincts, but separated from it by a valley, because he thought "it was better adapted to command and overawe the Temple than to protect it;" and built another on the Temple Mount itself, much better adapted to the same purpose!

[7] Josephus says of Antonia, "*δεδόμητο δ' ὑπὲρ πέτρας πεντηκονταπήχους μὲν ὕψος περικρήνου δὲ πάσης.*" J. W. v. v. 8. I think Prideaux must be right when he says: "These 50 cubits are not to be understood of the side next the Temple, but of the other sides off from it, upon the brow of the mountain, on which the Temple stood, where this rock, from the valley beneath up to the top whereon the castle was built, was 50 cubits high." Connex. (ann. 107, note).

[8] Joseph. J. W. I. iii. 3.

[9] Ibid. v. 4.

troops, yet was so contrived as to be a defence in time of war, by cutting off the communication with the Temple. Two flights of steps led down from the height of the precipice to the cloisters below; by destroying that part of the cloisters connected with the staircase the approach was cut off. And this was done on two occasions; first, when Florus was intending to possess himself of the Temple through Antonia, the Jews immediately got upon those cloisters of the Temple that joined to Antonia, and cut them down; and as soon as the cloisters were broken down he gave up the attempt. The second occasion was that already referred to. Titus did not reckon upon such an obstinate defence of the Jews, and did not expect that they would have recourse to such expedients as burning their Temple. When he took Antonia, the Romans pursued the Jews down the steps by which they had retreated to the Temple, and the battle was continued there for several successive days[1], until the Jews, with desperate resolution, "set fire to the North-west cloister which was joined to the tower of Antonia," and afterwards "broke off 20 cubits more of that same cloister[2], nor ceased from the work of demolition until the tower was parted from the Temple." When this was done, nothing remained but to form an inclined plane down the precipice by overthrowing the massive foundations of the tower, while the works were pressed forward on other quarters of the outer area[3].

It would seem probable that a greater part of the fortress was attached to the northern than to the

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[1] See J. W. VI. i. 7, 8.

[2] Ibid. VI. ii. 9.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 182.

western side of the area, not only from the present appearance of the rock, which extends, I believe, much farther on the North than on the West side of the angle, but also from the language of Josephus, who generally speaks of its situation as at the North[4], although in some passages he is more definite[5]. I imagine then that the Antonia extended about as far East as the present Seraîyah, about 400 feet further West than the western boundary of the Haram, and covered a hill which rises in this quarter, and is probably part of the same rock[6]; while northward it crossed the present Via Dolorosa, embracing the "Arch of the Ecce Homo," and the "Church of the Flagellation," and, perhaps, reached even so far as the "Palace of Herod[7];" and it

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[4] Ant. xv. xi. 4: Κατὰ τὴν βορεῖον πλευράν. J. W. i. xxi. 1: τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ βορεῖον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούριον. The Reviewer in the Neues Repertorium, vi. i. p. 2, who adopts my argument as conclusive against Dr Robinson's theory, thinks me wrong in placing any part of the fortress on the North wall of the Temple. He places the S.E. turret of Antonia at the N.W. angle of the Temple, and represents Josephus as saying that the communication with the cloisters was at this S.E. turret. I do not so read that passage.

[5] Κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τό τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον. J. W. v. v. 8.

[6] If at the house of S. Veronica, on the Via Dolorosa, coming from the West, you take a small street which continues nearly in the same line towards the area of the Mosk, you rise by a very steep ascent to the hill mentioned in the text.

[7] I have before said (sup. pp. 50, 51), that I take the filling up of the Valley between Moriah and Acra to be part of the same work with the demolition of the fortress and the reduction of the hill which it occupied. The Valley was filled up, I imagine, about the Via Dolorosa, and thus the Hill of the Temple was united to the Hill to the North-west, which now came to be called from the fortress, "Acra." Hence arose the confusion between Acra the fortress, and Acra the hill; which has so much embarrassed the subject. For example, Dr Schultz and Herr Krafft perplex themselves with looking for traces of a Valley filled up between the Temple and the fortress (Acra), which they both identify with the later Baris. But the filling up was between the Hill of the Temple (which the Acra also occupied), and the Hill which came to be called Acra only after the union. It

is an interesting fact that, without any thought whatever of these traditionary sites in laying out my plan, having regard simply and solely to the language of the Jewish historian, I was compelled to include them. With regard to the fosse, I fear that it cannot now be discovered; but when I come to speak of the waters of Jerusalem, we shall find that part of it existed until within a short period.

I shall have done with Antonia when I have merely noticed one remark of Josephus, which is to me wholly unintelligible on every hypothesis, but which doubtless has some satisfactory meaning. In speaking of the prodigies which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem, he mentions that the "Jews, by demolishing the tower Antonia, had made their Temple four-square; while they had it written in their sacred oracles, that then should their city be taken, as well as their holy House, when once their Temple should become four-square[1]." To what oracle or to what act of the Jews this most perplexing observation relates, I am entirely at a loss to imagine; for we read nothing of their demolishing the tower of Antonia during the siege, nor can I comprehend how this could have made the Temple four-square. One remark suggests itself, which may serve as a solution, unless some future writer should be more successful in finding a satisfactory explanation of this mysterious passage.

This portent is introduced by the historian after the

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is curious that the native rock still exists where they imagine the Valley to have been. It is noticed by Catherwood, between the N.W. angle and the platform; and by Mejr ed-din, on the West and on the North of the platform. Mines d'Orient, Tome II. pp. 90, 91.

[1] See J. W. VI. v. 4.

description of the burning of the cloisters connected with the Antonia, which however did not completely break off the fortress from the Temple; the Jews still continued for some longer time the work of burning and demolition, until this was effected. From this it would appear to have been a work of difficulty to disconnect the two, as it would if part of the fortress was built into the temple-square at the angle where they were joined. The stairs descending into the cloisters must necessarily have been projected into the enclosure, and possibly guard-rooms and other chambers for the troops. If this were so, the destruction of that portion of the fortress would have the effect described by Josephus of making the area a complete square, which had been before interrupted by this projection; and this is the only possible method I can imagine for the elucidation of his language, which does appear in general most remarkably accurate[2].

And this will, I think, be further seen, if before taking leave of the subject which has been discussed in this Chapter, we consider another expression which has sometimes been much misunderstood. After his account of the western gates of the temple-enclosure, with which the reader will be by this time familiar, he remarks "that the city lay over against the Temple in the man-

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[2] Dr Robinson does not notice the explanation, but only the *naïveté* of the foregoing admission (Theol. Rev. p. 625, n. 1). His theory is that the "Temple and Antonia together formed a parallelogram which by the destruction of the latter was reduced to a square." A very odd notion, which certainly requires proof as much as mine. Herr Krafft acquiesces with me, except that he makes the fortress occupy a much larger part of the angle than I can allow it. The cutting of the rock he ascribes to a later period, of which history is silent. pp. 76—78.

ner of a theatre[1]." Now if we suppose that he spoke of the general appearance of the city and Temple as they existed in his time rather than in Herod's, no comparison could possibly be more happy, as a glance at the plan will shew. Let the form of an ancient theatre be remembered, let the Temple-area be regarded as the *scene*—the city surrounding it on three sides as the tiers of seats for spectators, sloping down from all quarters (except the South) in the direction of the Temple; Bezetha on the North—Acra on the North-west—then the eastern declivity of the Tyropœon to the West—separating between Acra and the Upper City or Sion on the South-west, and the space filled up by the ridge of Ophel to the South. The exactness of the language in this as in other passages is to me perfectly astonishing; and I do think that this author, to whom the Christian Church is perhaps more largely indebted than to any unbelieving historian, has not been appreciated as he deserves; I am convinced that, in almost every case where he has been charged with mis-statement, our ignorance rather than his knowledge is in fault. With fair allowance for Oriental hyperbole in his descriptive accounts (of works of art rather than of nature,) he is, as far as my experience goes, a most invaluable guide.

Before concluding this chapter, I would remark on an objection which some devout minds may possibly feel to a theory which would go to prove that any part of the ancient Temple can still be identified. Such an hypothesis may be thought to militate against the pre-

[1] Ἀντικρὺ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἔκειτο τοῦ ἱεροῦ θεατροειδὴς οὖσα. Ant. xv. xi. 5.

dictions of our Blessed Lord, which have been already referred to, and therefore the objection deserves, as do all objections prompted by reverence, the most tender consideration; and I would hope that the following beautiful passage from Eusebius on this very subject, will serve to allay any undue apprehensions, and to set the matter in its true light.

Having discoursed on the words "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate[2]," on which he remarks that "it is right that we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation" as shortly followed this denunciation; and that "to those who visit these places the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the predictions;" he thus proceeds to notice another prophecy of our Lord: "Walking by the side of the Temple, and His disciples pointing out to Him the greatness and beauty of the same, He answered and said, 'Behold, see ye not all these things? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone which shall not be thrown down[3].' The Scriptures do moreover shew that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the Temple were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous; and for proof of this there are preserved to this time some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But of these ancient things the greatest miracle of all is the Divine Word, declaring the foreknowledge of our Saviour which fully announced to those who were wondering at the buildings the judgment that 'there should not be left,'

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[2] Luke xiii. 35.

[3] Matth. xxiv. 2.

in the place at which they were wondering, 'one stone upon another which should not be rased.' For it was right that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of the inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And just as the prediction was, are the results in fact remaining: the whole Temple and its walls [1], as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description, having suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too this increases; and so has the power of the Word gone on destroying, that in many places no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it may see with his own eyes. And should any one say that a few of the places are still existing, we may nevertheless justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing; the prophetic Word daily operating by a power which is unknown. I know too (for I have heard it from persons who in-

[1] This remark of Eusebius seems decisive against Dr Robinson's theory of a restoration of the Temple Walls by Hadrian. Herr Krafft has the same idea; and wishes to identify the δωδεκάπυλον of Hadrian with the fortress Antonia, on the ground that the δωδεκάπυλον was formerly called ἀναβαθμοί. But he fails to prove that Antonia was ever called by that name; and it is very arbitrary to extend the name of the steps (see above, p. 404, note 2) to the whole fortress. The buildings, &c. erected by Hadrian, are thus mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle: Καθελὼν τὸν ναὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔκτισε τὰ δύο δημόσια καὶ τὸ θέατρον καὶ τὸ τρικάμερον καὶ τὸ τετράνυμφον καὶ τὸ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀναβαθμοὶ καὶ τὴν κόδραν, καὶ ἐμέρισεν τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἑπτὰ ἄμφοδα· κ.λ. In ann. 3, Æl. Adriani. Ind. I. p. 254. ed. Paris. Tom. I. p. 474. Ed. Niebuhr. Bonnæ, 1832; and see Du Cange's notes in loc. Tom. II. p. 327, and the references. Orosius (*cir.* A.D. 416), having related the suppression of the Jewish revolt under Hadrian, says, "Christianis tantum civitate permissa, quam ipse in optimum statum murorum extructione reparavit, et Æliam vocari jussit." Hist. cap. xv.

terpret the passage differently) that this was not said on all the buildings, but only on that place which the disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to Him: for it was upon this that He spoke the prophetic Word[2]." Thus far Eusebius. For myself, I look for the accomplishment of the prophecy in its widest and most literal sense; and expect that if there be still one stone left upon another, which at least is not certain, the mighty, though silent, operation of that wonder-working Word will in due time bring it down: and who can tell whether, before the time of the end, some second Julian may not renew the attempt to rebuild the Jewish temple, which antichrist alone shall rear[3], and whether this attempt may not result in the destruction of such portions of it as remain?

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[2] Theoph. B. IV. c. 18. Lee's Trans. p. 247.

[3] St. Cyril foretold the defeat of Julian's attempt, from his interpretation of 2 Thess. ii. 4. See the passage cited in Vol. I. p. 254, note 1.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

NOTE A.

MR. FERGUSSON'S THEORY OF THE MOSK OF OMAR, AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK.

THE necessity of any further remarks on Mr. Fergusson's theory may be thought to be superseded by the examination to which it has been submitted in the second Chapter of this Volume: for if I have there proved that the Dome of the Rock cannot be the Church of Constantine, the question is so far settled.

But Mr. Fergusson might feel aggrieved, were I to pass by without notice what he considers his strongest argument; and it is right that he should have the full benefit of it, if it may palliate the error which he has committed: for should his premises, founded on the architecture, prove to be correct, his conclusions, however false, will yet deserve indulgence. I proceed, therefore, to notice the conclusions which he attempts to establish on supposed architectural data.

Having assumed the Dome of the Rock as the Church of the Anastasis, and the Golden Gate as the Propylæum of the Basilica of Constantine, of which Basilica no traces remain, he was compelled to shift the whole site of the Temple, (with its appurtenances, and all the traditions connected with it,) and of the Mosk which Abd-el-Melik erected over its ruins. The process was very simple, when historical and antiquarian testimony might be received or rejected *ad libitum*[1]. Supposing Dr. Robinson's theory of the ruined Arch to be correct[2], and the Jews' Wailing-place to be in the same line with it[3], these remains must be taken, he thinks, to mark the west wall of the Outer Temple: then from the S. W. angle of the Haram he measures on the south and west walls 600 feet (= one stadium, = 400 cubits), and, from the extremities, draws the north[4] and east walls equal and parallel to the south and west walls respectively, (the S. W. angle being a right angle), and thus he forms a square of the dimensions required—by Josephus, at least, if not by the

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[1] The Theory of the Temple is propounded in the first part of the Essay, with which compare Plate VI. of Restored Plans.

[2] Essay, pp. 11—13.

[3] Ibid. pp. 16, 28.

[4] He finds this northern wall still existing; "running parallel to the

Talmud[5]. Place the Tower Antonia at the N. W. angle[6], and the restoration is complete. Then the double Gateway under El-Aksa will be the South Gate of the Temple[7]—called the Gate of Huldah, communicating with the brazen altar by the vaulted passage, which ran beneath the Royal Cloister; and the wall of modern masonry, built between the piers of the substructions on the west side of the triple Roman Gateway, will be the ancient city and temple-wall on the East[8].

The Mosk el-Aksa will be the Dome of the Rock build by Abd-el-Melik, not at all on the site of the Temple proper, but only within the area[9]. Further, the triple gateway, with the adjacent substructions, are the work of Justinian[10], and the irregularity of the vaults enables him to restore the Church which they supported, and is to him "almost proof positive that Justinian's Church was situated over them, or on a continuation of them." This Church is identical with S. Maria de Latina, one of the group of Churches connected with the Holy Sepulchre[11].

Now, I shall not be expected to refute all these propositions: the general theory of the Temple has only this to recommend it, that, having the whole Haram at its disposal, it is able to cut off exactly so much as will serve the requirements of Josephus, though not the specifications of the Rabbies; otherwise it is wholly arbitrary. It gives no account of the eastern wall of Cyclopean architecture: it finds no sacred rock for the threshing-floor of Araunah, for the altar of David, or for the Sakhrah of the Moslems. Losing sight of the distinction between Mesjid and Jamy, so strongly insisted on by the historian, it confounds the

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southern wall, at the distance of just 600 feet, and extending to the distance of just 600 feet from the western wall." The very thing—only the wall in question "now supports the southern side of the platform," and was probably built for that purpose; for, says Mr. F., "whether it is of ancient masonry or not I cannot say, and no one seems to have observed." Essay, p. 16.

[5] The Rabbies are treated with great contempt by Mr. Fergusson. As for this measure, if it does not agree with Josephus, "we have only to reject it as a mistake, if not a wilful misstatement." p. 21.

[6] Essay, pp. 30—34.

[7] Ibid. pp. 13, 15, and 27.

[8] Essay, p. 16. Comp. his Plan; and see above, p. 312.

[9] Essay, pp. 130—144.

[10] Ibid. pp. 117—125.

[11] The identity of the Church of Justinian with the "Sancta Maria de Latinâ," built by the merchants of Amalfi in the 10th century, is one of many like gratuitous assumptions: and the fact that the Churches about the Holy Sepulchre were "mutuis inter se parietibus cohærentes," as Bernhard says, is wholly disregarded. See p. 106 sup. That a Church dedicated to S. Mary had existed on the site previously to the erection of the "de Latinâ," as Dr Robinson hints, (Bib. Res. Vol. II. p. 45, note 1,) is not borne out by the passage which he cites from Arculfus and Bernhard, for the Church of S. Mary mentioned by them was merely a small Chapel attached to the Rotunda. See Professor Willis above, pp. 262, 263, n. 1.

whole area with one of the Mosks; which Mosk (el-Aksa) it further supposes to remain in the state in which it was left by Abd-el-Melik, (A. D. 692), and described by Arculfus, (A. D. 697), and therefore leaves no room for the complaint of El-Mahadi, (A. D. 775—785,) that the building was narrow and long; nor for the execution of his order, "Reduce the length and increase the width." And as it ignores all historical records, so does it also set at nought all architectural evidence; supposing the existing building to be exactly conformed to the original ground-plan; though its constructive features, no less than the Mohammedan annals, assure us it is not. It presumes the present arrangement and adornment—the pointed arches, and wooden architraves, and basket-capitals,—to be coeval with the building, though we have read of repeated destructions and restorations of various portions, amply sufficient to account for their later insertion, while the basket-capitals still declare themselves masked Corinthian; and, finally, it sets at nought the harmonious witness of all intelligent writers that have entered the Mosk, declaring with one voice that, even in its barbarised condition, it retains unmistakeable evidence of its original destination for a Christian Church[1]. The very foundation on which the theory is based is a foundation of sand. The vestibule of the subterranean gateway, supposed to be that of Huldah, cannot, it is argued, be so late as Justinian, when it is perfectly well ascertained that dome-vaults, with pendentives such as these, cannot be earlier.

Enough, then, of this hypothesis: but there is one question incidentally connected with it that really deserves some consideration: it relates to the original structure of the Khalif Omar, the position and history of which is involved in great obscurity; for it happens, unfortunately, that no Christian description of the City has been preserved to us from the interval between Omar and Abd-el-Melik Ibn-Merwan; and the earliest notices after this period serve rather to add to the perplexity, while the conflicting Moslem traditions are admirably suited to the same purpose. In this however they agree, that the Khalif, having made himself master of the City, and found the true site of the Mosk of David, next set himself to recover the Sakhrah, or Sacred Rock[2]. He inquired of one of his companions, Kaab Abu-Ishak, "Dost thou know the place of the Sakhrah?" who replied, "Towards the wall which looks towards the Valley of Gehenna, at such and such a distance[3]." Then he dug, and the

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[1] I may mention Ali Bey, Dr Richardson, Messrs. Catherwood, Bonomi, and Arundale; also General Noroff, who compares its general effect to that of S. Peter extra Muros, at Rome.

[2] Jelal-addin, in Reynolds, pp. 177, 8. Compare p. 184. Kemal-ad-din in Lemming, p. 55. Mejr-ed-din, Tom. v. p. 161.

[3] I take the reply as given by Mejr-ed-din, l. c. The other authorities state it differently, and are one or both quite unintelligible. Thus in Jelal-addin it is, "Measure out one cubit on

Sakhrah became manifest. The Rock was covered with a dung-heap, which he sedulously set himself to clear away[4]. The question then arose about the proper position of the Mosk. El-Kaab recommended placing it behind the Sakhrah, in order to join the two Kiblahs of Moses and Mohammed; *i. e.* so that the worshipper might face the sacred places of the Jews and Moslems at the same time: but Omar, disliking this conformity to the Jewish practice, preferred to build the Mosk in front of it; *i. e.* on the South, that the veneration due to the Kaaba at Mecca might be saved. This was in A. H. 16 or 17, A. D. 637, 8.

Between this period and the reign of Abd-el-Melik we have no account of the Mosk. This Khalif proposed to repair the Mosk of Omar, and to build a dome over the Rock, in order to protect the Moslem worshippers against the inclemencies of the season[5]. His object was to divert his subjects from the pilgrimage to Mecca, then in the hands of Abd-ullah Ibn-Zobeir, a rival Khalif[6]; a curious parallel to the expedient adopted by Jeroboam the son of Nebat. The preparations were commenced on a large scale, and the result was answerable to the design. In addition to what has been already stated[7], the following particulars may be found interesting. The Khalif assembled all the best workmen, from all parts of his dominions[8], and laid up large sums of money in a treasury on the East of the Sakhrah, towards the Mount of Olives; Abel-mikdam Redjà Hayvet, one of the most learned doctors, was appointed architect[9], and he was assisted by one Yesid Ibn-Selam, (an affranchised slave of the Khalif, and a native of Jerusalem,) and his two sons. According to one authority, a vaulted crypt was first formed in the Rock[10]. The Mosk was commenced in A. H. 69 (A. D. 688), and finished in three years.

Abd-el-Melik furnished the plan of the edifice, and built the small Dome of the Chain, on the East of the great Dome, as a model to the workmen[11]. The other buildings on the South of the Platform, extending

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each side of the wall which is nearest to the Valley of Hinnom, then dig and thou shalt find it." In Kemal-ad-din it is, "si a muro, vallem Gehinnom spectante, loco nescio quo, cubitum emensus foderet, ubi sterquilinium esset sacrum illum lapidem inveniret." Lemming, l. c.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 317.

[5] Kemal-ad-din, l. c. p. 57, and Mejr-ed-din, l. c. p. 162.

[6] Mejr-ed-din, l. c. and Eutychii Annales, Tom. II. p. 365, agree in stating this motive.

Vol. I. p. 318.

[8] In this agree the three histories: but Kemal-ad-din, p. 57, is the most explicit.

[9] Mejr-ed-din, p. 159, adds the interesting particular, that this worthy had red hair and a white beard. He died A. H. 112, Abd-el-Melik in A. H. 86.

[10] Jelal-addin, p. 186. This probably alludes to the present entrance to "the Noble Cave:" see above, p. 342, note 1.

[11] So Mejr-ed-din, p. 162; Kemal-ed-din, with greater probability, (p. 57) says, that the Khalif ordered the workmen to furnish a model.

from the "Cradle of Jesus" on the East to the Mosk of the Moghrebins, (*i. e.* Abu Bekr, for I quote Mejr-ed-din[1]) on the West, were also erected[2]; and, as 100,000 ducats still remained in hand, the Khalif ordered the Dome to be covered with plates of gold. This was accordingly done in a most magnificent style, and a wooden hoarding protected it from rain and snow during the winter-season.

This last-mentioned fact will serve to explain the description of an Occidental traveller, who visited Jerusalem only a few years after the completion of the splendid structure of Abd-el-Melik, which would otherwise be perfectly unintelligible. It is Arculfus, who (*cir.* A.D. 697) describes a quadrangular Saracenic Oratory as occupying the place of Solomon's Temple, and situated near the East wall, constructed of upright planks, and large beams over some ruined remains. It was a mean building, but capable of containing three thousand men[3]; and the same is repeated nearly two centuries later (*cir.* A.D. 870) by Bernhard the Monk[4]. The earlier traditions of the Moslems also recognise a timber Mosk, and furnish a few more particulars. "At this time there were between the pillars, pieces of wainscot (wood), 6000 compartments of wainscot, and therein 50 doors; and 600 marble pillars, and therein seven galleries for announcing prayer." Then, after a description of the chains and chandeliers, the writer adds, "Moreover, there were within the Mosk 15 chapels[5] (to match) to the Chapel of the Sakhrah: and upon the flat roof of the Mosk there were 7700 planks of lead, the weight of every piece 70 pounds, besides that upon the Chapel of the Sakhrah[6]."

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[1] See above, p. 308.

[2] Page 163, the "élevèrent" in this passage may only mean *restore*, in which sense it is certainly used by the translator in other passages.

[3] Quoted in Vol. I. p. 317, note 4. I have noticed, p. 103, that Mr. Fergusson translates "*in vicinia muri ab Oriente*," in the immediate vicinity of the *southern* wall: "*subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus*," he renders, "the pillars were connected with beams"; "*Vili opere*" he does not notice: for wishing to apply the description to the Mosk el-Aksa, it must not be made to appear a timber building nor a mean one. In Vol. I. p. 317, I have copied from Poujoulat an error, which the text forward will correct, as though Arculfus spoke of the original building of Omar, or as though his visit was prior to the erection of the Dome of the Rock. But that building was completed in A.D. 691–2, and Arculfus was at Jerusalem apparently A.D. 697.

[4] Recueil de Voyages, &c. Tome IV. p. 797. "In inferiore vero parte urbis, ubi Templum in vicinia muri ab Oriente locatum, ipsique urbi, transitu pervio, ponte mediante, fuerat conjunctum, nunc ibi Sarraceni," &c. as in Adamnanus, l. c. This mention of the *pons* is very remarkable.

[5] All these fifteen domes Mr. Fergusson crowds into the Mosk el-Aksa, *i.e.* his Dome of the Rock. Essay, p. 139.

[6] This is Beha-ed-din Ibn-Asáker, as cited by Mejr-ed-din, who however, as translated l. c. p. 158, converts the 6000 panels of wainscot into "columns of wood:" an error corrected by Jelal-addin, (Reynolds's translation, p. 191,) which I fear is also loose and inexact. Okba, as cited by Kemal-ad-din (Lem-

I must now attempt to educe order from this unmethodical and undigested mass of materials. Kaab's directions for finding the Sakhrah, it must be confessed, are not at all clear. Only it is certain that the Valley Gehennom, from which he measured, is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is always so called in the Mohammedan annals[7]; and that the Khalif did recover it to his own satisfaction.

First, I gather from these accounts that the Mosk of Omar, whatever its character, was not erected over the Rock, but probably to the South of it; and that the Rock was uncovered and exposed until the time of Abd-el-Melik, who laid the foundations of his new building in the middle of the Haram[8]. Next, I observe that this Khalif's works consisted in part of new erections, and in part of the restoration of old ones. Nearly all the Arabian writers agree in stating that he built the Dome of the Rock[9]: what he repaired is not so clearly stated. The Mosk of Omar, says Mejr-ed-din[10]; the Dome of the Rock and the Mosk Beit el-Mukaddus, says Kemal ad-din[11], less correctly, apparently confounding the new erection and the restoration: and then, to add to the confusion, he subjoins another tradition, to the effect that Abd-el-Melik erected the Dome Beit el-Mukaddus, and that Said his son restored it[12]; and, lastly, the Architects, in their letter, cited by Jelal-addin, report the completion of the erection "of the Chapel of the Sakhrah, and the Sakhrah of the Beit el-Mukaddus, and the Mosk el-Aksa[13]."

Now the situation of the small Mosk of Omar (on the East of the present Mosk el-Aksa,) or of the Mosk Abu Bekr (on the West,) would so well answer to the position of Omar's building to the South of the Sakhrah, that I am disposed to credit the Moslem tradition that ascribes one or both of them to him[14]: and to suppose that here was the Mosk of Omar mentioned by Mejr-ed-din as restored by Abd-el-Melik; or this name might have been extended to the whole Church of S. Mary, because

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ming's translation, p. 58,) is scarcely less obscure. The numbers entirely agree—the word translated "galleries for announcing prayer," by Reynolds, is "oratoria" in Lemming.

[7] For proof of this, which is ignored by Mr. Fergusson, p. 136, see Mejr-ed-din, Tome II. pp. 96, 133, 378, 9, and Ibn Abu-es-Sherif, cap. vii. in Notices des MSS. du Roi, Tome III. p. 611.

[8] Jelal-addin, p. 186. I substitute Haram for Mosk to prevent confusion: the original word must be Mesjid, and the practice of rendering this word and Jamy, by the same word "Mosk," is full of inconvenience. See above, p. 297, note 3.

[9] I believe the sole exception to be Abulfeda, Tabulæ Syriæ, p. 87, edit. Köhler. But this is corrected in his Annales Muslemici.

[10] L. c. Tome v. p. 162.

[11] Ap. Lemming, p. 57.

[12] Ibid. So Jelal-addin, p. 185. "It is said, Saíd-Ibn-Abdul-Málik-Marwán built the Chapel of the Beit-el-Mukaddus, and its outward covering."

[13] Reynolds's Translation, p. 186.

[14] See above, p. 307, and Ali Bey, p. 217, n. 5. Mejr-ed-din, Tome II. pp. 84—86.

Omar had prayed there[1]. The Mosk Beit-el-Mukaddus, mentioned in another tradition as restored by this Khalif, I have already identified with the Church of S. Mary, and proved it to have existed at the time of Omar's conquest[2]; and this Church is perhaps already called the Mosk el-Aksa in the letter of the Architects. Nor is it improbable that, as stated by Mejr-ed-din, the other buildings at the South of the Mosk were built or restored at this time.

I have suggested that the Model Dome of the Chain may have served also for the Treasury[3]; but it is perhaps more likely that the Golden Gate was converted to this purpose; which would account for the features which it has in common with the Dome of the Rock; while the existence of a former Gateway would explain the discrepancies, as the architect had here to accommodate his plan to the existing building.

Arculfus and Bernhard, I have said, saw only the gigantic hoarding of the Mosk, composed of rough timber paneling, which could not have presented a very imposing exterior. The marble columns of this shed were doubtless taken from the ruins of the Temple, which largely contributed to the decoration of the building itself; for we have seen that the columns within the Dome of the Rock have been taken from an earlier building, and are certainly not in their original position, for some of them have neither base-moulding nor regular plinths; only so much of the original columns being employed as was necessary to raise them to the required height[4]. The bungling, untechnical description of Ali Bey enters most into detail. "The capitals of the columns are of the Composite order, richly gilt. The columns which form the central circle have attic bases, but the others which are between the octangular naves, are cut at the lower parts, without having even the listel or fillet which ought to terminate the shaft; and instead of a base are placed upon a cube of white marble. Their proportion seems to be that of the

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[1] See above, p. 378, and notes. In the passage last cited from Mejr-ed-din, the name seems to be used in this more extended sense. Mejr-ed-din says also, in p. 84, that the Altar of David in the present el-Aksa is sometimes called the Altar of Omar, because it was here that he prayed on the day of the conquest. It appears also from Dr Richardson, that while the Oratory of Omar is still designated by his name, the whole Mosk is so called by the Moslems. Vol. II. pp. 304, 306.

[2] See above, p. 377, n. 5. This great confusion of names much obscures the history.

[3] See above, p. 304.

[4] A very curious instance of the manner in which old materials were worked up by the Saracens, may be seen in the Mosk of Amrou at Cairo, where are hundreds of columns of various styles and proportions, some standing on a base-moulding only, others on a proper plinth, others on cubes; while the height of others is eked out by inverted capitals, serving as pedestals. Coste, Architecture Arabe, Pl. II.

Corinthian order, and the shafts are each 16 feet high[5]." Dr Richardson also remarked, that the capitals of these columns are not strictly conformed to the type of the Corinthian order: he "specially noted that the leaf is raised and turned over; but did not consider it the true leaf of the Corinthian capital[6]." Another peculiarity in the architecture which deserves to be noticed, is a heavy impost-block above the abacus, whereon rests the horizontal entablature that connects the pillars and supports the discharging arches. This member was never introduced before the time of Justinian. The entablature is loaded with ornament of a mixed character, and the arches throughout the building are all more or less pointed.

This last-named fact might be thought conclusive against Mr. Fergusson's theory, had he not, with his usual sagacity, converted a proof of the later date of the Church into an argument for the earlier origin of the pointed arch. Having established the prevalence of the pointed arch in this building by the testimony of Mr. Arundale, he adds: "I have not myself, I confess, found it before in one of so early a date; but I am delighted to so do now, for every increase of knowledge has enabled me to trace it higher and higher[7]." Other difficulties are disposed of with equal ease; e. g. he writes: "The mode in which the entablature is used here is peculiar, perhaps unique[8]. For though, as for instance, in the Baptistery of Constantine at Rome and elsewhere, we have such an entablature running over a lower and below an upper range of pillars, I know of no instance of a discharging arch being used as this is." And how then is this feature (which is the real peculiarity of the construction) accounted for? "It is exactly such an instance of the use and mixture of two styles of architecture as one would expect to find in an age of transition like that of Constantine, combining the horizontal or trabeate architecture of the earlier age with the arcuate or arched style, which by the age of Justinian had entirely superseded and obliterated the former." It is singular, at any rate, that an expectation so reasonable (if so be) should only be realised here: but still more singular that precisely the same feature in the neighbouring Mosk el-Aksa should be adduced by Mr. Fergusson as a valid argument against its late Roman origin, and a convincing proof of its Mohammedan origin[9].

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[5] Travels, Vol. II. p. 219.

[6] He calls it a "sort of Corinthian capital." He did not remark that it was gilt. Travels, Vol. II. p. 298. Mr. Catherwood's drawing of the capital and entablature is given in Mr. Fergusson's Essay, p. 104.

[7] Essay, p. 112, in a letter from Mr. Arundale.

[8] Essay, p. 104.

[9] Ibid. p. 119; and compare the Frontispiece, "Interior of the Dome of the Rock," with Plate II. p. 143, "Interior of the Mosk el-Aksa," where the construction is precisely similar, only that the arches in the latter are more stilted and more decidedly pointed than in the former.

In the "style of ornamentation" also, below the dome, he finds equally conclusive proof of his Constantinian theory. "It is true, there is no band of scroll-work, that I can point out, which is exactly similar to the one which here occupies the triforium space." How then is this accounted for? "only from the circumstance, that in all the old basilicas this band has been replaced by pictures in fresco or Mosaic, which have obliterated the original ornament[1]." "One or two instances, however, do occur of something very similar;" and it is fair that Mr. Fergusson's argument should have all the support that can be derived from them. The first adduced is, "on the two lateral apsides of the vestibule of the Baptistery of Constantine, the other, in the apse of the basilica of San Clemente at Rome[2]." Now any one who will take the pains to compare the scroll pattern of the Churches here cited with that of the Dome of the Rock, will at once see that the resemblance is only very general. But I could almost regret that it is not more close, as in that case it would furnish a stronger argument against Mr. Fergusson's theory. He entertains, to be sure, no doubt that the Baptistery of Constantine was built by him; but the fact remains that "some have supposed that it was erected subsequently." This instance then is of uncertain date; and even granting the structure to be Constantinian, the ornamentation may very possibly be subsequent, and must not be assumed as coeval with the fabric. But the second instance is more to the purpose. "The Church of San Clemente was originally erected in the fourth century, but is generally supposed *to have been entirely rebuilt in the eighth*, though on the original plan, and the frescos of *the apse to have been added in the thirteenth*[3]." The reader will need to be reminded that this is Mr. Fergusson's proof that the similar frescos of the Dome of the Rock are Constantinian, i. e. of the earlier part of the fourth century. But in order that it may subserve this end, testimony is, as usual, thrown to the winds; and the latest addition to S. Clemente is assumed to be the only part of the original still remaining. "I feel convinced," he says, "that we have now the original apse, with its ornaments, except the cross in the centre, which is an interpolation of the thirteenth century[4]; to which age also belong all the paintings on the front of the arch: the nave may belong to the eighth, and the choir to the ninth century; indeed, they probably do so, for their style of ornament is so manifestly distinct from that on the apse of which I am speaking, that they cannot belong to the same age, and so far go to prove my position." The frescos of the apse are not of the same age, but some centuries later than those of the choir, says

[1] Essay, p. 112.
[2] Ibid. p. 105.
[3] Ibid. p. 106.
[4] This is so far from being an interpolation, that the whole pattern of the fresco painting evidently takes its character from the Cross, and is held together by it. All the scroll-work springs from its foot: take away the Cross, and all is confusion.

history and the consent of antiquaries—not of the same age, says Mr. Fergusson, "and that proves my position." Besides which, I should have thought that a slight examination of the frescos of the Mosk must have convinced any one accustomed to such studies that all belong to the same period: for although the patterns are somewhat diversified in the Dome, as the diversity of construction required, yet the idea is the same throughout—it is all one piece. But the Dome is allowed by Mr. Fergusson to be "the latest addition to the building;" to be "both externally and internally of pure Mahometan architecture, and is known to have been erected, or at least most thoroughly repaired, by Sultan Suliman the Second, one of the Mahometan rulers of Constantinople[5]." Now Suliman reigned from A. D. 1687 to 1690: and we have seen from Quaresmius, that in the earlier part of that century (A. D. 1625) the interior of the building was all plain white; the Mosaics described by William of Tyre having fallen to decay[6]: the conclusion is obvious, and the agreement not a little confirmatory of both notices.—Suliman, when he restored the Dome, ornamented it and the walls below with the "gilt stucco," copied in colours by Mr. Catherwood, and described as being "in the Arabesque style, such as prevails in the Alhambra[7]."

Once more; "The 16 windows in the clerestory of the Dome, which are round-headed, are filled with perforated slabs;" and "the perforations are filled with painted glass of great brilliancy[8]." This Mr. Fergusson thinks is a peculiarity of Christian buildings, and adduces the Church at Bethlehem, and S. Sophia at Constantinople, as examples. A most unhappy misconception, involving a double or triple error. For first, I have yet to learn that the art of glass-staining had attained perfection in the time

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[5] Essay, p. 114. One must look with its author's eyes to "perceive at once the difference in the style of architecture above and below the springing of the dome: all in the coved part being as distinctly and purely Mahometan, as all beneath it is certainly Christian!"

[6] See above, p. 303, and note 3.

[7] Mr. Catherwood only says that the style is the same; there is no similarity between the patterns, as shewn in Mr. Owen Jones's magnificent work on Alhambra. I have looked through Coste's Architecture Arabe, &c. for similar patterns, but in vain. The reason is obvious. He gives none so late as this. The Mosks of Constantinople would doubtless furnish numerous parallels: but they are not published.

[8] Essay, p. 106. "I have never seen it in a Mahometan religious structure of any kind, nor do I know of one that possesses this ornament." It is curious enough that the neighbouring Mosk el-Aksa is an exception to this imaginary rule. Dr Richardson, II. p. 306, remarks, "The dome is painted of different colours, and lighted by windows in the side. The glass in these windows is also painted blue, yellow, red, and green. The light admitted through such a medium is softened and delightful," &c. Compare Mr. Bonomi's account in Hogg's Visit to Alexandria, &c. Vol. II. p. 280. If Mr. Fergusson were consistent he would regard this as an argument for the Christian origin of El-Aksa.

of Constantine; secondly, the Moslems are very partial to this beautiful decoration in their Mosks; and some of the most brilliant glass I have seen is in the Mosk of the Sultan Suliman the Magnificent (A. D. 1520—1566) at Constantinople, which was executed in Persia; thirdly, the Mosaic work at Bethlehem and S. Sophia, to which I presume Mr. Fergusson must allude[1], is not transparent but opaque, and not at all of the consistence of glass.

Lastly, Mr. Fergusson finds, that the ceiling of the concentric aisles "is singularly Roman in its character and distribution, so much so, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to fix on any period when it could be erected between the age of Constantine and the revival of the Roman style in the 16th century in Italy[2]." It is necessary only to assume that "this revival has not yet extended to Syria," and that the Mohammedans "never, in any age or country, erected a building with a ceiled roof:" and the "startling fact" is established: we "find in a building so often burned down—according to the Chroniclers—the very original ceiling with which it was erected fifteen centuries ago."

To sum up then; The Pointed discharging arches being allowed to present no insuperable objection to the Constantinian origin of the Dome of the Rock, the fact is established by the following arguments: A style of ornamentation for which no exact parallel has been found in a Christian building, but the nearest to which is generally assigned to the 13th century, while that in the Dome of the Rock is known to have been executed at the end of the 18th: painted glass, which in the East is more proper to a Mosk than to a Church; and the ceiling which, it is admitted, may have been executed in or after the sixteenth century.

I said, when I considered the historical argument, that the architectural argument would be found to halt throughout, and fairly break down at last. I must leave the reader to judge whether such is not the case. I will only here express my regret that the very positive tone assumed by Mr. Fergusson, and his contemptuous expressions so frequently reiterated against those who presume to question his conclusions[3], prevent him from gracefully receding from a theory which every one but himself will see to be utterly void of foundation.

A few words will serve to clear up all the difficulty and doubt that

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[1] There is no painted glass certainly at Bethlehem: nor do I believe that there is in S. Sophia, at least I do not remember any, though it was to be expected that the Moslems would introduce it there, as into their other Mosks.

[2] Essay, p. 107. I must take the liberty of remarking that Mr. Fergusson is singularly unhappy in his illustrations. In comparing the architectural construction or decoration in drawings indicated by him, it is sometimes extremely difficult to discover the faintest resemblance, and yet we are told (*e.g.* p. 98) "that they are so perfectly identical that it would be impossible to distinguish between them," &c. &c.

[3] See *e.g.* pp. 107 ad ped. 111 ad ped. 115 ad cap. et passim.

yet hangs about the architecture of the Dome of the Rock. If it does contain a few details more conformable to the classical type than were to be expected in a Saracenic building at the close of the 7th century, these may be accounted for partly by the materials, partly by the artificers employed. Old materials were worked into the new structure, and of course the new work would be made to the same pattern, as near as might be: and models for imitation were at hand. Besides, we know that it was the practice of the early Khalifs to employ Greek masons and builders[4], who would naturally follow the classical type as nearly as they could in the then debased state of the art. So with the later ornamental work of the Dome and ceiling of the aisles. It is very probable that an Italian artist may have been engaged by Suliman II., (exactly as Greek artists have lately been employed by the Turks to restore the Church of S. Sophia at Constantinople[5],) which would account for any similarity that may exist between this and any Christian building.

One word may be necessary to explain the inscriptions cited by William of Tyre, in proof that the Dome of the Rock was built by the Khalif Omar; an error which is countenanced by a few respectable writers, and has become confirmed by the popular name given to the Mosk. The inscriptions no doubt commemorated the recovery of the Rock by Omar and his designation of the spot to sacred uses, and in this way his name might be introduced as the first founder of the Mosk, although no part of the actual structure was his.

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[4] There is a notable instance of this in the Great Church of Damascus, converted into a Mosk by Welid, the son and successor of that very Abd-el-Melik who built the Dome of the Rock. Abulfeda mentions that he (A. D. 705—714) collected workmen from Greece and all the dominions of Islam. In ann. Heg. 96. Annales Muslem. Tom. I. p. 433, ed. Reiske. Hafniæ, 1789. De Guignes remarks on this instance, "ce qui prouve que dans leur plus beaux monumens les Arabes employoient alors des ouvriers Grecs, on en trouve plusieurs exemples dans l'histoire orientale." Notices des Manuscrits du Roi, Tome III. p. 615. Mr. A. J. B. Hope, writing of the Dome of the Rock, remarks in a letter—"I suppose that we must account for its unquestionable resemblance to Christian architecture by supposing that, as in Constantinople the Turks employed Greeks after the capture to build Mosks, and these imitated Byzantine churches, so the Saracens employed Christians in Jerusalem, who imitated the churches existing there—the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and that of the Ascension." Exactly, in fact, as Mr. Fergusson, p. 110, supposes San Stefano Rotundo to be a copy of the Dome of the Rock.

[5] The infidels have always been glad to avail themselves of the services of Christian artists. Thus *e.g.* A. Morison (Relation Historique, &c. p. 294, A. D. 1697, 8), mentions that the kadi at Jerusalem has power to dispense with the rigour of the law that prohibits Christians from entering the Mosk, and that he had conversed with a clever carpenter, who had been forced to work there eight or ten days (probably in the repairs under Suliman II.) So at Constantinople the late Sultan Mahmûd, father of Abd-el-Mejid, lies in a mausoleum erected by an Italian architect, within the precincts of the Osmanieh.

NOTE B.

COURSE AND TERMINATION OF THE SECOND WALL UNTIL ITS JUNCTION WITH ANTONIA.

I HAVE already traced the course of the Second Wall from the Gate Gennath to the Damascus Gate (pp. 55—60), but deferred the consideration of its continuation until I had ascertained the position of the Fortress Antonia, at which it terminated, (p. 64). Dr. Wilson, in 1843, observed a peculiarity in a portion of the present north wall of the City which he "had not seen alluded to in any book of travels, that the wall, for some extent above its foundation, bears, in the magnitude and peculiarity of its stones, the evidence of great antiquity. The Saracens have made grooves in them to make them correspond symmetrically with their own workmanship above; and the traveller is apt to pass them by without notice. They are decidedly of the character, however, which he has mentioned; and they are probably remains of the second wall, described by Josephus. They ought to be taken into account in the discussion of the great topographical question of the site of the Holy Sepulchre. They extend about 300 feet from the Damascus Gate westward, to which they also continue[1]." Here then the stones fall in with the two chambers of Cyclopean masonry on either side the Damascus Gate[2], which I have before noticed in tracking the course of the second wall, (p. 64): the outer faces of these stones are similarly grooved by the Saracens.

I suppose, then, that the second wall coming from the South joined the western extremity of the stones mentioned by Dr. Wilson, and then followed the course of the present wall to the Damascus Gate. The question now arises, whether it followed that course still further eastward across the high, rocky ridge, now crowned by the city-wall, opposite to the Cave of Jeremiah. There can, I think, be no doubt that this was originally one hill[3]; and if I could discover when the intervening rock was quarried out and the grotto excavated, I should know how much to include in the second wall[4]. The cave certainly existed be-

[1] Lands of the Bible, Vol. I. p. 421.

[2] Accurately represented by Mr. Tipping, in Traill's Josephus, p. xlvii. where see a full description, and in Bib. Res. I. p. 464.

[3] The comparison of the strata of the limestone rock near the Cave of Jeremiah, and below the city-wall, led me to this conclusion, which Dr Schultz says his repeated observation has confirmed. Jerusalem, p. 36.

[4] I suggested in the first edition (p. 283, n. 2) that the materials for the present city-walls, erected in A. D. 1517, may possibly have been taken from this quarry, and Dr Schultz l. c. seems to agree with me. Quaresmius, Vol. II. p. 40, says that the modern wall is built chiefly of ruins taken from desolated cities, but in part also of stones taken from the neighbouring hills.

fore the erection of the present walls[5]; and the deep fosse and quarry are probably still earlier. Hence I have misgivings about including the whole hill, as I did in my former Plan, so I have now drawn the second wall along the course of the modern wall. It may be that the character of the wall in this part, consisting entirely of natural rock merely faced with masonry, will justify me in so doing: for, although I dare not assume this to be a peculiarity of Jewish or Roman fortification, yet we know it to have prevailed in Herod's fortresses, and have already met with it by the Hippic Tower, and at the S. E. corner of the Haram[6], both which were in the course of the ancient walls. The wall will then proceed eastward, until it reaches the brow of the hill that overhangs the valley which extends down from the Gate of Herod to the western end of the Birket Israîl, and will then follow the ridge down to its point of junction with the Wall of Antonia at its north-eastern angle. I have before said, that the declivity of Acra is as steep on this side as it is on the West and North; and the valley which separated it from the lower part of Bezetha is still to be traced within the city[7].

It is a curious fact, that this part of the city was defended by a double wall so late as the period of the Crusades, and the fosse which separated Antonia from Bezetha existed until a much later period. The Norman French writer cited by Beugnot[8], in following the Via Dolorosa, (called by him the Street of Josaphat), from the Valley Street, eastward, to the Gate of S. Mary, (with him the Gate of Josaphat,) apparently after passing the "Arch of the Ecce Homo," (the Dolorous Gates,) says, that on the left of this street, between it and the city-walls, are streets, as of a city, in which lived most of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. This was called *La Marie.* It derived its name, no doubt, from the Monastery of S. Mary Magdalene, situated within it, shewn to later pilgrims as the house of Simon the Pharisee, where the Saint anointed our Saviour's feet with ointment: and considerable ruins of the church still exist. Near this Monastery was a postern, by which there was no exit to the country but only between the two walls. This is confirmed by the Continuator of William of Tyre, in his account of the siege of the city by Saladin. After a vain attempt upon the Tower of David for eight successive days, the Sultan blockaded the north-east corner of the city, from the Gate of S. Stephen, *i.e.* the Damascus Gate, to the Gate of Jehoshaphat; "between which", says the writer, "was neither gate nor postern, save the postern of the Magdalene; through which one went between the

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[5] It is mentioned by Mejr-ed-din, l. c. II. p. 133; of which more in the next chapter.

[6] See the description of the towers Hippicus Phasaelus and Mariamne, in Bell. Jud. v. iv. 3, and of Antonia, in v. 8. See above, pp. 16, 317.

[7] See above, pp. 52, 3, and Dr Schultz, p. 32.

[8] Given in the Appendix.

two walls[1]." That the Gate of the Magdalene was identical in position with the present Bab es-Sahari, or Herod's Gate, admits, I think, of no doubt; but the course of these two walls is a perplexing question, which the above-cited passages are not sufficient of themselves to decide, nor do I find any other notice of them. The position of the fosse, before the Church of S. Anne, is clearly marked by numerous writers, and will require a fuller notice in the next Chapter.

NOTE C.

I FIND that in p. 321 I have cited Dr. Robinson, as copied by Mr. Tipping, too literally. A comparison of Mr. Brettell's measurement shews that *versed sine* ought to be substituted for *cosine*, in that passage. The *cosine* would be much more than 3 ft. 10 in. Mr. Brettell's measurement differs slightly from Dr. Robinson's, and makes the *chord* 12 ft., the *sine* 11 ft. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., and the *versed sine* 3 ft. $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Dr. Robinson's elements would give a radius of 20 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., or $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches less than Mr. Brettell.

NOTE D.

THE passage cited from the Talmud in p. 355, note 5, seems not to be correctly given in the edition of Surenhusius, from which I copied it. The folio and quarto editions read as follows: ש׳ הבירה צורה שבו רואה כהן גדול שורף את הפרה וכל מעסריה יוצאין להר המשחה The variation does not justify the translation or the Commentaries, but it seemed right to notice it.

NOTE E.

IN p. 375, I have adduced the Placentine Pilgrim as the only writer that mentions the Church of S. Mary, between the period of its erection by Justinian and the Saracenic Conquest. In Vol. I. p. 291, n. 6, I have spoken of the notice of it in Lib. I. capp. IX, XI. of S. Gregory of Tours, de Gloria Martyrum. But this is spurious, and its date uncertain; nor does it furnish any particulars, but merely says, "Monasterium est valde magnum in Hierusalem, non modicam habens congregationem, in quo: ... Imperatoris jussu non minima largiuntur." Cap. XI. Opera col. 733. This was evidently dedicated to S. Mary, but is not necessarily identical with the Basilica in Cap. IX. Col. 730.

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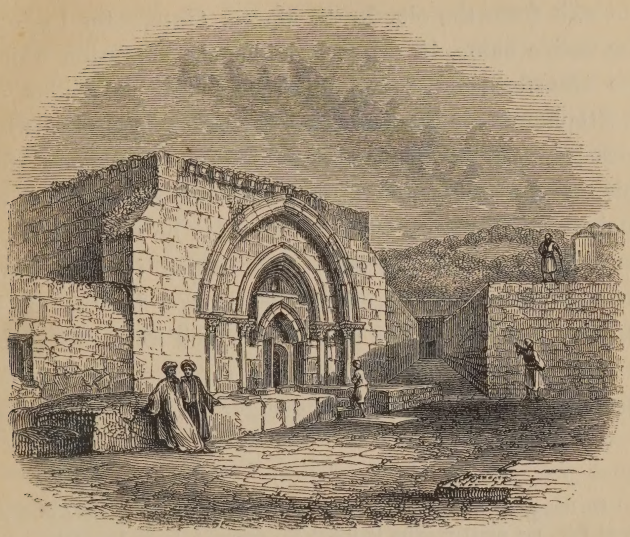
[1] Guillelmi Tyrii Continuata Hist. Lib. XXIII. sect. 21, ap. Martene et Durand. Tome IV. col. 613: "des la porte Saint Estienne jusques à la porte de Josaphas n'avoient porte ne posterne, par ont il peussent issir as chans, fors seulement la posterne de la Madeleine, dont l'en issoit por aler entre deux murs."



CHAPTER V.

ANTIQUITIES WITHOUT THE WALLS—AND THE WATERS.

The object proposed in the present Chapter is an elucidation of some antiquities chiefly without the walls of Jerusalem; and I must beg the reader to accompany me first to the Mount of Olives, then descending again into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, to make a circuit of the city, by that Valley and the Valley of Hinnom, pausing at such objects of interest as occur in the way. The discussion also of the Waters will find an appropriate place in this Chapter.

Leaving, then, the tower Antonia by the Street of Jehoshaphat, and passing, for the present without notice, the large reservoir under the northern wall of the Haram known as Birket Israîl, and reputed among the

native Christians to be the Pool of Bethesda, we make our exit from the city by S. Mary's Gate,—for I adopt the native name, in order to avoid the confusion which the transference of the name and the traditions of S. Stephen from the North of the city might otherwise occasion[1]. It is impossible to deny or to account for this transference[2]; indeed, the conflicting statements of ancient and modern writers can only be reconciled by assuming it, and the period at which it must have occurred may be reduced to very narrow limits[3]. It is obvious that the earlier tradition, which fixed the place of the Protomartyr's Passion a stadium without the Damascus Gate[4], has much greater authority than that

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[1] On this account, also, I have departed from my usual practice in the Plan, which is to give the current native and Frank name. I might have revived one of its other names, "*Porta Josaphat,*" from the Norman French writer cited by Beugnot, and the Continuator of William of Tyre, (Martene and Durand, Tom. v. col. 613,) or "*Porta Vallis* sive *Gregis.*" See Adrichomius, Th. Terr. Sanct. No. 165, p. 168, and Quaresmius E. T. S. Tom. II. p. 293. This last writer makes this the Gate Genath! Edrisi and others transfer to this gate the name *Bab es-Sabat,* (the Tribes,) proper to the contiguous Gate of the Haram. See Jaubert, I. p. 341. So Ibn-el-Wardi, p. 180, and Mejr-ed-din, II. p. 129. On the whole, however, it seemed better to adopt the current native name, derived from the Tomb of the Virgin, to which it leads.

[2] Quaresmius, with laudable but mistaken zeal for the traditions, attempts both. Tome II. p. 295.

[3] Rudolph von Suchem (A.D. 1336–50) appears to be the last extant writer who gives this name to the Damascus Gate. In his days the buildings had disappeared: and before that (A.D. 1325) Sir John Maundeville had found a Church of S. Stephen on the East of the city by the Valley of Jehoshaphat. p. 80, ed. Lond. 1727. "The tradition had begun to waver." See Dr Robinson, in Theol. Rev. III. p. 639, and notes. Comp. Viaggio di S. Sigoli (A. D. 1384) p. 71. Firenze, 1829; and his companion Lionardo di Niccolo Frescobaldi, p. 114. Roma, 1818. In the 15th century the name and traditions had become fixed. Theol. Rev. l. c.

[4] Dr Robinson, with an unaccountable oblivion of chronology, adduces the undisputed fact that the place of S. Stephen's Martyrdom, according to the earlier tradition, (without the Damascus-Gate,) was within the third wall, as a Scripture proof that "of course it

which, dating only from the 14th century, finds it without this; and, as "it is not to be supposed that the scene of an event so important to the whole Church as the death of the first Martyr,...should in so short a time have been forgotten among the Christians of Jerusalem[5]," it is very probable that the Church of Eudoxia did mark the true spot. However this may have been, I am at a loss to understand how the question of the genuineness of the existing tradition, (obviously transferred in the 14th century from another locality, which was not itself distinguished by any monument until the 5th century[6]) can affect the authenticity of the site of the Holy Sepulchre, which has undergone no such transference, which was from the first distinguished by a rock-hewn monument, least of all subject to decay, surmounted in the second century by a pagan shrine, demolished in the 4th century, only to make way for a more magnificent and substantial erection.

Descending now into the Valley of Jehoshaphat by a zig-zig path of steps down the steep declivity, the dry bed of the Brook Kedron is passed by a bridge of one arch; a few paces beyond which is the entrance to

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was not the true spot." Theol. Rev. p. 640; and in p. 642 he argues on it, as usual, "*we have seen*, according to the testimony of Scripture, this venerated spot could not be the true site of Stephen's martyrdom." But S. Stephen was martyred A. D. 33, according to the received chronology, and the third wall was not built until A. D. 40: so that at the time of his martyrdom, the site, a stadium North of the Damascus Gate, was certainly without the second wall, even according to Dr Robinson's idea of its course.

[5] Dr Robinson, l. c. p. 642.

[6] The two cases are adduced as exactly parallel by Dr Robinson, l. c. But who will maintain that the two events were equally important? He further says, that "*the evidence* and the *probability* of a traditional knowledge of the spot on the North of the city *are at least as great* as in the parallel case of the Holy Sepulchre:" p. 641 ad ped. He cannot really think it.

the subterranean Chapel of S. Mary on the left, and the garden of Gethsemane on the right.

The authenticity of the Tomb of the Virgin rests on a very slender foundation. The silence of the Pilgrims and Fathers of the first six centuries is a convincing proof that it had as yet no place among the sacred localities of the Holy City[1]; nor is suspicion allayed by the fact, that the earliest distinct notice of the existing monument is found in a professed quotation from a letter of the Patriarch Juvenal to the Empress Pulcheria[2], adduced by the over-credulous S. John of Damascus: for even supposing the letter genuine, its authenticity would by no means follow, since this same Patriarch was a convicted forger, and may very possibly have fabricated this, as Pope S. Leo assures us he did other falsehoods, in order to compass the object of his ambition, and raise his See to the dignity of a Patriarchate[3].

In any case, the enquiry of the Empress Pulcheria proves that the fertile imagination of the Orientals had not as yet elaborated the beautiful *myth* of the Assumption; for she enquired for the body, with the desire to possess herself of the relics[4]. It is curious to

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[1] This is admitted, and the difficulties more fairly stated than satisfactorily met, by Quaresmius. Lib. IV. cap. iii. Pereg. vii. Tome II. p. 244, &c. So also Le Quien, loc. inf. cit. note 1 in p. 857 ad ped. p. 858.

[2] See the professed extract from the apocryphal Euthymian History, cited by S. John Damascenus, Homil. 2da de Dormitione B. Mariæ Virginis, sect. xviii. Tom. II. p. 879 of Le Quien's edition; and for the spuriousness of the history, see note 1 of the learned editor. Juvenal sat from A. D. 429–457.

[3] "In Ephisinâ Synodo...Juvenalis Episcopus ad obtinendum Palæstinæ provinciæ principatum credidit se posse sufficere, et insolenter ausus per commentitia scripta firmare." Ep. ad Maximum Antioch. Ep. xcii. Op. p. 310. Compare Le Quien's note l. c. ad fin.

[4] Ἀκούομεν εἶναι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐξαίρετον τῆς παναγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας

trace the progress of error. This story, originally held as a pious opinion[5]; first tolerated, and then countenanced by the Church[6], at length gained universal

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ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν χωρίῳ Γεθσημανῆ καλουμένῳ, ἔνθα τὸ ζωηφόρον αὐτῆς σῶμα κατετέθη ἐν σωρῷ· βουλόμεθα τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ λείψανον ἀναγαγεῖν ἐνταῦθα εἰς φυλακτήριον τῆς βασιλευούσης ταύτης πόλεως· Johannes Damas. l. c. p. 880.

[5] The weak and credulous S. Epiphanius even suggests that S. Mary did not pay the common debt of mortality, κἂν τε οὖν τέθνηκεν, οὐκ ἔγνωμεν. Hæres 78, cited by Le Quien, l. c. p. 858, note. This notion was never received by the Church.

[6] Le Quien, l. c. p. 880, note 1, complains that the Pseudo-Melito, who probably originated the fiction of the Assumption, "multa de Maria jejunè passim scribit:" which leads him to conclude that he wrote before the Council of Ephesus; "posthac enim longe melior de Dei genitrice, ut quidem par erat, existimatio ab omnibus, non in Oriente solum verum etiam in Occidente, haberi cœpit." He there adds that the Emperor Maurice (ob. A.D. 602) instituted the Festival of the Assumption about the end of his reign, *i.e.* for the Eastern Church, Aug. 15, but that it was celebrated by the Gallic Church on the 18th of January, in the 6th or at the latest the 7th century, for which he cites S. Gregory of Tours, Martyrologies, Missals &c. edited by Mabillon. I am not satisfied of this, for I find in Arculfus (*cir.* A.D. 696) the following notice of the Church of Gethsemane, which he describes as a round Church, "ad dextram vero ejus partem Sanctæ Mariæ saxeum inest cavum sepulchrum, in quo aliquando sepulta pausavit. Sed de eodem sepulchro, quomodo, vel quo tempore, aut a quibus personis sanctum corpusculum ejus sit sublatum, et quo loco resurrectionem expectat, nullus ut fertur, pro certo scire potest homo." Adamnanus de Loc. Sanctis, Lib. I. cap. ix. Ap. Gretseri Op. Tom. IV. pars ii. p. 260. See also ibid. Bede's recension to the same effect. Could a French Bishop have spoken thus if the Festival of the Assumption had been celebrated in his Church for two centuries? Even later than this, in the Itinerarium of S. Willibald we read, "Veniunt in vallem Josaphat, ubi sepulchrum Sanctæ Mariæ monstratur. Sed utrum Apostoli eam, relicto hîc corpore solutam ibi sepelierint, an forte sepelire eam destinantibus post effossum ibi sepulchrum, ipsa sit cum corpore assumpta, vel si sepulta ibi conceditur, utrum inde sublata, et alias transposita sit, et receptâ verâ immortalitate resurrexerit, melius dubitatur quam aliquid inde apocryphum diffiniatur." Canisii Thesaurus, cura Basnage, Tome II. p. 120, sect. xi. This was as late as A.D. 765. Modestus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 633, (as cited by Le Quien in Johann. Damasc. Tome II. p. 857, note 1,) acknowledges that no one before him had expounded the subject of the Festival, and that the hearers waited with open mouths to hear something concerning the Rest of the Holy Virgin. It was apparently not received in the Western

credence, and gave occasion to many superstitions; and that apparently against the authority of a general Council; for it is extremely difficult to torture the language of the Ephesine decree to any other meaning than that the Blessed Virgin with S. John reposed in that city[1]; an interpretation countenanced by the dedication of the Church in which the Council assembled.

There is a descent of sixty steps to the Church, which consequently lies completely under the bed of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. On the right hand of the descent is shewn the Chapel and Tombs of SS. Joachim and Anna, that of S. Joseph on the left, and towards the East of the Church (now no longer, as in earlier times, a round Church[2], but a cruciform excavation terminating in apses,) is the supposed Tomb of S. Mary, bearing a general resemblance to the Holy Sepulchre, and probably modelled after its pattern[3]. Its various altars bear witness to the divisions of Christendom, and its joint occupation by the various Communities contributes to perpetuate their miserable feuds: nor does the influence of Gethsemane, which is hard by, serve

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Church until much later. It was in the time of Charlemagne that the Western Church conformed its practice to that of the Eastern in celebrating the Festival on August 15. See further Le Quien, ll. cc., and Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana, Lib. II. xxii. p. 119. Gregorius Turonensis de Gloria Mart. Lib. I. cap. iv. proves nothing, as the first eleven chapters of that book are undoubtedly spurious, by a much later hand. Vid. ed. Bened. in loc. Opera, col. 724. Parisiis 1699.

[1] Νεστόριος.....φθάσας ἐν τῇ Ἐφησίων ἔνθα ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης, καὶ ἡ θεοτόκος παρθένος ἡ ἁγία Μαρία· Concil. Ephes. Act. I. apud Labbe, Tom. III. col. 573, A. D. 431. Tillemont, Mémoires pour servir, &c. Tome I. p. 69. Art. VII., sur La Sainte Vierge, and in his very fair note, xiv. pp. 467—469, enters more largely into this subject.

[2] As described by Arculfus, l. c. "Cujus (Ecclesiæ) dupliciter fabricatæ, inferior pars sub lapideo tabulato mirabili rotundâ est structurâ fabricata, in cujus Orientali parte Altare habetur."

[3] See a description in Quaresmius, II. 240—243, and the Plan on p. 248.

to allay their animosity, or to inculcate Christian charity.

Between the court of S. Mary's Church and that sacred Garden, with its eight venerable olive-trees, whose authenticity I choose rather to believe than to defend[4], is the most direct ascent to the Church of the Ascension, which crowns the centre of the three summits of Mount Olivet (Jebel et-Tûr[5]), 2,400 feet above the level of the Mediterranean.

And here, before we descend to the examination of the particular tradition of the place, let us mount the

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[4] It is of course questioned by Dr Robinson, Bib. Res. I. 346—7, and notes. His arguments will scarcely satisfy those who wish to disbelieve. The olive-trees are very old. I like to believe them as old as the Gospel narrative. The only argument against this venerable antiquity—for the olive is a long-lived tree—is that Titus cut down all the trees about Jerusalem. But Josephus does not say so. The trees on the North of the city were cut down (Bell. Jud. v. iii. 2), the others only stripped of their branches (ibid. VI. viii. 1). It is singular that a traveller—apparently without any thought of this—has remarked on "the disproportionate hugeness of their venerable trunks to the thin foliage above." Bartlett's Walks, p. 105. Let the pilgrim, if he have the opportunity, obey the injunction of the Christian Year in the "Monday before Easter," or at any rate be sure to read or recall that piece, and the one for the "3d Sunday in Advent," in this garden.

[5] Edrisi, p. 344, translates the Christian name and calls it Jebel Zeitûn. Et-Tur is its more common native name, which it has in common with two other Sacred Mountains, viz. Sinai and Tabor. I must here notice a curious coincidence. In the directions given to Saul (1 Samuel x. 2—5) we find "the Plain of Tabor," between Rachel's Sepulchre and "the Hill of God, where is the garrison of the Philistines," which he must pass on his way home to Gibeah of Benjamin. Now where the anointing took place is not clear—perhaps at Bethlehem (compare ix. 12, 13 with xvi. 2, 5), or at any rate somewhere South of the Tomb of Rachel, (the site of which is clearly identified, Gen. xxxv. 19, 20), not far from the South extremity of the Plain of Rephidim, which must be the "Plain of Tabor," as "the Hill of God, with the Philistine garrison" is certainly Jebus, then held by the Canaanites. Now, may not the plain have taken its name from the most conspicuous mountain in its neighbourhood—then, as now, called Jebel et-Tûr, like its namesake in Galilee?

ruined minaret of my friend Dr. Schultz, and beg him to point out to us the various features of the magnificent prospect that it commands,—with every phase of which he is so perfectly familiar[1]. "Immediately below, even to the opposite brink of the Valley Kedron, Jerusalem lies spread out before us. The strong outlines of the Castle of David are seen on the Western horizon. The cupolas of the convents and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the slender minaret on the North-east hill of the city, one after another stand out to view in the maze of the many roofs of houses, some with low vaults, some flat, and surrounded by distinct, perforated walls, which again we pursue, until we cast a calm look into the great Court of the Haram, inaccessible to us, and contemplate the beauty of the Mosks, of the octagonal Sakhrah, covered with the most beautiful cupola imaginable, and of the Aksa, reminding one of the Basilica form of the Christian Churches, surrounded in solemn silence and almost melancholy, by the lively verdure and flourishing trees, such scarcities in these parts.

"If we turn our eyes towards the South, a lofty range of the Mountains of Judah limits the horizon in a wide sweep, commencing at the Mountains of Tekoa, and running westward. The Frank Mountain (Jebel Furdeis) and the environs of Bethlehem are also visible. Nearer to us, and in the same direction, lies a ridge whereupon stands the Greek Monastery of Mar Elias: on this side lies the plain, supposed to

[1] The beautiful and graphic description of this magnificent prospect, is from Dr Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 42, 43; but a translation does it poor justice.

be the plain of 'Rephaim,' contracting itself towards the south-west, into the Rose-Valley (Wadi el-Ward), which conveys to the environs of Jerusalem from the sea, damp fogs or cooling sea-breezes, according to the season. Towards the West lies the nearest parallel slope of the mountain ridge, which bears the Holy City itself, and over which lies the Jaffa road. If we turn further to the North, there the height of Nebi Samwîl rises up steeply with its Mosk, from whence one can see the Mediterranean; further in the background, the mountains of Samaria: and lastly, towards the East we have the Valley of Jordan beneath us, where a green streak on a whitish ground marks the course of the River toward the Dead Sea, into the mirror of which we here and there look, between the undulating hills on this side, and see how it reflects the rocky shores beyond: and if we follow the Eastern boundary of the plain of the Jordan from North to South, there is a continuous chain of mountains, as far as the steep cliffs of the Dead Sea, above which rises deeper in the country Jebel Shihân, with its compressed and gently-rising summit, which is in the winter-time frequently covered with snow: whilst close to the sea the valley-clefts of the Zerka-River, and the Arnon (Wadi Mojeb) are plainly to be distinguished; and during clear weather the old fortress Kerak also appears like a rock-nest, where the sea has long since disappeared from our eyes, which after a complete circle again rest on the place whence we set out."

The very ancient tradition that has marked the site connected with this Minaret and Mosk as the place of our Lord's Ascension, has lately been attacked with

much vehemence[1]: and it has been urged that, whatever may be said for other sacred localities in or about Jerusalem, this at least is "unquestionably false;" since it is contradicted by the express declaration of Scripture, which states that "Jesus led out His disciples as far as to Bethany, and blessed them, and while He blessed them, He was parted from them, and carried up into heaven[2]:" whereas the summit of Mount Olives is scarcely half-way between Jerusalem and Bethany.

Now it is certain that, before the Holy Sepulchre had emerged from its obscurity, and while the idol-fane as yet excited the horror, and forbade the devotions of the early Christians, the place of the Ascension on Mount Olivet was regarded with veneration, and visited by pilgrims; so that there is no room for doubt that the munificence of S. Helena did in this case only perpetuate the existing tradition[3]. If then it can be proved that this tradition, whose origin is lost in the antiquity of the Ante-Nicene period, is palpably false,

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[1] It need hardly be said that the objector is Dr Robinson, who lays great stress upon the argument as demonstrating the worthlessness of traditionary evidence. See Biblical Researches, I. p. 375, II. p. 77, and Biblioth. Sac. pp. 177—181. The tradition of the Place of the Nativity at Bethlehem is adduced for the same purpose in the same places; but it is said, "the objections are not so strong"—"the results not so decided." Such as they are, they will be noticed in their proper place.

[2] S. Luke xxiv. 50, 51.

[3] The date commonly assigned to the Demonstratio Evangelica of Eusebius is A.D. 315. Here, in expounding Zechariah xiv. 4, he mentions the place on the Mount of Olives, where stood the feet of the Incarnate Word, *πρὸς τῷ αὐτόθι δεικνυμένῳ σπηλαίῳ*, and delivered to His disciples the mysteries concerning the end on the summit of the mount, and from thence ascended, according to S. Luke, in Acts i. 9–12. Dem. Evan. Lib. VI. cap. xviii. p. 288. Parisiis, 1628. The passages from S. Jerome, S. Paulinus of Nola, Sulpicius Severus, Adamnanus, and Bede, are cited by Baronius, Annales, in A.D. 34, as also by Gretser, Prolog. ad Adamnanum, cap. viii. Opera, Tom. IV. pars ii. p. 249, &c.; where he also adduces later testimonies.

this fact will serve greatly to invalidate the force of traditionary evidence in general, and of that relating to the Holy Sepulchre in particular, which is assumed to date only from the time of Constantine. If on this account alone, the Station of the Ascension is worth defending.

First, then, the Gospel of S. Luke was certainly received as canonical in the third century. It is at least probable that the laborious Compiler of the Hexapla was not altogether ignorant of its contents; the same may be said of Eusebius, and the learned Translator of the Vulgate, in the fourth century, not to mention the clergy and people of the Church at Jerusalem, one of whose deacons, as we have seen, had the Holy Scriptures by heart[4]. Now these all with one consent received the traditions in question, and did not reject the Gospel of S. Luke: they must, then, have had some way of reconciling the Scripture statement with the prevailing traditions. It is certainly easy to say that the fathers here mentioned were "not experienced interpreters" of Scripture, (although, if they were not, it was not at least for want of practice); but is it so easy to imagine what should induce those who originated the traditions to fix on a palpably wrong site—if they did fix it at all? If it were so very obvious that the Ascension took place at Bethany, why did they not select a spot in that village, which was not far distant? How could they be so rash as to assign it to the summit of Mount Olivet, if it were "unquestionably, *prima facie*, wrong," and "contradicted by the express declaration

[4] See Vol. I. p. 232. It ought to be remembered, too, that we read the same of many of the monks of Mount Olivet and others. They were much commended for it. Ignorance of the holy Scriptures was not considered a virtue in those days, as many seem to imagine.

of Scripture"? They might quite as well have transferred Bethlehem and Nazareth to Jerusalem; as a mediæval tradition did "the Mountain of Galilee[1]."

To proceed now to the main point. I will first adduce a passage, in no way connected with the Ascension, which presents a parallel difficulty to that which does. The explanation of the former may lead to a right understanding of the latter. On the occasion of our Blessed Lord's triumphant entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, we are informed by two of the Evangelists that "when He had come near to Jerusalem, to Bethphage, and Bethany, to the Mount of Olives, He sent two of His disciples[2]," &c. These words undoubtedly imply progress to the place from whence He sent. Yet He had passed the last day and night at Bethany, according to a third Evangelist[3]; and with what propriety could it be said that He had come thither on the Sunday morning, if He had passed the Sabbath there? and, further, how can we account for the mention of Bethphage? The fourth Evangelist seems to make all clear[4]. He writes, "When they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the Mount of Olives, then sent Jesus," making no mention of Bethany. It is easy to imagine that an objection might be framed

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[1] This absurd tradition, which figures in all Itineraries from the 15th century downwards, may have arisen from a confusion of the place of the "Viri Galilæi;" for which see above, p. 127, note 4, and below, p. 446, note 2. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (so early as A.D. 333) places the Mount of Transfiguration on Mount Olivet! Ap. Wesseling, p. 595.

[2] Mark xi. 1. Luke xix. 29.

[3] John xi. 1, &c.

[4] Matt. xxi. 1, &c. It may be allowed to mention that this solution is the only one that satisfied me, after some perplexity, on the spot; when I am not aware that I had any thought of the traditionary site of the Ascension, the difficulty of which never occurred to me.

to these passages, on account of their inconsistencies; and the most satisfactory answer that would occur to me would be this. That the village of Bethany gave its name to the eastern slope of Mount Olivet, at the foot of which it was situated, whereas the western slope was called by the name of Bethphage; and that our Lord may be supposed to have sent His disciples, not from the village of Bethany before they set out, but on their progress to Jerusalem, when they had advanced to that point where the two districts joined, as two of the Evangelists imply, or where Bethany ended and Bethphage began, as the last-cited intimates. This explanation would reconcile the four Evangelists.

Next, if the objector should attempt to bring the two passages of S. Luke into opposition one with another, maintaining, that in his Gospel he fixes the Ascension to Bethany, whereas in the Acts he appears at least to assign that event to a point of Mount Olivet much nearer to Jerusalem; I certainly could not honestly answer that in the latter passage, "it is only said, that the disciples *returned* from Mount Olivet, not that He ascended from it[5]," because I should be afraid to be met by the fresh objection, that Mount Olivet is of some considerable extent[6], and that to say that it is

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[5] Bib. Res. i. p. 375, note 1.

[6] Josephus in one passage says that Mount Olivet is five stadia from Jerusalem. Ant. xx. viii. 6. But elsewhere he says that Titus ordered two legions to encamp *six stadia* from the city on the Mount of Olives. J. W. v. ii. 3. These passages do not contradict one another. He evidently measures from different parts of the Mount. It is therefore scarcely candid of Dr Robinson to represent Josephus as saying that *the summit* of the mountain is *five furlongs* distant from Jerusalem, Biblio. Sac. 178, n. 3; for it is certain Josephus cannot mean that; or how could the legions have been *six stadia* distant from the city on the same mountain? Josephus does not even say that *their camp* was on *the summit* of the mountain—so the summit may have been *more* than six fur-

"from Jerusalem a sabbath-day's journey" appears unmeaning, except it be taken to signify a particular part of the mountain. Neither, again, should I think it right to extend the sabbatical journey fifteen furlongs, so as to reach the village of Bethany, because although it be true that one very respectable authority may be quoted for this opinion[1], yet many more, quite as respectable, state it at something considerably less; and in such cases it is fair to take, not the extreme, but the computation of the majority, which would fix the spot somewhere near to the summit of the mountain. I should reply then as to the former objection, by the theory of a district, as well as a village, named Bethany, (as in the case of parishes in England,) extending to the summit of the Mount of Olives[2], and suggest whether S. Luke may not here have adopted the mode of expression used by S. Matthew in the former case; omitting men-

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longs distant, but could not be *less*. Havercamp, who supposes, as do most writers, that Acts i. 12 is intended to designate the spot of the Ascension, imagines that in Ant. xx. viii. 6, Josephus intends the *base* of the mountain, and that our Lord ascended from the summit, three stadia higher up, making in all eight stadia, which he takes to be the distance specified, a sabbath-day's journey. Vid. not. in loc. This I think nearly correct.

[1] This is Buxtorf (quoted by Dr Robinson in the note above referred to), who states it at 2000 paces—two Roman miles. The great majority of authorities vary from five to eight stadia, and the Church of the Ascension falls between these. See Relandi Palæst. pp. 338, 341, 397, 8, 400, 450.

[2] Dr Robinson has misrepresented Lightfoot in the strangest manner for the support of his own theory, in saying that this author does not extend the district of Bethany to the summit of Mount Olivet. In order not to run the risk of doing so myself, I will simply quote the Chorographical index prefixed to his works, by J. Williams (a learned friend of Strype's), sub voce *Olivet*. "The foot of it was five furlongs from Jerusalem, saith Josephus: *The top of it*, Acts i. 12, called a sabbath-day's journey, which was about eight furlongs, or a mile; and *was the place*, according to the latter sense of our author, *where the tracts of Bethphage and Bethany met*. Here our Saviour ascended, and here he got upon the ass when he rode into Jerusalem." All this is proved by references to Lightfoot—which see.

tion of the district which had been traversed, and specifying that at which they had arrived?

Whether it was by this or some other method that the ancient Fathers of the Church reconciled the two passages of Holy Scripture, and explained the position of the Church of S. Helena, it is of course impossible to say; for the inconsistency of the tradition with the language of the Gospel, which is now represented as so very glaring, was a discovery reserved for this generation, and seems not to have occurred to earlier critics.

A very few words may suffice for the description of this ruin, for at present it is nothing more. Instead of a church there is now a mosk near this site, the keeper of which holds the keys of a small portal giving entrance into a paved court of some extent, open to the sky, around which are ranged the altars of the various Christian Churches, while the centre is occupied by a small circular building, surmounted by a cupola. Within is a Mohammedan Kiblí, or niche of prayer, and before this is the rock on which the simple faith of Christian pilgrims has discovered the impress of our Saviour's foot; and although I trust that those who were assembled around that stone on the afternoon of Holy Thursday, in 1842, to commemorate the Ascension of our Blessed Lord, were guilty of no unpardonable incredulity in hesitating to receive this as an undoubted fact[3], still the ancient story did not invest the rock with less interest, nor dispose them to quarrel with those

[3] More sceptical in this than Casaubon, who, convinced by the weight of S. Jerome's ocular testimony, "hic dat manus," as Gretser says, and accepts, besides, the story of the miraculous reproduction of the rock. Gretseri Op. Tom. IV. pars ii. p. 249.

many thousands of pious Christians who, from the earliest ages of the Church, have been able to feel satisfied that such is the case.

At the South-west corner of the buildings connected with this Mosk is shewn the cave where the notorious courtezan of Antioch, named for her beauty, and riches, and pride, Margarita (Pearl), having been converted through the instrumentality of Nonnus Bishop of Edessa, passed many years of penance, in the disguise of a monk, under the assumed name of Pelagius, and at length found her grave, which has been honoured for many ages, not only by Christians, but by Moslems and Jews, who have found in it the resting-place of some saint of their own[1].

Descending now to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, by a more circuitous path, a little South of the Church of the Ascension, we pass the Cave of the Creed, a curious vaulted chamber, in ruins, beneath the surface of the ground, apparently sunk in the rock, and plastered; oblong in form, with six niches on each side, facing one another, where the Apostles are said to have assembled to compose the Creed[2]. Further down the moun-

[1] The Jewish traditions place the Tomb of Huldah on the summit of Mount Olivet: I am not certain whether it is this or one a little to the North of the Mosk on the road-side, where is a subterranean rock-grave. The Jews imagine that this grave of Huldah was once within the walls of Jerusalem. See Parchi in Asher's Ben. Tud. II. p. 399. Ishak Khelo ap. Carmoly, p. 238, and Yichus Ha-Aboth, ibid. p. 441. Mejr-ed-din, II. p. 132, mentions the Cave as an object of veneration to the Moslems, but assigns no reason. It was in their custody in the time of Quaresmius, and the Christians could only visit it by stealth. Elucid. T. S. II. p. 308. See also Adrichomius Theat. T. S. Jerusalem, No. 203, p. 172.

[2] Probably the ruined Church mentioned by Radzivil as the "Viri Galilæi;" and the cave mentioned by Eusebius as the place where our Lord delivered his prophecy of the end. See above, p. 442, note 1, and for Radzivil, p. 127, note 4, where for "*directi*" read "*diruti* templi." The Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D. *c.* 333, who says nothing

tain-side is pointed out the spot where our Saviour taught the disciples the Lord's Prayer, and another where He wept over the City, and foretold its destruction; and the pilgrim who will betake himself to that spot alone, with this thought in his heart, the Bible in his hand, and with a *true* view of the desolations of Jerusalem before his eyes, and there peruse the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah, or the 79th and 80th Psalms, or the Discourses of our Blessed Lord here referred to, will perchance find that the designation of these localities, however fanciful, is not without its use. Between this spot and the valley is the Jewish burial-ground, the appearance of which will furnish a comment on the words, "they shall bury in Tophet till there be no place[3];" the graves being here so close together that the stone slabs which cover them are almost joined one to another, so as to form a pavement of considerable dimensions.

The Tombs of the Prophets (Kubûr el-Umbia) lie within a few hundred yards of the southern summit of Mount Olivet, on which are to be found large cisterns, and shafts of pillars. The Tombs in question have baffled the ingenuity of the antiquary, for their arrangement is very different from that of

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of the Ascension, declares expressly that the Basilica was built at the place where our Lord taught his disciples before His Passion. "Inde ascendis in montem Oliveti, ubi Dominus ante Passionem Apostolos docuit. Ibi facta est Basilica jussu Constantini." Wesseling, p. 595. Eusebius, we have seen, l. c. connects the Cave of the Prophecy with the Place of the Ascension, and so in his account of the Church there built by Constantine, Vita Con. III. xii., and Laudes, sect. ix. The places are not too far apart to have been comprehended within the precincts of one Church.

[3] Jerem. xix. 11. Not that this is Tophet.

other rock-graves about Jerusalem[1]. Through a long, descending gallery, first serpentine, then direct, and widening as you advance, one passes into a circular hall, rising into a conical dome, about 24 feet in diameter. From this hall run three passages, communicating with two semicircular galleries, concentric with the hall, the outer one of which contains, in its back wall, numerous niches for the corpses, radiating towards the central hall. No inscriptions or remains of any kind have been discovered to elucidate the mysteries of these mansions for the dead[2]; but the fanciful theory which would connect them with the idolatrous sacrifices of Baal, requires more support than can be derived from the furnace-like form of the vault in the circular hall.

Having reached the brook Kedron, and proceeding down the left of its dry bed, the first objects that attract attention are four sepulchral excavations in the precipitous rock, which here skirts the Brook, below the south-east angle of the Haram, but on the opposite side of the valley[3]. Two of them consist of chambers cut in the rock, the others are monoliths cut out from the rock, a passage being left around them. The columns and ornaments sculptured on the latter shew a mixture of Doric, Ionic, and perhaps Egyptian, architecture; while

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[1] See a full notice and good Plan of these Catacombs, in Lord Nugent's Lands Classical and Sacred, Vol. II. p. 73, &c. 2nd ed.; Dr Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 42; Herr Krafft, Topographie, &c. p. 202. Earlier notices may be seen in Quaresmius, II. p. 303. Pococke (Description of the East, II. 29,) says the further end was called the Labyrinth, and seems to have been a quarry.

[2] Uri of Biel (A.D. 1564) connects them with Haggai the prophet. Hottinger's Cippi Heb. p. 45. Carmoly, p. 441. But Gerson (1561) places the Sepulchre of Haggai, &c. on the North of the city. Carmoly, p. 387.

[3] See a minute description in Bib. Res. I. 513, &c.

G. & N. Tchernatzoff, del. T. Picken, lith.

TOMBS IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

Day & Son, Lith^rs to the Queen.

one of the former, which is called the Cave of S. James, is a more pure specimen of the Doric order. This excavation occupies a middle place between the monolithic monuments; it consists of an ante-chamber, with two columns in the front, giving entrance to the sepulchral vault, which is reported to have afforded a hiding-place to the Apostle S. James, during the period that intervened between the betrayal and resurrection of our Lord[1]. The monument to the South is now commonly marked as the Tomb of Zachariah, that to the North as the Pillar or Tomb of Absalom. The entrance to the fourth—the Tomb of Jehoshaphat—is from the passage which surrounds the last-named monument. It now only exhibits a handsome pediment, above the surface of the ground.

Various are the conjectures as to the date of these monuments, and conflicting the traditions as to whom they are to be assigned[2]. I was struck, at the first sight of them, by their resemblance to some of the excavations in Wadi Mûsa, as represented in illustrations; and the fact of this resemblance is confirmed by travellers who have examined both[3]. But in the uncertainty that at present exists as to the date of the latter, this does not throw much light upon the subject. I have no theory to propose, but I should be glad, if it were in

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[1] Quaresmius, Lib. IV. capp. x, xi. Perig. vii. Tome II. p. 258, &c. S. Gregory of Tours, de Gloria Mart. Lib. I. cap. xxvii. says that S. James was buried on Mount Olivet in a monument which he had formed, and wherein he had buried Zachariah and Simeon.

[2] These will be more fully given in the Memoir accompanying the Plan.

[3] Dr Robinson remarks this; and his testimony has been confirmed to me by many travellers. He attempts to connect them by an ingenious hypothesis. Compare Dr Schultz, p. 41. Mr Bartlett is disposed to consider these at Jerusalem "as far more ancient." Walks, p. 123.

any way possible to connect one of these monuments with him whose name it bears.

In the sacred narrative of the death of the favourite, but rebellious son of David, we read: "Now Absalom in his life-time had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the king's dale: for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance; and he called the pillar after his own name; and it is called unto this day, Absalom's Place[1]." The king's dale has been identified with that part of the Valley of Jeshoshaphat near which the king's gardens were situated, not without sufficient warrant. It is probable that a monument erected with the design here mentioned would be constructed in the most substantial manner, to render it as durable as possible; and it would appear that this pillar was in existence when Josephus wrote his Antiquities; for in his account of the same event he speaks of it as "a pillar of marble in the king's dale, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem[2];" language which infers a definite knowledge of the spot. Whether Absalom intended it as a sepulchral monument, is not clear. The Jews, who from the time of Benjamin of Tudela[3]

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[1] 2 Samuel xviii. 18. It is a curious name יַד אַבְשָׁלוֹם lit. "the hand of Absalom," as Josephus and the LXX. translate it. יָד seems to be used in the same sense, *i.e.* for a monument, in 1 Sam. xv. 12, and Isaiah lvi. 5, where it is joined with שֵׁם "because, perhaps, in such monuments the *name* was usually written. The Phœnician monuments, it should seem, had sculptured on them the form of a hand raised up on an arm, and on this the inscription was engraven." Lee's Lexicon, sub voce יָד, where he refers to authorities. Dr Mill has ingeniously suggested that יָד may be equivalent to وادى *Wadi Abshalom.*

[2] Ant. VII. x. 3. The original passage runs thus: Ἔστηκε δ' Ἀβεσάλωμος ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῇ βασιλικῇ στήλην λίθου μαρμαρίνου δύο σταδίους ἀπέχουσαν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἣν προσηγόρευσεν ἰδίαν χεῖρα.

[3] Travels, pp. 36, 37. Edit. Asher. Comp. Uri of Biel. Hottinger, p. 47. Carmoly, p. 441.

at least, have regarded this monument as the Pillar of Absalom, have been in the habit, from time immemorial, of casting a stone and spitting as they pass by it, in order to shew their horror at the rebellious conduct of this unnatural son. If I may not be permitted to believe that the orders of architecture[4] exhibited on this monument may possibly have been known in the East ages before they were introduced into Greece, may I be allowed to submit whether the character and ornament of this mass of rock may not have been altered at a later period, in conformity to the taste of the time? and whether it may not originally have formed the pedestal of Absalom's Pillar?

An incident connected with the excavated Tomb of Jehoshaphat, which I cannot connect with that king[5], may close the notice of these remarkable antiquities. An intelligent member of the United Chaldean Church, who had been educated in the Propaganda at Rome, visited Jerusalem, on his return to his native country as a missionary of that Society, in the winter of 1842–3. In exploring the inner chamber of this Tomb he lighted upon a Hebrew roll containing the Pentateuch. It was very beautifully written on skins, and reminded me much of the Synagogue Roll, found among the Jews of Cochin, and presented by Dr Buchanan to the Cambridge University Library. The MS. had been injured by damp, which may have had the effect of reducing the parchment to its original state of leather, as it had disunited the various skins. I only saw some damaged

[4] Described by Professor Willis above, pp. 157—160. See also Plates 5 and 6 for drawings and details by Mr Scoles.

[5] Because he "was buried with his fathers, in the city of David his father." 1 Kings xxii. 50, and 2 Chron. xxi. 1.

portions, which were in every respect similar to the Cochin MS., nor did the skins appear to have been at all prepared. It was taken by the Superior of the Latin Convent, who intended, I believe, to present it to the Vatican. The discovery produced a considerable sensation among the Franks in Jerusalem; but the general opinion of those best skilled in the practices of the Jews did not attribute much importance to it, or ascribe a very high antiquity to the manuscript. It appears that the rolls used in the synagogues are required to be so perfect, that the most minute error completely vitiates the whole volume. On the detection of such imperfection, or on its becoming unfit for further use through age or accident, the MS. is replaced by a perfect copy, and the condemned roll is reserved to be buried with one of the rabbies. The supposition therefore was, that the Jews, whose burying-place is immediately above this ancient tomb, had deposited a body in this chamber, with this book of the law; but as to the date of the transaction nothing could be determined with any degree of certainty.

Between these excavations and the bed of the Kedron is another pavement formed by Jewish gravestones of modern date, called the "House of the Living[1]."

At the Pillar of Absalom an arch is thrown across the bed of the Kedron, from which a pathway leads up the almost precipitous side of the mountain to the south-east angle of the Haram. By following the brook 1540 feet, we are brought to the "Fountain of the

[1] Uri of Biel. ll. cc. בית החיים לישראל, equivalent to the Christian appellation Cœmetery. See Dr Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 41.

Virgin," in the contracted part of the valley, on the right-hand side. This fountain will introduce the very interesting and difficult subject of the waters of Jerusalem, which, I fear, must prove a mystery to antiquaries, until it is permitted to carry on excavations at Jerusalem on a very extensive scale.

But before I enter on this discussion, I must notice the mouth of an ancient sewer which opens in the hill-side, above the Fountain of the Virgin[2]. This subterranean passage is constructed of massive stones, and is doubtless the canal mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, "near which the sacrifices were slaughtered in ancient times," and upon the walls of which the Jews used to inscribe their names[3]. I have no doubt that it is the termination of the drain of the Great Altar, whose commencement we found at the cesspool under the Noble Cave in the Sakhrah[4]. It was possibly by this sewer that Omar was led to the sacred Rock[5]; as it was through this passage that the *fellahîn* effected their entrance into the city in the time of Ibrahim Pasha's occupation of it, and emerged near the western wall of the Haram. To return now to the Waters.

There is a singular agreement among all authors, sacred and profane, on this fact, that the Holy City had an abundance of water within its walls, while the neighbourhood was scantily supplied, or rather altogether arid[6]; and it has been truly remarked, that

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[2] See Dr Schultz's Jerusalem, l. c.

[3] Asher's Ed. Vol. I. pp. 36, 2, and p. 71 of the Translation.

[4] See above, pp. 341, 2.

[5] But it is uncertain whether it was an aqueduct or sewer that he traversed. See above, pp. 376, 7. Comp. Vol. I. pp. 316, 317.

[6] So Strabo, ἐντὸς μὲν ἔυὕδρων, ἐκτὸς δὲ παντελῶς διψηρόν. XVI. p. 723. Again, αὐτὸ μὲν ἔυὕδρον, τὴν δὲ κύκλῳ χώραν ἔχον λυπρὰν καὶ ἄυυδρον. Other testimonies will be found below, and in the accounts of the various sieges in the former Part.

while the besiegers have frequently been reduced to the last extremity by drought, there is no instance on record of the besieged having been distressed by thirst[1], although they have many times suffered most severely from famine. This appears at first sight paradoxical; for to judge from the observations of later travellers, one would imagine that the very contrary must have been the case. For what is the fact? Only two fountains have been noticed, until very lately, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and both these *without the walls*, while it is plain that the aqueduct from the Pools of Solomon could never have served the besieged, as it must always have been visible where it crossed the Valley of Hinnom, and would probably be cut off by the citizens at some distance from the walls, lest it should be made available to the enemy during the siege.

But the subject well deserves a particular investigation. And I proceed to notice the fountains, pools, and aqueducts of Jerusalem, in the hope that I may throw some little light on this obscure and perplexing question.

To begin with the Fountain of Siloam. Its position has been already described; but its character demands a fuller notice. The descent to the spring is one of the most picturesque *pieces* about Jerusalem. It is effected by a flight of steps, much worn by the natives, cut

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[1] See Robinson's Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 479, and Raumer's Palestine, p. 329, 2nd Ed. The observations of both on the siege by Titus are very just; and it is a most remarkable case, considering how crowded the city then was. The latter writer notices, that the language of Josephus on the abundance of water with which the Romans were supplied from Siloam during the siege, was probably only a boast to deceive the Jews; (see J. W. v. ix. 4.) as Dio says the legions suffered dreadfully from thirst, and had to bring bad water from a great distance. Dionis Hist. Rom. Lib. LXVII. cap. iv.

through the rock, which is wildly irregular. There are twenty-six steps, making the depth about 25 feet, for the steps are deep. Here is a cave in the rock, of no great dimensions, roughly hewn, into which the water flows from beneath the lowest step. Many earlier writers who mention this fountain, agree in witnessing to its irregular flow[2], though they differ much as to the stated periods; a variation which may be readily explained by the fact, that the intervals vary according to the season, and other accidental causes, which have not yet been determined. The fact itself is indisputable, and is not one of the least mysterious circumstances connected with this extraordinary fountain. The taste of the water is very peculiar, and never to be mistaken when once known—an important circumstance, which the reader is requested to bear in mind. It is scarcely "brackish;" it is best described by an old writer as "*insipid*[3];" but the villagers of Siloam drink thereof and their flocks, and do not find it unwholesome, but

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[2] It does not seem necessary to repeat the testimonies which have been lately given. The curious reader may consult Dr Robinson's Bib. Res. Vol. I. pp. 493—508.

[3] William of Tyre, viii. 4, "nec sapidas nec perpetuas habet aquas." If the waters have undergone no change, tastes must strangely differ. Josephus pronounces the water "*sweet*" (γλυκεῖαν), J. W. v. iv. 1; one of the historians of the Crusades as "*bitter*" ("gustu amarus"), Gesta Dei per Francos. 573; another, "*tasteless*," "non sapidas;" and a modern writer, "*brackish*." Bib. Res. l. c. Sweet—bitter—tasteless—brackish! A traveller in the 17th century calls it sweet; and gives, in addition, an illustration, which will convey a good idea of the taste. He says, "if you were to drink it blindfold, you would think it was nothing else than *milk and water*." Journey to Jerusalem in 1669, London, 1672. Nor is the variation less striking as to the quantity, than as to the quality of the water. Josephus states it to be *abundant* (πηγὴν πολλὴν), the writers of the middle ages *small* (fons modicus, &c.) W. T. l. c. It should be observed, that Dr Robinson, pp. 507, 8, proposes to make *this* "the Pool of Bethesda," and the irregular flow, "the troubling of the waters by the angel."

the contrary. From the chamber there is a channel cut in a serpentine course, 1750 feet long[1], to convey the water to the Pool of Siloam, which will next demand attention. To reach it we still follow the bed of the Kedron, and pass round the point of Ophel, a distance of 1355 feet. The path leads under the village of Siloam, hanging on the steep side of the Mount of Offence, chiefly composed of chambers excavated in the rock, once the receptacles of the dead, now the abodes of the villagers and their cattle. Below, in the expanding bed of the valley, is a verdant spot, refreshing to the eye during the heat of summer, while all around is parched and dun. These are the gardens of the villagers, cultivated in terraces composed of soil which has either been washed down by the rains, or brought from a distance, and watered from the pool, to which we must now proceed. Turning to the right, round a sharp angle of rock, we enter the mouth of the valley of the Tyropœon, and passing under the precipitous rock, which has a small channel for the water cut in its base, we soon arrive at the Pool of Siloam.

Here there is a descent through a chasm in the rock to a small basin at the end of the channel by which all the water not drawn off at the Fountain is conveyed to this point. The present Pool is a small tank[2] just without the fissure, of an oblong form, remarkable for nothing but the shafts of six marble columns projecting from its sides, probably the remains of a Church[3];

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[1] The direct distance is not 1000 feet.

[2] Dr Robinson gives it 53 feet long, 18 feet broad, and 19 deep. Bib. Res. I. p. 497; where, and at pp. 341, 2, will be found a most minute description.

[3] Benjamin of Tud. calls it "a large building erected in the times of our forefathers," p. 37. 1. and 71. Uri of Biel connects it with the Mint of Solomon (Hottinger, Cip. Heb. p. 49. Carmoly,

the water is confined in this or in the rocky basin, and drawn off, as occasion requires, to irrigate the gardens beneath.

There is every appearance of there having existed formerly a much larger reservoir than the present, immediately to the East of it, confined at the lower end by a substantial dam of masonry, now forming a dry bridge, at the South end of which is the ancient tree said to mark the spot of Isaiah's martyrdom. This larger hollow is now filled with soil and cultivated; but earlier travellers[4] confirm the opinion which its appearance indicates, and notice a second Pool in this spot.

The next fountain which I shall mention is one within the city, near the area of the Great Mosk, known only by report until very lately, when an enterprising traveller undertook to explore it; and the company to whom he related his adventure in the small shed built over the mouth of the well by which he effected his perilous descent, will not easily forget the thrilling sensations which his narration produced.

This fountain now supplies the Bath of Healing (Hammam es-Shefa,) which is entered from the ruined Cotton Mart. The present mouth of the well is on the roof of the buildings attached to the bath, and is found to be about 20 feet above the level of the street. Dr Robinson had in vain sought permission to explore this well, but the reports which he had heard of it[5] excited the curiosity of a countryman of his who was at Jerusalem

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p. 442,) Felix Fabri, with a Monastery, I. 420. The building was still standing, but converted into a mosk, in Sandys' time, (1611). Travels, p. 147.

[4] See Bib. Res. I. 498. Comp. Felix Fabri. I. p. 417. Sandys speaks of it as "containing not above half an acre of ground, now dry in the bottom," p. 146.

[5] Bib. Res. I. 508, &c.

in the winter of 1841--2, and he resolved at all events to descend[1]. Having endeavoured, without success, to induce the keeper of the bath to aid him in the undertaking, he prevailed on two peasants of a neighbouring village to assist him. This was in the month of January. At the dead of night, attended only by a servant-lad, and furnished with candles and matches, a measuring-rule moreover, and a compass, forth he sallied, equipped as for an aquatic excursion. Arrived at the well's mouth, he tied a cord round his body, and was lowered through the aperture by these *fellâhs*, who had kept their appointment, but would, without doubt, have let the rope slip, and left their employer to his fate on the slightest alarm. However, he survived to tell the tale, an outline of which shall here be given.

The entrance to the well is not quite two feet square, but a few feet lower down it expands and becomes about 12 feet square, and is apparently hewn in the rock. His first adventure in this aërial journey was meeting the leathern bucket which had been tied at the other end of the rope as a counterpoise. It was "streaming at a dozen apertures, and for the rest of the way he was under a cold shower-bath, and could with difficulty keep his light without the circle of it." The well was $82\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and the water about $4\frac{1}{2}$. On arriving at the bottom, the vibrations of the rope, before he could get a footing, extinguished his light, and he was left in total darkness. He had observed

[1] This was Mr Wolcott, an American Congregational Missionary at Beirout, who has been already quoted. The narrative was published in America, in 1842, in Part I. of the Biblio. Sacra, p. 24, &c. With this I refresh my memory of the most graphic description of the adventurer, at the well's mouth, which made me shudder.

in his descent four arched recesses in the rock facing one another, and lower down, six feet above the water, a door-way leading into an arched chamber, which he contrived to reach, and here he refitted for his further voyage. The matches were dry, and other candles soon illuminated the darkness. The excavated chamber in which he found himself was only 3 or 4 feet in height, 15 long by 10 broad, and did not seem to be constructed with any reference to the water. Opposite to this chamber he discovered a passage which formed the water-channel. He had taken the precaution of bringing with him an india-rubber life preserver, which he found useful in his further explorations. He now descended into the water, and entering the passage, soon passed another excavation in the rock, of which he could make nothing. The passage beyond this was 2 or 3 feet wide, and about 5 feet high, covered with stones laid transversely, but very irregularly; in some places were fragments of polished marble shafts, and in one place the end of a granite column had sunk obliquely into the passage. The bottom of the channel was not flat, but grooved; the passage not straight, though its general course was direct; and "the cutting so uneven as to suggest the thought that advantage might have been taken of a natural seam or fissure in the rock." Having followed this passage 80 feet, he was stopped by a basin or well of unknown depth, on the opposite side of which the wall shut down to the water, and presented another obstacle, even could the water have been passed. Unhappily he was obliged to return without any more satisfactory result. His exit is amusingly characteristic of cool intrepidity. He had barely breathing room or space for his candle between

the surface of the water and the roof of the passage; and one would think must have felt rather uncomfortable in such a position; but he first measured the passage with his rule, then illuminated it with his spare candles, and having taken a last fond look, left them burning there, and returned to the well to prepare for his ascent. The rope was still there, and the natives above. The signal was given, and he again found himself swinging in mid-air, and in darkness, the candle which he had reserved having been extinguished as before. "His descent had been uniform, but he was necessarily drawn up at intervals, which caused a greater vibration. He spun around the dark vault, striking against one side and another," and was not sorry to find himself again "beneath the open heaven." It is deeply to be regretted that this daring exploit was not attended with better success. Its results are very unsatisfactory to Mr Wolcott himself. He does not imagine that this excavation was originally a well: the artificial recesses and chambers in the rock he thinks are against it. It more nearly resembles some of the sepulchral excavations without the city. The direction of the passage he cannot positively determine, as he had injured his compass in the descent. He thinks it runs eastward in the direction of the Haram; but if so, it stops short of the enclosure 44 feet[1]. The passage may extend further, the water descending into a lower gallery; if so, it could only be explored when the water is very low. Two English travellers were anxious to attempt this at the end of a dry summer, but no one

[1] The distance of the well from the wall of the Haram was found to be 124 feet, and he penetrated underground only 80.

could be prevailed on to aid the undertaking, and it was abandoned. At that time it was necessary for a man to descend to the well, in order to bring the water from a distance to supply the bath, as the floor of the chamber was dry. A close cross-examination of this man elicited that the water proceeded from an immense reservoir beneath the Haram, but it did not appear that he had penetrated so far. It must be remarked that the water is identical in taste with that of Siloam.

The next fountain I have not seen noticed, and, so far as I know, its existence has not been hitherto known out of Jerusalem. I had heard of a constant and abundant well of water within the precincts of the Church of the Flagellation, close to the Seraiyah, which supplies the Franciscan Monastery during the dryest summer. I visited it on March 13th and 14th, 1843, and obtained the following additional particulars from the monk who had the charge of the premises. The Church is very ancient, but had fallen into ruin, until the Franciscans, about a year and a half before my visit, had procured a firman for its restoration[2]. In the course of the repairs an immense quantity of water was required, and the well in question was exhausted, and cleaned out. In two days it was full again, although it was towards the end of the dry season, before any rain had fallen. When I saw the well there were in it between

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[2] See Maundrell, under date April 8. He states that it had been "used as a stable by the son of a certain Bassa of Jerusalem." When he was there, 1696, it was a weaver's shop. In confirmation of the former part, it may be noticed that Anselm (*circ.* 1509) says of this church, "De illa Capella fecerunt (Sarrauni) stabulum jumentorum." Descrip. Terr. Sanc. apud Canis. Thes. IV. p. 792.

eight and nine feet of water, which completely filled a cavity in the rock, and came up into its mouth, which was also bored through the rock. The water was almost within arm's reach of the opening, and remarkably clear. The cavity I learnt extends some distance East and West; but as I was disappointed in seeing the man who had been employed to cleanse it, I could not ascertain its nature so exactly as I wished. I tasted the water—it was the water of Siloam.

Thus then we have at these three different points three fountains, without any apparent connexion one with another, all supplied with this peculiar water, utterly unlike any I remember to have tasted in that neighbourhood or elsewhere. I am strongly disposed to conclude, from this fact, that there must be a communication, but *how* it is very difficult to determine.

The existence of immense reservoirs under the temple-area, is a theory which still requires ocular proof, but is so supported by ancient tradition, that I think it cannot reasonably be doubted. Among the other works of Simon the Just, the son of Onias, about the Temple at Jerusalem, in the reign of Ptolemy Soter of Egypt, we read, "In his days the cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea, was *covered with plates of brass*[1]." During the reign of Soter's successor, Philadelphus, Jerusalem was visited by Aristeas, who has left us a full account of this cistern, or rather series of cisterns, beneath the sacred precincts; and although the account may appear to border somewhat on the fabulous, yet, making considerable allowance for

[1] Ecclus. L. 3. ἠλαττώθη ἀποδοχεῖον ὑδάτων, χαλκὸς ὡσεὶ θαλάσσης | τὸ περίμετρον· the sense of which is very obscure.

hyperbole both in this and the former passage, it may be admitted as evidence to the existence of large reservoirs in the neighbourhood of the Temple; and there is one very singular coincidence, manifestly undesigned, between this and the fore-cited passage, which is worthy of remark[2]. He states that "a powerful natural spring gushes out copiously and unceasingly from within, and is received into subterranean reservoirs, the extent of which is surprizing and beyond description, to the circumference of five stadia about the Temple. They are connected by numberless pipes, through which the waters flow from one to another. There are above frequent hidden apertures to these depths, known only to those employed at the sacrifices, through which the water, gushing out with force, washes off all the blood of the numerous victims. The reservoirs *have their floors and sides cased with lead*, and are covered over with a quantity of earth." It is highly probable that by the *lead* of Aristeas is intended the *brass*, with which, according to the Son of Sirach, Onias had cased the "cistern, which was in compass as the sea;" a work which would be fresh in the memory of the Jews at the period of his visit. And there is an incidental remark in this

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[2] Ὕδατος δὲ ἀνέκλειπτός ἐστι σύστασις, ὡς ἂν καὶ πηγῆς ἔσωθεν πολυῤῥύτου φυσικῶς ἐπιῤῥεούσης· ἔτι δὲ θαυμασίων καὶ ἀδιηγήτων ὑποδοχείων ὑπαρχόντων ὑπὸ γῆν, καθὼς ἀπέφαινον, πέντε σταδίων κυκλόθεν τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν καταβολῆς. καὶ ἐκ τούτων σύριγγας ἀναρίθμους, καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος ἑαυταῖς συναπτόντων τῶν ῥευμάτων. Καὶ πάντα ταῦτα μεμολυβδῶσθαι κατ' ἐδάφους καὶ τῶν τοίχων ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κεχύσθαι πολύ τι πλῆθος κονίας, ἕως ἐνεργῶς γεγενημένων ἁπάντων· εἶναι δὲ πυκνὰ τὰ στόματα πρὸς τὴν βάσιν, ἀοράτως ἔχοντα τοῖς πᾶσι, πλὴν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐστι λειτουργία. Aristeas de Leg. Div. Translat. p. 112. Havercamp's Joseph. cited by Eusebius, loc. inf. cit.

For the Jewish traditions see Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, xxiii. and elsewhere; of which more will be said below.

curious passage that may serve to explain the silence of Josephus, which is certainly a perplexing difficulty. The secret of these extraordinary water-works, it appears, was known only to the officiating priests. It may have been a point of religion with the Jews to maintain reserve on this subject, especially in the circumstances under which Josephus was writing. The descriptions of Timochares, of the Surveyor of Syria, and of Philo, all cited by Eusebius[1], speaking of copious streams watering the city and gardens, and of enormous cisterns and canals, strikingly confirm the account of Aristeas, though they do not connect the fountain immediately with the Temple. The traditional notices of the Waters of the Temple preserved in the Mishna are very numerous, but not so clear as could be desired. We collect from them that there were baths for the purifications of the priests, both within and without the holy place, constantly supplied with running streams of water from the fountain of Etam, of which we shall hear more presently.

The High-priest's bath within the sacred precinct was situated on the roof of the house of Happarvah[2],

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[1] Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. capp. xxxv—xxxvii. Timochares is cited below, p. 478 note 2. The Surveyor witnesses, ὑπάρχειν πηγὴν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, ὕδωρ δαψιλὲς ἀναβλύζουσαν. Philo adds a peculiarity, ταύτην τὴν κρήνην ἐν μὲν τῷ χειμῶνι ξηραίνεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ θέρει πληροῦσθαι. The verses are taken from a lost work of his on Jerusalem. The text is, I fear, hopelessly corrupt.

Νηχόμενος δ' ἐφύπερθε τὸ θαμβηέστατον ἄλλο
Δέρκηθρον σὺν ἀοιδᾷ, μεγιστούχοιο λοετροῖς
Ῥεύματος ἐμπίπλησι βαθὺν ῥόον ἐξανιείσης.
. . . . . .
Ῥεῦμα γὰρ ὑψιφάεννον, ἐν ὑετίοις νιφετοῖσιν
Ιέμενον, πολυγηθὲς, ὑπὲρ πύργοισιν ὄροισι
Στρωφᾶται, καὶ ξηρὰ πέδῳ κεκονιμένα, κρήνης
Τηλεφαῆ δείκνυσιν ὑπέρτατα θάμβεα λαῶν.

Then of the High Priest's fountain and aqueduct he writes,

Αἰπὺ δ' ἄρ ἐκπτύουσι διὰ χθονὸς ὑδροχόοισι
Σωλῆνες. κ. λ.—

Ed Gaisford, Tom. II. p. 434.

[2] Yoma (in Mishna) cap. iii. sect. 3, Tom. II. p. 218. על בית הפרוה. It was here that the High-priest performed his five ablutions on the day of Expiation.

where the skins of the victims were salted. It was on the North of the Temple, and adjoining to it was the bath-house where the entrails of the victims were washed[3]. But the common bath for the priests[4], in ordinary use, was on the South of the Temple, between the wood-house and the Chamber Gazith, where the great Sanhedrim sat, and hard by the Gate which was called the Water Gate[5]. In this Chamber was a draw-well by which water was supplied to the whole area[6] from a large reservoir. This reservoir was fed by an aqueduct from the fountain of Etam, which skirted the South side of the Temple, where was the place of the "Coming down of the Waters[7]." Besides these, there seems to have been another bath on the North, near the Gate Tedi, connected with the Warm Chamber[8], by a narrow subterranean passage which passed under the Palace[9], through which the priests who had contracted any defilement might pass out unobserved: and lamps on either side illuminated the darkness[10].

That the idea of such a fountain was prevalent

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[3] Middoth, v. 2. Tom. v. p. 376.

[4] לשכת הגולה sect. 3. p. 377.

[5] Compare I. sect. 4. p. 237.

[6] לשכת הגולה שם היה בור קבוע והגלגל נתון עליו ומשם מספיקים מים לכל העזרה. L. c. p. 378.

[7] Vide Middoth; and see Lightfoot's Prospect, &c. chap. xii. Tom. IX. p. 263, and chaps. xxiii—xxiv. p. 346. The brazen sea was also supplied from this fountain. Vid. Notat. L'Empreur, &c. in Midd. III. 6. p. 360.

[8] For the situation &c. of the בית המוקד on the North of the Temple, see Middoth I. 5, 6, pp. 328–9. Comp. Tamid. III. 3. p. 293.

[9] Surenhusius translates הבירה "*sanctuarium*," but this would be inconsistent with the tradition of R. Eleazar, who mentions Tedi, probably the gate. (See above, p. 352. n. 2.) Middoth. I. 9, p. 335. Compare Tamid. Ibid. p. 284.

[10] This reminds one irresistibly of Mr. Wolcott's illuminated passage, as cited above, p. 460. I wish I could believe them identical, and his excavated chamber to be the Priests' Bath.

among the Romans, is evident from the language of Tacitus in his account of the siege by Titus[1]. His description proves that they were aware that the city was not entirely dependent on the heavens, but was furnished with a large natural spring and artificial reservoirs for retaining its water. In conformity with this, we learn from Josephus, that the Temple was so abundantly supplied, that notwithstanding the multitudes that had been shut up within its precincts, first during the civil commotions, and afterwards during the siege, yet the Romans, on their occupation thereof, still found it unexhausted, and would not grudge a draught to the Jews who had escaped[2]. Now we have a testimony of like import from the Bourdeaux Pilgrim[3], and another which serves to connect the tradition of the Jewish Temple with that of the Mosk of Omar. It belongs to the period of the desolation of the former; indeed, to the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild it[4]. The story may have been embellished, but the outline is probably correct. It runs thus. In preparing the foundations for the building, a stone of the lowest course was displaced, which discovered the entrance to a cavern hollowed in the rock; a labourer was lowered into it by a cord, and found water half way up his thigh; on feeling about with his hands, he discovered on a

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[1] "Fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terra montes; et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus." Hist. v. xii.

[2] J. W. VI. vi. 1.

[3] "Sunt in Hierusalem piscinæ magnæ duæ ad latus Templi, id est una ad dexteram, alia ad sinistram quas Salomon fecit;" and again a little below: "Sunt ibi et excepturia magna aquæ subterraneæ et piscinæ magno opere ædificatæ, et in æde ipsa ubi Templum fuit, quod Salomon ædificavit." Itin. Hieros. p. 152. Besides these, he mentions the two within the city. See below, p. 483, n. 6.

[4] Philostorgius apud Photium, VII. xiv.

column, rising some way above the water, a book wrapped in a cloth, which proved to be the Gospel of St John. He does not appear to have explored further.

The frequent religious ablutions of the Moslems demand a large supply of water in the neighbourhood of their Mosks, and the numerous handsome fountains of the best ages of Saracenic architecture, not only within the sacred enclosure, but in the neighbouring streets of the city, all which are now dry, still bear witness to the fact, that during their occupation there was an abundance of water in Jerusalem. Again, when the Crusaders, who had suffered so dreadfully from thirst during the siege, had taken the city, they found within the precincts of the Mosk a very copious supply of water[5], although an infinite number of men and cattle had been shut up in the city; which cattle we learn were brought to the Mosk to be watered[6]; and we further read of large cisterns beneath and about the area, supplied in part with rain-water it is true, but no doubt mainly dependent on the perpetual fountains of which we have read above[7]. In addition to this chain of evidence, we have at the present day a local tradition extending back it is impossible to say how far,

[5] "Reperiebantur et *aquæ*, cujus maximam in obsidione passi fuerant penuriam, *ingentes copiæ*." William of Tyre, VIII. xxiv. p. 761.

[6] Albert. Aquen. Hist. Hierosol. VI. xxii. Gesta Franc. p. 280.

[7] So William of Tyre, VIII. iv. 749. "Qui autem intus erant præter aquarum pluvialium, quam habebant, uberitatem maximam, fontes etiam a partibus deductos exterioribus et aqueductis invectos, in piscinas duas maximæ quantitatis quæ circa Templi ambitum exterius tamen sed infra urbem continentur recipiebant, quarum altera usque hodie probatica piscina reputatur," &c. Albert of Aix l. c. speaks of "cisternam regiam, quæ ante fores ejusdem Palatii, in modum lacus amplitudinem et magnitudinem cavatione continet," &c. This he says was covered over; it contained rain-water, and many fugitives were drowned in it.

describing these cisterns in language which might appear to be borrowed from the book of Ecclesiasticus, or from the narrative of Aristeas above cited, but which in the mouths of Moslems reminds one rather of the Arabian Nights. The man in the employment of the bath has been already quoted; we find another at the Fountain of the Virgin, declaring that *this* water also comes down from the fountain beneath the Mosk[1]; and these individuals do but represent the current opinion of the natives.

All accounts of the Haram speak of a large number of enormous reservoirs beneath the area; more than sufficient to collect and preserve the rain-water: and, besides these, we read[2] of fountains and wells. The excavated chamber, called the Noble Cave, in the Sakhrah, has been already noticed, "in the centre of whose rocky pavement is a circular slab of marble, which being struck returns a hollow sound, clearly shewing that there is a well or excavation beneath;" and this has been identified with the cesspool of the Jewish Altar, the entrance to the sewer that still debouches into the Kedron, above the Fountain of the Virgin. But besides this cavity, there is in the western porch of the Mosk a well, which Mr Catherwood conjectures may communicate with the fountain from which the bath is supplied[3]. This may possibly be the reservoir of which Dr Robinson heard at Siloam, and of which the man at the Healing Bath testified; perhaps identical with the Cavern mentioned by Philostorgius in connexion with the proceedings of Julian. Again;

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[1] Bib. Res. I. 507.

[2] Mr. Catherwood, in Walks, &c. p. 167.

[3] Walks, 166, note.

a handsome fountain of white marble stands about the middle of the raised walk that leads from the platform to El-Aksa, apparently over the royal cistern mentioned by Albert of Aix[4]; and within the Mosk El-Aksa is a deep well, (connected by Mohammedan traditions with mysterious tales of Paradise,) apparently opening into a subterranean cistern, of large extent, for there is another opening to it at some distance[5]. All these appearances serve to corroborate the statements just noticed, which would further seem to derive a strong and striking confirmation from the language of Holy Scripture itself, where the Prophet Ezekiel in his allegorical vision was shewn a stream of water issuing forth from under the threshold of the Temple, which is apparently alluded to by the prophet Zechariah, and in the Revelation of S. John[6].

From all these testimonies I think we are forced to conclude there is under the Haram an abundant fountain of living water; but whether the main spring is there, it is more difficult to determine. I am disposed to believe that it is not, but that the water is brought to the reservoirs by an aqueduct, the tradition of which was early lost, as the effects within the Temple were exactly such as if the fountain-head had been there. Let us now endeavour to find some traces of the aqueduct. I presume then that the water in the well near the Haram has escaped from this aqueduct—that the fountain near the Church of the Flagellation may be, if not

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[4] See page 467, note 7. The fountain is called "the Orange Fountain."

[5] Namely from a large magazine called the Joiners', a store-house on the South-east of the Mosk el-Aksa. See Mejr-ed-din, Tome II. p. 85.

[6] Ezek. xlvii. 1—11; Zech. xiii. 1; xiv. 8; Rev. xxii. 1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Raumer's Palästine, p. 333.

the main channel, yet an offshoot from it, which furnished a supply of water to the fortress Antonia, and its predecessors; for the garrison in the original Acra, though often besieged, and at length reduced by famine, are never said to have been inconvenienced by thirst; and so with Baris and Antonia. It would even appear that we may hear something of this aqueduct still higher up. Among the native traditions of Jerusalem is one to this effect, "that there is a spot near the Damascus Gate, without the city, where, in a still time, by putting the ear near to the ground, the trickling or murmur of a subterranean water-course can be heard[1]." Now the Damascus Gate is at the upper part of the Tyropœon; and two of the fountains which have been mentioned are on the left side of this valley, so that the communication is highly probable. I find too a confirmation of this hypothesis in a fact of which I was not aware when I first propounded it; viz. that the peculiar water of Siloam is actually found outside the Damascus Gate[2], on the right, in a large tank, immediately beneath the northern wall[3], called by the natives the "Cotton Grotto," which they believe to have a

[1] Dr Robinson mentions having heard this common report himself at Jerusalem, which was afterwards confirmed by Mr. Wolcott. Biblioth. Sacra, Part I. 28. There is an extraordinary coincidence between this tradition and the proof given to Aristeas of the truth of the water-story above related; he writes, Πεπεισμένος δὲ καὶ αὐτος τὴν τῶν ὑποδοχείων κατασκυὴν δηλώσω, καθὼς ἐπιστώτην. προήγαγον γὰρ πλέον σταδίων τεσσάρων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ πρός τινα τόπον ἐκέλευσέ τις κατακύψαντα, συνακοῦσαι τοῦ γινομένου ψόφου τῆς ἀπαντήσεως τῶν ὑδάτων· ὥστε συμφανές μοι γεγονέναι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀγγείων, καθῶς δεδήλωται. Aristeas, l. c.

[2] My voucher for this is Herr Krafft. Topographie, p. 131. I may be allowed to borrow one notice from a writer who has borrowed so many from me without acknowledgment.

[3] It is marked 'Quarry' in the Plan. Its entrance and position is well shewn in Mr. Tipping's drawing. Traill's Josephus, p. 193.

communication in one direction with the Haram, and in the other with the Cave of Jeremiah[4], where is another ancient cistern, hereafter to be described, but whether supplied with the same water is not yet ascertained.

Now it would be a matter of considerable interest to discover any early historical notices of a fountain, or aqueduct, or cistern, in this quarter, with which to identify these waters; and I think Scripture will furnish us with both; or, at any rate, with a *conduit* and a *well* or *pool*, with which we may be able to connect a *fountain*.

Josephus mentions the "Serpents' Pool[5]" adjoining the monuments of Herod, which were evidently without the third wall, on the northern quarter of the City; thus the Pool would be without the Damascus Gate, between it and the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where we shall find that the monuments in question were situated[6].

But where can we find an aqueduct to connect this water with the fountains about the Temple? In two of the sacred books we read, that when the three Assyrian captains were sent by Sennacherib against Jerusalem, "they came and stood by the conduit of the Upper Pool, which is in the highway of the Fuller's Field[7]." Again, the position of the Fuller's Field, it is true, is nowhere determined by Scripture, but Josephus will

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[4] See Mejr-ed-din, in Mines d'Orient, II. p. 134. And Dr Schultz's Jerusalem, pp. 36 and 118.

[5] Joseph. J. W. v. iii. 2. Τῶν Ηρώδου μνημείων, ἃ προσεῖχε τῇ τῶν Ὀφέων ἐπικαλουμένῃ κολυμβηθρᾳ.

[6] Compare with the passage last referred to, v. xii. 2, and see Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 535, note 6, in the former part of which Dr R. fixes it to this vicinity. The latter part I do not understand.

[7] 2 Kings xviii. 17, and Isa. xxxvi. 2. Compare Isa. vii. 3.

help us to its situation; at least, he speaks of a Fuller's Monument as a well-known topographical feature, and it seems natural to connect the Fuller's Monument with the Fuller's Field. This was at the corner tower[1], at the North-east angle of the wall of Agrippa, where the Valley of Jehoshaphat bends round from the North to the East; and the Monument was apparently inclosed in this outer wall. This position of the Fuller's Field is further remarkably confirmed by the following observation. It would not be doing violence to the language of Scripture, to imagine that when it is said that the Assyrian host "stood by the conduit of the Upper Pool," this language is intended to denote the place of their encampment; especially as we find the state-ministers of Hezekiah going forth to confer with the officers of Sennacherib in that place. Now "the Camp of the Assyrians" was well known by tradition in the time of Josephus. It was then included in Bezetha, and Titus encamped there when he had taken the outer wall. It was situated near the Kedron, at the North-east of the new city, having the Fuller's Monument on one side, and on the other the Monument of Herod[2], which last we saw was close to the Serpent's Pool. Thus then is the "Upper Pool" of Isaiah identified with the "Serpents' Pool" of Josephus[3]; and an aqueduct or "conduit" is shewn to have been carried from it—in what direction is left apparently to

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[1] J. W. v. iv. 2.

[2] Ibid. v. vii. 3, and xii. 2.

[3] I should mention that this assignation differs wholly from Dr Schultz, who makes the Pool Mamilla the Upper Pool, and identical with the Serpents' Pool, and finds the Fuller's Field in the Turbet Mamilla; the Camp of the Assyrians outside the N.W. corner of the present city; and the Dragon Well at Siloam; all which positions appear to me untenable.

conjecture. But the nature of the ground, no less than the mysterious sounds near the Damascus Gate, would point to the valley of the Tyropœon as its probable course, while the fountains above described, on the side of the valley, afford a strong confirmation to this hypothesis.

This aqueduct was formed by Hezekiah, and is alluded to more than once in Holy Scripture as a great work of that king[4]. In the summary of his acts, in the Second Book of Kings, we are told, "how he made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city[5];" and the prophet Isaiah alludes to the same works, where he says to the Jews, "Ye gathered together the waters of the lower pool.... ye made a ditch (or reservoir) between the two walls for the water of the old pool[6]." Here the "lower pool" is identical with the reservoir[7] "between the two walls," and is so called in opposition to the "upper pool," in the passage above cited, from which the waters were derived, and which is here designated as the "old pool," with equal propriety. There is also a much later reference to these same works in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, where it is writ-

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[4] The conduit mentioned in connexion with this pool in the time of Ahaz, the predecessor of Hezekiah, Isa. vii. 2, must be the aqueduct to convey the waters from the fountain to the *Upper Pool* from which Hezekiah derived his supply of water.

[5] 2 Kings xx. 20, the same words as are used in the three passages above: אֶת־הַבְּרֵכָה וְאֶת־הַתְּעָלָה.

[6] Isaiah xxii. 9, 11. A comparison of this passage with the historical notice of the preparations against Sennacherib's invasion, 2 Chron. xxxii. 3—5, can leave no doubt that the same works are referred to in both passages.

[7] I take the liberty of substituting the word "reservoir" for "ditch," that it may not be confounded with the aqueduct. The word is מִקְוֶה, *a collection or gathering together;* here of waters, as in Genesis i. 10. In Exodus vii. 19, the Authorized Version renders it "pools." See again Levit. xi. 36.

ten, among the praises of Hezekiah, "He fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof; he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters[1]."

I have reserved for fuller consideration the passages in the Second Book of Chronicles relating to these same works, because their language is much more definite, and may perhaps appear at first sight to militate against the theory. We there read, among Hezekiah's other defensive preparations, "He took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains, which were without the city; and they did help him. So there was gathered much people together, who stopped all the fountains, and the brooks that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come and find much water?" And these operations are again alluded to in the summary of his acts: "This same Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the West side of the city of David[2]." Now if the translation be correct, and if this language be taken to describe the course of Hezekiah's conduit, and if by the City of David Mount Sion is to be understood, then the theory above proposed, however strongly supported, must fall to the ground; because the course which has been there marked out for the aqueduct is *to*

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[1] Ecclus. xlviii. 17.

[2] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, 30. Verse 30 may be rendered thus: "He stopped the upper outflow of the waters of Gihon, and led them down westward to the city of David," לְמַטָּה מַעֲרָבָה לְעִיר דָּוִיד instead of "to the West of the city." Which may mean that the water was guided West of its former course, so as to be brought to the city of David.

the East, and not to the West of Mount Sion. But is it certain that Mount Sion must be intended by the City of David? In the books of the Kings there can be no doubt that they are synonymous[3], but in the books written after the Captivity, the City of David seems to be taken, if not in a different, at least in a wider acceptation[4]; and if the 48th Psalm dates before the Captivity, an equivalent expression in the second verse must clearly be referred, not to Sion, but to the other division of the City[5]. We have seen above

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[3] See 2 Sam. v. 7, 9, vi. 12, 16; 1 Kings viii. 1; and the parallel passage in 2 Chron. v. 2.

[4] Dr Robinson supposes the whole city to be called by this name; and labours at some length to prove it in his Biblioth. Sac. Vol. I. p. 197, &c. I think that he misunderstands the expression in Nehemiah and Maccabees. He there takes the Acra of the Macedonians to be on Mount Sion, an untenable position, which he has since abandoned. See above p. 406, n. 1.

[5] This verse, from its importance in this and other questions, demands a fuller consideration. It has been observed above, p. 47, n. 6, that a misunderstanding of it has led many Jewish writers to believe that Mount Sion was *North* of the Temple, and that they led our learned Lightfoot astray. Prospect of the Temple, *passim*. The original is somewhat obscure.

Our Authorized Version renders it: "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, (*is*) Mount Sion, (*on*) the sides of the North, the city of the great king;" the sense of which, even with the two words supplied, is not very clear. The learned Reland seems to suggest the right interpretation, though he does not adopt it. He remarks (Pal. p. 847), that "the Hebrew says only 'Mount Sion—the sides of the north,' &c. mentioning, as it were, the two principal parts of the city, 'Mount Sion' or 'the upper city,' and 'the northern parts,' (τὰ προσάρκτια μέρη) as Josephus speaks, *i. e.* whatever is North of Sion." *He* supposes the two together to make up "the city of the great king:" it would seem more natural to take these last words as in opposition to the second member of the sentence, which would give the sense of our Prayer-book version: "The Hill of Sion is a fair place, and the joy of the whole earth: upon the North side lieth the city of the great king," &c. This is the sense adopted by Poole (Syn. Crit. in loc.), who corrects Kimchi and Aben Ezra, as Lightfoot should have done, from books of travel, &c. He gives the following as the Versio Tigurina: "Mons Sion, in cujus Aquilonari latere urbs magni regis est, elegans est regio, et gaudium universæ terræ." See also Amana. Critici Sacri in loc.

that Millo is so called in one passage in Chronicles[1]; in the book of Nehemiah the name is apparently given to Ophel[2]; and (as already remarked) in the books of Maccabees, the Temple-Mount is usually so designated[3]. Further, "the tower" (Acra), which is said to have occupied "the hill of the Temple[4]," is constantly placed "in the City of David[5]." From these facts we must conclude that this name was used for "Acra," or "the Lower City," by the Jews after the Captivity, as in the passage under consideration. Thus, the course marked out for the aqueduct along the Tyropœon would exactly answer to the description there given; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact, that the reservoir of Hezekiah, formed to receive the water conveyed to it by this aqueduct, is clearly placed by the language of Holy Scripture at the end of that valley, viz. at the Pool of Siloam. The reservoir, or "Lower Pool," into which "the waters of the Old Pool" were received, was "between the two walls;" a position not at all defined in this context, but more than once mentioned in other passages, in a way that must have marked the spot very precisely to a Jewish reader at the time when the books were written, and which will, I trust, lead us to a right conclusion. When the City was "broken up," after the long siege by the army of the Chaldeans, in the days of Zedekiah, we are

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[1] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. See above, p. 41, n. 3.

[2] In iii. 15, the reference is not so clear; but in xii. 37, it will be remarked that the procession on its way from the fountain-gate (identified with Siloam, in ii. 14, and iii. 15) to "the water-gate," (supposed, generally, to be the South gate of the Temple; see iii. 26, and viii. 1, 3, 16,) "went up by the stairs of the city of David."

[3] See above, p. 406; 1 Macc. iv. 37, 38, 60; vi. 48, 51, 62; vii. 33.

[4] 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

[5] 1 Macc. i. 33; ii. 31; xiv. 36.

told that the besieged "fled by night, by the way of the gate *between the two walls*, which is by the king's garden[6];" and this most precise language is repeated three times,—the only passages except that in Isaiah relating to the Pool of Hezekiah, in which this remarkable expression occurs. Without then stopping at present to enquire into the meaning of the words, I would ask, can it admit of a doubt that the situations are identical? and that the Pool of Hezekiah is to be looked for near this gate, wherever it was? and if we should find a "*king's pool*," with *a gate*, not far from *the king's gardens*, must we not at once be convinced that this, and none other, is the reservoir alluded to by Isaiah? Now we do actually find this in the book of Nehemiah—first alluded to briefly in his nocturnal survey, where we have mention of "the gate of the fountain," and "the king's pool[7];" and afterwards much more clearly in the account of the rebuilding of the walls: "The *gate of the fountain* repaired Shallun, ... he built it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, and the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the *wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden*[8]." The *pool* between the two walls, and the *gate* by the *king's garden*, between the two walls, might be almost thought to be brought together designedly here; so very clear and satisfactory is the language: and the gardens which have been mentioned as existing at the present day, below the Pool of Siloam, are thus invested with peculiar interest, as there can be no question that they

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[6] 2 Kings xxv. 4; comp. Jerem. xxxix. 4, and chapter lii. 7, the words are:

דֶּרֶךְ שַׁעַר בֵּין הַחֹמֹתַיִם אֲשֶׁר עַל־גַּן הַמֶּלֶךְ׃

[7] Nehem. ii. 14. [8] Ibid. iii. 15.

occupy the very position of the royal gardens mentioned in these passages[1].

One word may now be added concerning the "two walls." Probably the old East wall of Mount Sion was drawn from above the Pool of Siloam along the western brink of the Tyropœon, and having crossed the Valley, ran South again along its eastern brink, to Siloam, and round the point of Ophel, so that the space *between the two walls* must have been much confined at the mouth of the Tyropœon, and consequently the gate and the pool would be very clearly designated by this peculiarity, that they were "between the two walls[2]."

I think that no doubt can now remain as to the disputed point of the Pool of Hezekiah—for I have attempted to determine it from Scripture alone; and I further venture to hope that an additional reason has now been shewn for the sense attached to "the city of David," in the passage bearing on the subject.

There is still remaining, however, one point of great difficulty, upon which no observations that I have been able to make, and no remarks which I have seen, afford the slightest satisfaction. I mean the connexion between the Fountain of the Virgin and the waters about the

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[1] These are probably the gardens mentioned by Timochares, as cited by Eusebius. (Præp. Evang. Lib. IX. cap. XXXV.) "Ολην τὴν πόλιν ὕδασι καταῤῥεῖσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς κήπους ἐκ τῶν ἀπορῥεόντων ὑδάτων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἄρδεσθαι· τὴν δὲ μεταξὺ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἄχρι τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ἄνυδρον εἶναι ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν μ′ σταδίων, πάλιν κάθυδρον ὑπάρχειν. It is a singular fact, that Solomon's gardens at Etam, below the noted pools, are still cultivated as gardens, and still known by the same name, Etan. Eccles. ii. 5, 6; and Josephus, Ant. VIII. vii. 3. See more below.

[2] The course of the old first wall, on the South of the Upper City, is full of difficulty, notwithstanding that so many points in it are noted by Josephus. (See Vol. I. p. 147, and references.) A justification of the course I mark out for it will be found in the Memoir accompanying the Plan.

Haram, supposing such connexion to exist, as the tradition of the natives, no less than the identity of the taste, renders very probable. Why should the water have been brought at all to this point, and thence continued through the rock to the pool of Siloam, and not rather have been carried down direct from the Temple? I fear I can offer no satisfactory solution of this difficulty; and the only hint that I can throw out for the assistance of others is this, that perhaps a pool existed here even from the time of Solomon[3], which that king may have connected with the Temple[4], so that when Hezekiah had brought his aqueduct thus

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[3] Josephus, J. W. v. iv. 2.

[4] It is plain that a great quantity of water must always have been required for sacred purposes in the Temple. Is it not likely that Solomon may have turned the brook Kedron into the sacred precincts from the East, and brought it out again at the Fountain of the Virgin? Dr Robinson says, "The water is apparently brought hither by some unknown, and perhaps artificial channel." Bib. Res. I. p. 342. And again, p. 507, he asks, "Was there perhaps originally a small and failing fountain here, to which afterwards other waters were conducted from the Temple?" In 1 Kings i. 45, and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, the Chaldee identifies Siloam with Gihon, which is the name of the Nile. Gen. ii. 13. One reason for this is said to be that the source of Siloam, like that of the Nile, is obscure. Reland's Palæst. p. 859. He quotes Theodoret, Quæst. II. in 1 Kings. Ἐπωνόμασαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Σιλοὰμ Γηὼν.....ἐπείδὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀφανῶν ἔξεισιν ὑπονόμων ὥσπερ ὁ Νεῖλος. The Rabbies give the same explanation. I would further observe, that if this water be supposed to proceed from the overflowings of the reservoirs under the Haram, the irregular flow would be easily explained by the quantity consumed at the bath, in the haram, and about the Church of the Flagellation. Dr Robinson throws out a hint to the same effect, p. 507; and again, obstructions in the aqueduct caused by the ruins of the city would account for a variation which has been noticed above in the ancient and modern observations on the quantity of the water. In confirmation of this hypothesis, it may be noticed that the Rabbies had an idea that the overflowing of the reservoirs under the Temple, which were continually replenished from without, was carried off by a subterraneous channel to the Pool of Solomon. See Lightfoot's Chorograph. Inq. cap. v. sect. 5; where a few most important hints for the elucidation of the subject are thrown out. May not the channel by which Omar was conducted to the site of the Temple have been this identical aqueduct? More will be said of Gihon below, p. 489.

far, he may have been able to continue it by the old channel to a point so near its destination, as to have found it unnecessary to bore a new conduit, except through that part of the ridge of Ophel between the present Fountain and Pool.

To recapitulate very briefly. The upper spring of Gihon once had its issue on the North side of the city, not far from the Tombs of the Kings. Its water was originally received into a pool called the Serpent's Pool, out of which it flowed, probably down the Valley of Jehoshaphat. In order to divert it from the uses of the enemy, and make it available to his own people in case of siege, Hezekiah stopped the upper fountain, and brought the water of the Upper Pool by an aqueduct down the valley which intersected the city, as far as the Temple, where it supplied the reservoirs prepared by himself or former kings, and then flowed off by an old channel to the Fountain of the Virgin, and was continued through a new bore to the Pool of Siloam, otherwise called the "Lower Pool," perhaps also "King's Pool," being in fact the veritable "Pool of Hezekiah."

With regard to the cisterns about the Haram, we have not yet sufficient information to enable us to determine with precision their position and character, or the period of their construction[1]; but "the royal cis-

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[1] The man at the Bath of Healing thus described the wonders beneath. "The water comes to the well through a passage of mason-work, four or five feet high, from under the Sŭkhrah, or grand Mosk. The passage...leads first through a room of considerable size, arched and supported by fourteen marble columns with capitals; and afterwards terminates in a room under the Sŭkhrah, about eight or ten feet square, cut out in the solid rock. ... Here the water boils up from the rock in a basin at the bottom. He knew of no other passage...by which the water could flow off; but said there was at the bottom of the wall a door closed up on the other side, leading no one knew whither"...Bib. Res. I. p. 509.

tern" before the porch of El-Aksa, between it and the raised platform of the Sakhrah, described as an excavation of the dimensions of a lake, with a vaulted roof supported by marble columns, does so fall in with the line which Hezekiah's aqueduct seems to have taken, and corresponds so closely in name and character with a cistern that appears at intervals in the notices of Jerusalem from very early times[2], that it was probably connected with his water-works. But as we shall presently find another series of fountains, cisterns, and aqueducts, of a much later date, likewise connected with the Temple, the character of the water with which this pool is supplied could alone determine to which series it belonged. It is indeed a happy circumstance that the peculiar flavour of one of the fountains enables us thus to discriminate, and to test the authenticity of the local traditions; and it is a curious fact, that all the cisterns ascribed to Hezekiah, several of which are connected with the Temple by ancient tradition, are found to be supplied with this peculiar water. The argument is not conclusive, for it is quite possible that other communications may have been subsequently opened with the main conduit for the supply of newly-formed reservoirs; but the coincidence is worthy of

[2] See Albert of Aix, (ap. Bongar, p. 280) cited above, p. 467, note 7. It must, I think, be one of those two noticed by the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, A.D. 333 (cited above, p. 466, n. 3), "ad latus Templi," evidently not the same with the "piscinæ gemillares," (which see below, p. 483, n. 6). I am also disposed to think that it may be the pool called by Josephus the Pool of Solomon (Bell. Jud. v. iv. 3), identical perhaps with the King's Pool of Nehemiah ii. 14. The former was certainly distinct from the Pool of Siloam, while the Fountain of the Virgin, with which it has been identified, is not properly a pool. The Royal Cistern, or that connected with the Well of the Leaf, would answer quite as well to the position indicated by Josephus. See the Memoir to the Plan.

remark. Of the Pool before the Church of S. Ann I shall speak presently, but of those which have been thus far noticed, I may observe, that the Jews apparently ascribe to Hezekiah the Cotton Grotto without the Damascus Gate[1]; that they darkly insinuate a subterranean connexion between the Healing Bath and the Inner Sanctuary[2]; and finally, that both Jews and Christians are of opinion that the waters of Siloam are derived from the Temple, and that this Pool owes its origin to Hezekiah's precautions against the Assyrian invader[3]. The Moslems also connect his name with other great reservoirs of the city[4].

Of the two Pools erroneously ascribed to Hezekiah, the one before S. Ann's Church, on the East of the city, is supported by the Chroniclers of the Crusades; the other, near the Jaffa Gate on the West of the city, can

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[1] I know not what else can be meant by Parchi, as cited by Dr Zunz, (Asher's Benj. Tud. II. p. 399) "Within the walls of Jerusalem, towards the North, is the entrance to the Cave of Hiskia, mentioned in the Thalmud."

[2] So David B. Simra (as cited by Dr Zunz, ibid. p. 400, note d.) remarks, "that the small gate to the left of the porch *Bab el-Katanin* is nearest the place of the Holy Sanctuary; a subterraneous way led to a certain place under this Holy Sanctuary, the entrance to which was on the western side. David Reubeni pretends to have spent several days on the spot." (Comp. p. 272 of the same work). There can, I think, be no doubt that the subterranean passage indicated is that explored by Mr. Wolcott, and described by the man at the Bath as leading to a chamber beneath the Sakhrah. See above, p. 480, note 1.

[3] Lightfoot, as above, p. 479, n. 4. Ishak Khelo ap. Carmoly, p. 236. Felix Fabri, Vol. I. p. 419, ed. Hassler.

[4] Mejr-ed-din, l. c. Tom. II. p. 131. He says, "there are at Jerusalem six pools constructed by Ezekiel, (l. Hezekiah), one of the ancient kings of Israel: three within the city, viz. those of the Israelites, of Solomon, of Ayad; three without, viz. those of Mamala, and two called El-merja." The first of these he identifies with Birket-Israîl, the second he hesitatingly connects with the Hammam es-Shefa, (called by him the Bath of Ala-ed-din el-Bassir); the third with the Pool of the Bath. The other three outside the city, with Mamilla, and two of the Pools of Solomon, whose water was brought by aqueducts to Jerusalem.

only shew the much later tradition originated by Quaresmius, and adopted by Dr. Robinson.

As the former of these pools must have been without the walls of the old city, exactly at the weakest part of the temple-enclosure, where the hostile armies so frequently encamped, it is highly improbable, considering the design of Hezekiah, that he would have formed a pool in a situation so very convenient for the besieging army; nor am I aware that any early authority can be shewn for placing Hezekiah's Pool in this quarter. It was here that the earlier Christians found "the Pool of Bethesda;" and this tradition deserves a further notice. Josephus teaches us to look for two pools in this quarter: one forming the fosse of the Temple, described also by Strabo; the other serving as a trench between Antonia and Bezetha. Struthius was the name of one or both[5].

That these are the two pools, or rather the double-pool near the Temple, described in the Jerusalem Itinerary of 333[6], there can be little doubt; for although the writer does not fix them to the North of the Temple-area, as neither does Eusebius nor S. Jerome[7], in the same century, yet all agree in their testimony to these pools being the Sheep-Pool, which we know was found by

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[5] J. W. v. xi. See above, pp. 353, 404.

[6] "Interius vero civitatis sunt piscinæ gemellares, quinque porticus habentes, quæ appellantur *Betsaida*. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur." Itin. Hierosol. p. 589. The Vulgate, with other ancient codices, has *Betsaida* for *Bethesda* in John v. 2; and so Tertullian cites it. See Wesseling, notat. in loc.

[7] S. Jerome translating the Onomasticon of Eusebius writes, "Bethesda, piscina in Hierusalem, quæ vocabatur προβατικὴ, et a nobis interpretari potest *pecualis*, hæc quinque quondam porticus habuit, ostendunturque gemini lacus," &c. (λίμναις διδύμοις. Euseb.)

later writers in this situation; nor do we read of any other pools which would answer the description of the Itinerary and Onomasticon.

It has been remarked by critics that S. John, by speaking of Bethesda in the present tense, intimates that the Pool had survived the destruction of Jerusalem, and was still well known when he wrote his Gospel, at the close of the first century: This would form a strong presumption for its continued perservation until the time of Constantine. The Pool is placed by this Evangelist "by the sheep-*market*[1]," (ἐπὶ τῇ προβατικῇ), but most commentators are of opinion that the word *gate* should be supplied in this passage instead of *market*, and it is certain that a "sheep-gate" is spoken of in Scripture, but a "sheep-market" never. Now Nehemiah will lead us to fix the "sheep-gate" on the North of the Temple[2]; the traditions of the Jews will further give us not only a "gate," but a large supply of water for the Priests' Bath on this quarter[3]; and Josephus, whose mention of the pools was lately referred to, also speaks of a northern gate to the outer Temple[4]. This gate, which led to Bezetha, would be East of Antonia, between it and the Pool, where two gates are now found; and I am strongly of opinion that the vaulted passages at the West of the present pool, noticed

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[1] John v. 2, English Auth. Version: the margin however gives "*Gate*."

[2] Nehem. iii. 1, 32.

[3] For the gate Tedi, טדי, see Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, cap. vi. Vol. IX. p. 233. For the baths, cap. xxix. 4, p. 368, and above, p. 465.

[4] J. W. II. xix. 5, where Cestius assails the *northern wall* of the Temple, and the soldiers prepare to fire the *gate*. Here it is evident that the approach to the wall of the outer court was easy; no mention is made of filling in the trench. See again, VI. ii. 7, where banks are raised against the *northern wall*; and iv. 1, the foundations of the *northern gate* are undermined. See above, p. 352, n. 2.

in the last chapter, both communicated with the fosse of Antonia, and formed a passage to the gate, by a bridge over the arches. That it was in this part that Pompey, Cestius, and Titus, made their attacks upon the outer Temple on the North, may be inferred from the impossibility of filling such a trench as that which now exists, and must have existed at that period; for the tradition is continuous from the time to which it has been already brought down. Unhappily, one of the "*twin-pools*," viz. that by the Church of S. Ann, has now completely disappeared, but its position may be very accurately determined, by the language of Christian writers, to the precise place which the fosse of Antonia must have occupied[5].

The water in one of these pools was of a peculiar red appearance, which might perhaps be accounted for by the cement with which it was lined, but was taken by earlier writers to exhibit the signs of the use to which it was formerly put for washing the entrails of the victims which had been offered in sacri-

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[5] It is sometimes said to be "ante Ecclesiam Stæ Annæ;" elsewhere, "ad latus Ecclesiæ." Brocardus is more exact: "Intrantibus portam vallis ad sinistram occurrit juxta viam Probatica Piscina, ad *dextram* vero contra eam, *viâ intermediâ*, est *piscina grandis valde*, quæ dicebatur piscina interior, hanc fecit Hezekias," &c. Descrip. Ter. Sanc. apud Canisii Thes. Vol. IV. p. 18. Anselm (*circ.* 1509) is still more accurate; and these two authors enable us to determine its position with a great degree of certainty. After speaking of the church of St Anna, he says: "*Non remotè ab hâc Ecclesiâ, versus domum Pilati*, habetur alia *piscina grandis*," &c. It had water then, which he supposed to be brought from the pools of Solomon. The other pool was then dry. See more references above, p. 38, note 2. It is curious that Dr Robinson, having noticed this pool as "now apparently destroyed," (Bib. Res. I. p. 490, n. 1,) should deny that any pool ever existed on the north of the Via Dolorosa. Theol. Rev. p. 618, n. 2. Yet it was *a very great pool*, even when mentioned with Birket Israîl. Felix Fabri (Vol. I. p. 366) also notices it, as indeed do all travellers of the Middle Ages.

fice[1]. The existing pool, though of an enormous size, was cased up to the top, as is evident from its present appearance; and the vaulted channels were similarly provided for a full supply. Eusebius and S. Jerome say that one of the pools was usually filled with rain-water, which would perhaps imply that the other was supplied from a spring; and a later authority informs us that such was actually the case[2]. Indeed, even so late as the 17th century a countryman of our own[3] saw a small stream flowing into the Pool of Bethesda, on the northern side, which must have been supplied by a fountain; and to this present day there are frequent wells among the ruins about the Church of S. Ann, containing water which there are no buildings to receive or collect; and the natives have a tradition of large subterranean cisterns in this quarter. All this would countenance the idea that a branch of the aqueduct was carried in this direction for the supply of these reservoirs, and the excavation in the Church of the Flagellation was not improbably a part of it. This hypothesis receives striking confirmation from a fact

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[1] "Aquam autem habent eæ piscinæ in modum coccini turbatam." Itin. Hieros. p. 152. St Jerome translating Eusebius, Onom., says of the "gemini lacus, quorum unus hybernis pluviis adimpleri solet; alter mirum in modum *rubens*, quasi cruentis aquis antiqui in se operis signa testatur. Nam hostias in eo lavari a sacerdotibus solitas ferunt, unde et nomen (προβατικὴ) accepit." William of Tyre does not mention the peculiarity of the colour, but says, "Usque hodie probatica piscina reputatur, in quâ olim immolatitiæ lavabantur hostiæ," &c. VIII. iv. p. 749.

[2] See the quotation from William of Tyre, above, p. 389, n. 5.

[3] ".....into which a barren spring doth drill, from between the stones of the northward wall, and stealeth away almost undiscerned." Sandys' Travels, p. 149. The most probable account of this small spring is that, on the filling up of the other pool, which took place before Sandys' visit, the water forced a passage for itself through the ground to the Birket Israîl.

recorded by a historian of the period of the Crusades[4], viz., that the water of S. Ann's Pool had that remarkable flavour which distinguishes the water of Siloam, and which is also found in the Church of the Flagellation.

The name given to one or both these pools by Josephus is *Struthius;* and the received interpretation of this word is remarkably confirmatory of the tradition, although there cannot be any intentional coincidence. It appears that Struthium is the name of a root the ashes of which form a strong alkali, much used in making soap; and the corresponding Hebrew word is translated "soap" in the only passages in which it occurs in the Bible[5]. "Bethesda," it is now generally agreed, signifies "the house of effusion or washing;" and it is highly probable that the Greek word used by Josephus was intended as a translation of this Hebrew name, considering that the identity of situation is proved by independent arguments.

On the whole, then, it would appear that the tradition which marks the Birket Israîl as the "Pool of

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[4] Gesta Francorum Expug. Hierosol. in Bongar, p. 573. With this writer the Pool before the Church of S. Ann is Bethesda: "veteris piscinæ adhuc vestigia retinens, quinque porticus habens.....ad quam nunc per porticam unam descenditur, et reperitur aqua ibi *gustu amara*," &c., the very description that this writer gives of the water of Siloam, (ibid.) "aspectu liquidissimus, sed *gustu amarus*."

[5] Jeremiah ii. 22, and Mal. iii. 2. בֹּרִית is the Hebrew word. "Boritt, *i.e.* herba fullonum: puta στρούθιον, aut *saponaria*. Talmudici in locum (Jerem. ii. 22,) dicunt, 'Nitrum et *borith i.e.* Cimolia (or Kimolia) et asleg ad lavandam vestem maculatam.' *Asleg.* est Persicum *aslengi*. Arabes vocant *Condus*. Græci στρούθιον unde στρουθίζειν. Romani radiculam et herbam *lanaicam*, quia ut Plinius auctor est, lavandis lanis succum habet, mirum quantum conferens candori et mollitiæ." Bochart. Geogr. Sac. Part II. ch. xiv. p. 455. "Nihil fere excepta radice Struthion est." Pliny apud Bochart. l.c. See also Poole's Synopsis, ad loc.

Bethesda," has much to be said in its favour, and I am not aware of any argument against it. The five porches have long since disappeared; they may have formed a bath-room, on some part of the pool, devoted to such as sought the benefit of those miraculous virtues with which the waters were gifted, apparently at uncertain intervals, by the descent of the angel. These waters, probably derived from the Upper Pool by a branch from the aqueduct of Hezekiah, were received first into the large ditch formed in that valley, still to be traced, which separated Acra from Bezetha, from whence they flowed to the Pool of Israel.

The Birket el-Hummam, as has been shewn above, has little to be said in proof of its connexion with Hezekiah, is unnoticed by Christian writers until comparatively recent times[1], nor is there the slightest evidence of its ever having had any communication with a fountain. It was probably always supplied, as at present, from the large receptacle without the city, now called the "Pool of Mamilla[2]," which "lies in the basin forming the head of the Valley of Hinnom, about seven hundred yards W.N.W. from the Jaffa gate." The waters collected by this pool immediately flow off through a sluice at the bottom into the "rude conduit" which conveys it into the Pool of the Bath, and the character both of the pools and of the aqueduct are strongly against the antiquity which has lately been claimed for them; for not only is the latter utterly insignificant,

[1] See above for a fuller account, pp. 35—38.

[2] Yet I am not aware of any earlier notice of this outer pool than William of Tyre, who seems to describe it as "Lacus Patriarchæ, quod est juxta vetus cœmiterium in speluncâ quæ cognominatur Leonis." VIII. ii. p. 747.

whereas the conduit of Hezekiah was obviously a large and important work, but the former does not at all resemble the ancient pools, one of which we shall presently be called to examine. Besides which, the intentions of the king could never have been answered by the works in question, supposing them to be his, as the Upper Pool and the aqueduct must always have been visible and available to the besieging army. Lastly, I am not aware that there is any authority from ancient writers for calling the upper part of the Valley of Hinnom by the name of Gihon, which is identified by Jewish and early Christian writers with Siloam[3], to which we will now return, in order to examine another well of living water in its immediate neighbourhood.

This is the *Bîr Eyûb*, the Well of Job, at the point where the three valleys of Jerusalem, viz. Hinnom,

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[3] See above, p. 479, n. 4, and Reland's Palestine, p. 859. In addition to these authorities, I may further cite Ishak Khelo (A.D. 1336) ap. Carmoly, p. 236. Uri of Biel, in Hottinger's Cippi Heb. p. 49, in Carmoly, p. 442. I am very sorry if I have been guilty of any disrespect to the venerable sewer discovered by Mr. Johns, as described above in p. 31, but I cannot admit it as evidence to the fact that Gihon lay on the West of the city, or allow it to have been an aqueduct; notwithstanding Dr Robinson's displeasure, (Theol. Rev. pp. 634—638, and notes). For 1st, εὔρι-πος in Josephus, meaning simply *channel*, will answer equally well for aqueduct or sewer; 2dly, the gate through which water was brought into the Hippic Tower must have reference to water-*carriage*,—for how could the water be raised to the λόφος of 30 cubits, on which the tower stood, and above the solid part of the tower itself, which was 20 cubits more? 3dly, the channel discovered by Mr. Johns, which I carefully examined, cannot have had any communication either with the Pool of Mamilla, or with the Pool of the Bath. Its course is East and West. We traced it eastward more than 200 feet: but westward, on reaching the fosse of the castle, it *turns North*, and runs towards the Armenian Convent. The well of an oil-mill is sunk through it. So then it does not run towards the Pool of Mamilla, nor could it, 4thly, have had any communication from without the city, because the level of the Valley of Hinnom, at its upper part, is lower than this channel. That it was a sewer I judge from its character, and from the fact that it is still so used from the Bazaars.

Kedron, and the Tyropœon, meet at the South-east of the city, between the Mount of Offence and the Hill of Evil Counsel. This is properly a Well, cut through the rock at the lower part, and built above with solid masonry. It is 125 feet deep, and the quantity of water varies with the season. When I once visited it during the rainy season, but after an interval of some days without rain, the appearance was as if a strong current were flowing through the well, the water of which was sparkling with the rapidity of its motion. This well is supposed to be identical with the Enrogel of Scripture, which must certainly have been in this neighbourhood[1]. If such is really the case, its disappearance at various intervals from the annals of history must be accounted for by the supposition of its being stopped from time to time in order to conceal it from the enemy, as we know it was during the time of the Crusaders, and only opened in A.D. 1184, three years before their expulsion[2]. It is called also the Well of Nehemiah and the Well of Fire, as the Valley from this point is Fire Valley, because it is from this well that Nehemiah is supposed to have recovered the Sacred Fire, there concealed by the Priests before the captivity[3]. Its connexion with Job is more obscure; but if we adopt the name of the Jewish Itinerary of the 16th century[4], supported as it is by the tradition of the Greek Christians, who call

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[1] Josh. xv. 7, 8; and xviii. 16, 17.

[2] Wilhelmi Tyrensis Cont. Hist. ap. Martene et Durand, Tom. v. col. 578. William of Tyre and others of the earlier Chroniclers of the Crusades knew nothing of it; but he and they say plainly that the besieged had stopped all the fountains about the city.

[3] 2 Maccab. i. 18—36. The name of Nehemiah does not appear in connexion with this well earlier than the close of the 16th century, according to Dr Robinson, B. R. I. 491.

[4] Bib. Res. ibid. Uri of Biel, in Hottinger, p. 48. Carmoly, p. 442.

the well by the name of *Joab*, not of Job[5], we may connect it with a passage in the Scripture narrative. Enrogel was the scene of Adonijah's attempt on the kingdom, at the close of his father David's life[6], and Joab was the most noted of his partisans; and this may have given occasion to call the Well after the son of Zeruiah, celebrated as the captain of the host during the long reign of king David.

It is difficult to account for the abundant supply of water in this well. I was strongly persuaded from the first that it does not rise here, but merely flows through it; and its appearance, as above described, confirmed me in this opinion. Had the water been identical in taste with that of Siloam, it might easily have been connected with the Fountain of the Virgin; but such is not the case. Nor does any hypothesis suggest itself by way of solution but the following, which I submit with great diffidence. Among Hezekiah's other acts we are told that "he stopped the brook that ran through the midst of the land;" which would appear to be a distinct work from that connected with Gihon, which has been already considered[7]. This "brook" has been identified with the Kedron[8]. May there not have been another fountain besides that of Gihon, whose water flowed down the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and which it was necessary to divert for the same purpose? There is no memorial, so far as I am aware, of any stream having flowed down the bed of the Kedron; but the writers of the middle ages believed

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[5] So the Προσκυνητάριον writes it: πηγάδιον τοῦ Ἰωάβ. p. 84.

[6] 1 Kings i.

[7] 2 Chron. xxxii. 4, 30.

[8] See Poole's Synopsis, in loc.

that its waters found a passage beneath the dry bed of the torrent. The Church of the Virgin, by the Garden of Gethsemane, is so far below the present level of the valley, that the descent to it is by sixty steps; and their idea was that this is really the bed of the valley, but that it has been filled up by the ruins of the ancient city thrown down from above[1]. Beneath these they imagined that the torrent found its way; and Brocardus goes so far as to say that the murmur of its waters might be heard when they had been increased by the winter-rains[2]. It may be remarked, in confirmation of this, that there is a tank of water under this church, and another lower down the valley, near the Pillar of Absalom[3]. The water in these reservoirs fails during the summer: from whence it would appear that they are filled from the brook when increased by the rains, but are not fed with a constant supply, as is the case with the Bîr Eyûb, which I imagine opens down to the main stream of the torrent.

Dr. Schultz, however, denies that the well itself ever overflows[4], though if it does not now, it seems clear that it once did, for so testifies a writer cited by Mejr-ed-din[5], who further gives some interesting particulars of this well. "It is constructed," he says, "of large stones, each ten cubits long and four wide, and it is marvellous

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[1] Bib. Res. I. p. 346, n. 1.

[2] "Sub qua [scil. Ecclesia] etiam torrens Cedron, aquis pluvialibus factus tumidior, hybernis mensibus defluere consuevit." William of Tyre, VIII. ii. 747. ..."torrens Cedron, qui colligitur de superioribus partibus civitatis versus aquilonem juxta Rama et Anathoth, et (non) longe de Sepulchro Dominæ nostræ Sanctæ Mariæ auditur ejus murmuratio sub terra descendens, juxta natatoria Siloe sub monte Offensionis, in vallem Tophet sive Gehennon." Brocardi Des. Terr. Sanct. ap. Canisii Thes. Mon. Vol. IV. p. 18.

[3] Bartlett's Walks, pp. 122, 3.

[4] Jerusalem, p. 48.

[5] Mejr-ed-din, II. p. 130.

how they can have been let down such a depth. It was dug to the depth of 80 cubits in a time of drought; the water is fresh, and at that depth, except in the winter, when it overflows, inundates the valley and turns a mill. I descended into the well, with the labourers, to dig there. I saw the water issue out of a stone nearly two cubits [in diameter?] There is a cave, the entrance to which is three cubits high and one and a half wide. A very cold wind issues out of this cave. I entered it with a lighted candle, and saw there a grotto, all of stones. I advanced, but the wind which came from it extinguished my candle."

Dr. Schultz maintains that in the overflow the water does not issue from the well-mouth, "but rises from two orifices in the ground near it, in the manner of common springs. One of the places lies more to the east side of the valley, south of the well, the other close to the western valley-wall, still further southward. The former is always the first to flow, but the other does not always follow. In the spring of 1844 it was the reverse. The well which is lowest flowed alone, and that during a short time only, with a small quantity of water." The longest time that they are ever known to flow is two months.

These orifices are probably connected with a passage in the life of S. Saba, which may justly claim insertion in a treatise on the waters of Jerusalem.

"During the presidency of John III. a grievous famine afflicted the Holy City for four years. At the commencement of the fifth year the distress was so great that the poor begged their water and died with thirst. Not only were the springs of Siloam and Lucillianæ (Λουκιλλιανῶν) dried up, but also the more

distant sources of Colonia and Nephtoa failed. The Patriarch fearing a sedition of the people, went about the moistest spots, digging pits in the hope of finding water; but though many hands were employed, the labour was vain. Descending to the torrent of Siloam near the Column of S. Cosmas, on the road to the great Lavra, he dug to the depth of forty fathoms. No water was found, and great was the grief of the Bishop, especially as the Feast of Dedication was nigh at hand, and a large influx of visitors might be expected. He consulted with a distinguished officer, named Summus, who had heard that a few days before, when the water of one of the monasteries had failed, an abundant rain had been poured out over that monastery alone, (as the dew on Gideon's fleece,) at the prayer of the Abbot. S. Saba was accordingly summoned by the Patriarch, on another pretext, and earnestly importuned to intercede for the people, that the Divine anger might be appeased, and the grievous scourge removed. "Who am I," replied the holy, humble man, "that I should avail to avert the displeasure of God—I that am a weak sinner? specially since the Scripture saith, 'If he shut up the heaven, who shall open it?'" (Job xii. 14.) At length being hardly pressed he consented thus far. "Behold, I go to my cell, and in obedience to your Grace, I will supplicate the face of God, for I know that He is compassionate and pitiful, and 'His mercies are over all His works.' But this shall be a sign to you: if three days pass without rain, know that God has not heard me. Do ye therefore pray also, that my prayer may have confidence." This was on the 3rd of December: on the day following the heat was intolerable, but many workmen laboured at the well until night,

when they left there their tools and baskets, intending to return in the morning. But about the first hour of the night the wind blew up a storm of thunder and lightning, and so heavy a rain fell, that before dawn the aqueducts were filled, and the torrents were streaming in all directions. The deep pit overflowing with water swallowed up not only the scaffolding, tools, and baskets, but the heap of soil that had been dug out from it, at such cost of time and toil, and the place was so levelled as not to be recognized." It is not improbable that the soil, weakened on this occasion, may afford a vent to the swelling waters even to this day [1].

There remains one more pool to be noticed, in the Valley of Hinnom, proceeding up which we pass under Aceldama, or "the Field of Blood," on the left; a spot which was likely to be preserved in memory by its distinctive name and use, the tradition of which reaches back as far as S. Jerome [2], now authenticated as the Potter's Field by a bed of white clay, still worked [3]. In its neighbourhood are many other tombs excavated in the rocky wall, in some of which may be seen traces of painting, and inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew, too

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[1] Sabæ Vita, per Cyrillum. Cotelerii Eccles. Græc. Monument. Vol. III. p. 334.

[2] For this and the tombs, see Bib. Res. I. 523, &c. It should be remarked that this name was also given to another parcel of ground in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. It would have prevented confusion if the burial-place had been called "the potter's field," (Matth. xxvii. 3, &c.); the scene of the awful catastrophe recorded in Acts i. 18, 19, "the field of blood." They are supposed to be distinct localities, though both called by a common name. See Dr Robinson's Biblioth. Sacra, Pt. II. p. 176. The scene of the second event is shewn near Absalom's Hand. Sir J. Maundeville, p. 112, (edit. 1727) notices both. So also does Maundrell, under date April 6, pp. 101, 2.

[3] This curious fact was first noted by Dr. Schultz, p. 39. Comp. the plagiarist Krafft, p. 193.

much effaced by time to be clearly deciphered. This hill, which Dr. Clarke supposed was Mount Sion[1], is commonly marked as "the Hill of Evil Counsel," so designated from the iniquitous bargain of the traitor Judas, said to have been concluded in the country-house of Caiaphas, the ruins of which are still shewn on its summit; and it is a very singular fact that Josephus, in his account of the wall of circumvallation, notices the monument of *Ananus the high priest* in this neighbourhood, which Ananus is none other than "Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas," and his assessor and adviser in the transactions here referred to[2]. The coincidence is very curious; and Dr. Schultz's identification of the ancient rock-grave, of a higher class, still existing in ruins, with the Monument of Ananus, is a happy confirmation of the accuracy of Josephus and of the authority of the tradition[3].

Proceeding now up the Valley of Hinnom, we arrive at the large pool, commonly called "Birket es-Sultan," marked in modern plans as "the Lower Pool of Gihon," without any warrant whatever. It is beyond all doubt an ancient pool, as is proved by a comparison with the Pools of Solomon, South of Bethlehem; being formed, as are they, "by the erection of stone barriers across the valley, squaring the rocky sides, and clearing out

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[1] From the fact of some of the tombs bearing the inscription ΤΗC ΑΓΙΑC CIΩN. One would have thought it did not require much erudition to supply ΠΟΛΙΤΗC, or something equivalent, effaced by time.

[2] John xviii. 13. See again Acts iv. 6; Joseph. J. W. v. xii. 2; and Reland's Catalogue of the High-priests in Whiston, Ant. xx. viii. 5, note. These tombs were mostly in gardens, attached to country-houses; so that Annas, a relative of Caiaphas, may be well supposed to have had a country-house on this hill.

[3] Jerusalem, p. 39. Comp. p. 72.

the soil[4];" and in this it differs materially from the Pool of Mamilla, "the sides of which are built up with hewn stones laid in cement[5]," as is also the Pool of the Bath within the City; a fact strongly opposed to their great antiquity. The Pool of the Sultan is said by William of Tyre to have been celebrated in the times of the kings of Judah[6]; but as he does not refer to any passages in Holy Scripture, it is impossible to determine what was the Christian tradition at that period relating to the Pool. The earliest distinct notice which we have of it is in the account of the rebuilding of the walls after the Babylonish captivity, in a passage which also assigns the "Sepulchres of David" to the part of Mount Sion above the pool, where they are still found[7]. It has there no proper name given it, being described merely as "the pool that was made." The modern tradition which would make this the bath of Bathsheba, is worthy of no consideration; nor has any satisfactory reason been assigned for its present native appellation, which, however, would probably be found in an inscription on the Saracenic fountain[8] at the South of the pool. This fountain, which is now dry, appears to have been formerly supplied by a branch of the aqueduct which has already been frequently alluded to, but which here demands a fuller notice.

It formerly conveyed the waters of three fountains from the neighbourhood of Solomon's Pools to the Holy

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[4] Bartlett's Walks, p. 59. Compare Bib. Res. I. 485.

[5] Bib. Res. I. p. 484, &c.

[6] VIII. ii. p. 747.

[7] Nehem. iii. 16.

[8] Reported to have been built by Sultan Suliman Ibn Selim, A. D. 1520—66, from whom the pool may derive its name. It was he who built the present walls

City. It is now in ruins, but the water still runs as far as Bethlehem, and the aqueduct may be traced along the steep mountain-sides, throughout the whole of its winding course. The level is preserved almost entirely by following the natural formation of the ground, not by artificial contrivance; nor is the construction of the aqueduct at all remarkable for the solidity of its masonry. It is in some parts composed of earthen pipes, roughly covered with stones, but elsewhere the channel is formed by casing the stones with cement. On reaching the Valley of Hinnom, its waters were divided into two courses, one of which, as has been observed, crossed the valley below the Birket es-Sultan, while the other, after skirting that pool on its west side, was carried over nine low arches, which still remain in a state of decent repair[1].

There is on this part of the aqueduct an Arabic inscription, which may well introduce an inquiry into its history, hitherto much involved in obscurity. It is to the following effect: "In the name of the most merciful God, our Lord the Sultan, el-Melik en-Nassir, the Lord of the Faith and of the Faithful, Mohammed, son of the Sultan el-Melik el-Mansûr Kelaûn, ordered this blessed aqueduct to be built." Unfortunately, where the date was, the stone is broken, but Sultan Mohammed, Ibn Kelaûn, one of the Baharite dynasty in Egypt, reigned between 693 and 741 of the Hegira,

[1] Its further course round Mount Sion and along its eastern ridge within the modern city, where it is still to be traced under the foundation of the buildings, until it crosses the Tyropœon by the causeway, may be seen in the Plan, and has been already in part described. (See above, p. 275.) Messrs. Wolcott and Tipping explored the part within the city for 400 or 500 feet along Mount Sion, but could not reach the causeway. See Biblioth. Sacr. Pt. 1. pp. 31, 2.

(A.D. 1294—1340)[2]. The first direct allusion to it in Christian writers occurs about this time[3], and it is most improbable that, had it existed at an earlier period, it would have been passed over by the Chroniclers of the Crusades, who are so particular in their account of all that relates to the waters of Jerusalem. Yet there is a much earlier notice, which might be taken to refer to this part of the aqueduct[4], and which, independently of an ancient and well-authenticated Jewish tradition, would dispose me to believe that the Sultan here named did not originally build, but only restore the aqueduct after it had continued some centuries in ruins.

The Jewish writers, in their records of the second temple, with one voice relate that "in the way betwixt Hebron and Jerusalem is the Fountain of Etam, from whence the waters are conveyed by pipes into the great pool at Jerusalem[5]" for the uses of the temple. There was too, towards the South of the temple-area, a place called "the coming down of the water[6]," corresponding to the situation of the causeway, by which the present aqueduct is carried to the Haram. Now Etam or Etham, Josephus tells us, was the name of that place where the pleasure-gardens of the great king Solomon were situated[7]; and it is reasonable to look for the gardens in the neighbourhood of the pools, since the latter

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[2] I am here again indebted to Dr Schultz, his Prussian Majesty's worthy representative at Jerusalem.

[3] The Itineraries of William of Baldensel and Rudolph de Suchem. (A.D. 1336-1350.) Bib. Res. I. p. 516.

[4] Arculfus, *circ.* 697, (cited by Dr Robinson, p. 516, n. 2) describes an arched bridge of stone, crossing the valley in this place. De Loc. Sanct. I. xii.

[5] See Lightfoot, Chorographical Inquiry, cap. v. sect. 5, and *Fragmenta Topograph.* cap. ii. sect. 1, and Prospect of the Temple, cap. xxiii.

[6] Prospect of the Temple, l. c.

[7] Ant. VIII. vii. 3.

were constructed with a view to the former, as Solomon himself informs us[1]. It is a most gratifying fact, that not only has the *name* of this interesting locality been *perpetuated among the natives to this day*, but the very spot is still marked by *gardens*, the largest and most luxuriant that are to be met with in the whole of the mountain-region of Judea. The three Pools of Solomon, *on the road to Hebron*, which need not be here described, are situated at the head of a valley named Wady Etân, and the aqueduct, which derives its supply of water from three tributary fountains, has its proper commencement below the lowest of these pools, from whence it runs along the western side of Wady Etân to Bethlehem. In the bed of the valley, below the aqueduct, is another copious fountain, "'Ain Etân," and around this fountain are the gardens just mentioned.

This remarkable and unlooked-for corroboration of the Jewish tradition must compel us to believe that there was an aqueduct from the Pools of Solomon to the Temple at Jerusalem during the later years of its existence. It need not prove more than this; for the Talmudic descriptions of the Holy House are obviously gathered from writings that date from the latest period of its existence; and there is not the slightest intimation of such an aqueduct in the Sacred Records, or in the Apocrypha. I am disposed to believe that

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[1] Eccles. ii. 5, 6. "I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits: I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees." The distance of Etham from Jerusalem is stated by Josephus at 50 furlongs, exactly coinciding with the existing gardens, which I visited and explored, Sept. 20, 1842, and April 29, 1843. See Ishak Khelo and Uri, pp. 241 and 436, in Carmoly.

this work was originally planned and constructed by a Roman procurator, whose name has obtained a bad notoriety in the Christian Church; for among other tyrannical acts, whereby Pontius Pilate offended the prejudices and excited the indignation of the Jews, is mentioned that he expended the sacred treasure called "Corban" on aqueducts, whereby he brought water to the city from a distance of four hundred furlongs[2]. Now if this language may be taken to refer to the whole length of the aqueduct, as from the nature of the case I think it must, and not to the actual distance of its commencement in a direct line from the city, then it will very well describe the existing aqueduct, which must certainly traverse nearly eight times the direct distance between its commencement and termination: nor am I aware of any historical notices or present traces of an aqueduct in any other quarter which could be referred to Pilate, though it seems probable that some remains of a work so large, and comparatively so recent, should have continued to Christian times. The final designation of this supply of water to the Temple was probably the governor's plea for applying the sacred fund to this undertaking.

It has been already remarked, that in the event of a siege this aqueduct could only have been a boon to the enemy[3], and hence it is probable that it would be cut off by the besieged on the first outbreak of hostilities. This will account for its disappearance from history for so many centuries, until it was restored by

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[2] Joseph. J. W. II. ix. 4. The words are κατῆγε δὲ ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· but some copies read τριακοσίων, and others διακοσίων. See Hudson's Annot. in loc.

[3] See above, p. 454.

Sultan Mohammed at the commencement of the fourteenth century, as the inscription testifies.

From this aqueduct were supplied, not only the fountain in the middle of the dam at the South of the Pool and watering-place for travellers' animals[1], but also the handsome Saracenic fountains that have been already mentioned as existing in the vicinity of the Haram[2]. They are now dry, and in a state of ruinous decay. Three of these are mentioned by Uri of Biel (A.D. 1564) as receiving a constant flow of water into basins of white marble. The water never failed summer or winter, but sufficed for the consumption of Jews, Moslems, and Christians, nor were arrangements for the horses, asses, camels, and other beasts, forgotten. One of these basins was near the Gate of the Chain, another fountain near the Gate of the Cotton-merchants; a third near the Gate of the Inspector, called by him *Bab-al-Rebt*, the Gate of Binding[3]. It must have been also in this vicinity that Felix Fabri (A.D. 1480) noticed a large number of Moslems in a court, filling their vessels and pitchers from a canal which rushed forth in a copious stream[4], introduced from a distance; of which he had ocular proof on a subsequent visit to the Pools of Solomon[5], where he found upwards of six hundred labourers employed in forming a new conduit to convey the waters of a more distant fountain into the ancient aqueduct, and so to Jerusalem; for the Sultan of that day was diligently engaged in forming new or restoring

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[1] See Uri of Biel. Hottinger, p. 39. Carmoly, p. 437. He is the first to call it the "Pool of the Sultan."

[2] See above, p. 467.

[3] Doubtless from the tradition recorded in p. 300, sup.

[4] Evagatorium, Vol. II. p. 123, ed. Hassler.

[5] Ibid. p. 135.

old aqueducts, and providing fresh reservoirs for rain-water; sparing no trouble nor expense to supply the city with that necessary article. To this period probably belong the fountains just mentioned, not noticed by Felix because not erected until after his visit; for he describes the outflow in the court with expressions of wonder, which he would not have used had he found three other copious fountains playing in the neighbouring streets.

This series of water-works connected with the Pools of Solomon will satisfy nearly all the historical notices that are not explained by the other fountain introduced from the North: and there is no reason, either in history or in modern observation, to believe that there was ever a third source connected with an artificial arrangement for the supply of the city. The only hint that suggests it is the perplexing notice of the Placentine Pilgrim, (*c.* A.D. 600) concerning the sound of flowing water behind Golgotha, and its connexion with Siloam[6]. But the character of this writer does not entitle us to expect more than a slender foundation of truth for this story; which would perhaps be satisfied by the existence of those large reservoirs about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre described by the Bourdeaux Pilgrim[7], traces of which may still be found in

[6] See above, p. 99. His words are as follows. He has been speaking of the Altar of Abraham, (near No. 74 in the Plan of the Church, Pl. 2. Fig 5,) on the side of the Rock Golgotha. "Juxta ipsum altare est crypta, ubi ponis aurem, et audis flumina aquarum; et jactas pomum aut aliud quod natare potest, et vadis ad Siloa fontem, ubi illud recipies. Intra Siloa et Golgotha credo est milliarium: nam Hierosolyma aquam vivam non habet, præter in Siloa fonte." Ap. Ugolini Thes. Tom. VII. p. mccxvi.

[7] Speaking of the Basilica of Constantine, "*i. e.* Dominicum miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria unde aqua levatur et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur." Ap. Wesseling, p. 594.

the Well of S. Helena, at the western extremity[1], in the Prison of Christ on the north side[2], in the Treasury of S. Helena at the eastern end, now under the Coptic Convent[3], and probably also in the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, which seems formerly to have served as a cistern, while the cleft in the rock on the right hand of the descent is also said to have been an aqueduct[4]. This is at the back of Calvary, and would answer very well to the description of the Placentine, if a source of water could be found to flow through the aqueduct into the cistern. And if the sole testimony of a writer of the 15th century can be allowed to establish this fact, we find it in the Report of Guillebert de Lannoy, knight, Envoy of our King Henry V.[5] I own I am not satisfied with this single witness; and even admitting the correctness of his statement, it would not afford an adequate explanation of the remark of the Pilgrim. On the whole, then, I must acknowledge, that as the remark is to me utterly unintelligible[6], I

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[1] No. 10 in Plate II. Chapter III. p. 204. sup.

[2] No. 23, and p. 269.

[3] Letter Z, in Plate I. Fig. 3 of the same. See also p. 255.

[4] See above, pp. 222, 3, and Quaresmius, Tom. II. p. 408, "Hæc fossa, quæ siccæ cisternæ similitudinem gerit, cisterna vere fuit: sub cujus pavimento, quod nunc ibi stratum est, vel prope, quidam fide digni, et versatissimi in traditionibus locorum sanctorum, se ibi aquam vidisse testati sunt; quam adhuc nonnihil fluere, maxima loci humiditas persuadet, et structura idem indicat. Satis ampla est, sub loco montis Calvariæ.....sita, cujus pavimentum ab illo et summitate ulnis 20 distat, tantamque esse illius cisternæ altitudinem denotat"— and presently, describing the descent from the Chapel of S. Helena, he says; "in ejus latere apparet scissura montis, quæ creditur ab aliquibus facta in morte Domini, quando terra mota est, et petræ scissæ sunt, sed falsum et a sensu rejectum: Ibi enim erat canalis cisternæ prout qui viderunt et abstulerunt fide digni renuntiarunt." Comp. pp. 422, 3, ibid.

[5] "La meilleur eaue qui y soit si est en un puit sourdant qui est en l'eglise du Saint Sepulchre." Hatton MS. 90 in Bodleian. fol. 24 b.

[6] I fear I shall subject myself to Dr Robinson's severe criticism by this admission: but I question whether he

am not sorry that the witness is not more credible. A connexion with the water-works of Etân I could have comprehended, but any communication with Siloam involves a physical impossibility; for all the traces of this water are found on the opposite side of the Tyropœon.

Before leaving this quarter, I have yet to notice the Tombs of David, which occupy that part of Mount Sion immediately above the pool and aqueduct which have last engaged our attention. That such was their position is clear from the language of Nehemiah lately referred to, in his account of the rebuilding of the walls[7], where "the sepulchres of David and the pool that was made" are placed together between "Siloah" and "the house of the mighty;" which last appears to have occupied the south-west angle of Sion[8], as the "armoury at the turning of the wall" was situated at the north-west angle, afterwards converted into the Hippic Tower, and still represented by the Castle of David[9].

But the passage of Nehemiah further proves that the Tomb of David was recovered after the Captivity, and from this period we have occasional notices of it until near the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. It is plain that the Chaldeans had no knowledge of its

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can give any account of this story that will satisfy himself.

[7] Nehem. iii. 16—19.

[8] The description determines it to this neighbourhood, and I cannot help thinking that the scarped rock on the brow of Mount Sion at this angle, noticed also by Dr Robinson, (Bib. Res. i. 459), may have formed the foundation of this stronghold.

[9] There can be no question that "the armoury at the turning of the wall," mentioned by Nehemiah, l. c. is "the tower" which King Uzziah built "at the turning of the wall," 2 Chron. xxvi. 9; and since it must have been near this spot, as is evident from Nehemiah's description, there can be little doubt that it was on this site that Herod built his angular tower Hippicus, as he converted the old Baris into Antonia.

locality, or at least not of the treasures which it was reputed to contain, or they would not have abstained from the plunder. It was reserved for a high-priest to violate its sanctity, and to ransack its treasures. Hyrcanus, the son of Simon the Maccabee, and his successor in the princely and priestly dignity, is said to have spoiled it of three thousand talents, which will account for the disappointment of Herod the Great, who, when he had penetrated these mansions of the dead, found nothing to satisfy his cupidity, save some furniture of gold, and other precious treasures, which he carried away[1]. Josephus adds, that his attempt to explore the inner recesses of the sepulchre, where the bodies of David and Solomon were deposited, was defeated by supernatural agency; and that, in a fit of compunction for the desecration, he erected a white marble monument at the entrance to the sepulchres. Later still, we have an inspired testimony to the preservation of the tomb, where S. Peter declares of the prophet David, that "he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day[2]."

From this period it disappears from the notices of Jerusalem for many centuries, until it is again referred to by a Jewish writer of the eleventh century. I am not aware that the slightest traces are to be found of the tradition for these thousand years; and this would form a strong presumption against its preservation or recovery, unless the following may be admitted as a probable solution of the difficulty. It appeared in the last chapter how little regard the Christians paid to the objects of Jewish veneration in the city; even the

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[1] See Joseph. Ant. XIII. viii. 4; and XVI. vii. 1. [2] Acts ii. 29.

site of Solomon's Temple was neglected or insulted. Probably they would not regard with very peculiar interest the Tomb of David, especially if the interest of the locality in this view happened to be eclipsed by another association of deeper importance to Christians. Such does indeed seem to have been the fact; and even at this day the tradition of the Tomb of David, though universally received among the Christians, is not *the* tradition that attracts their affections to the spot. The Jews and Mohammedans reverence it in this view, the Christians connect it with important events in the history of our Lord and his Church[3].

From a very early period they have been taught, rightly or wrongly, to regard a chamber in the pile of buildings surrounding the Tomb, as the Upper Room consecrated by the institution of the perfecting Sacrament of our Redemption, where also our Lord appeared to the assembled apostles after His resurrection, and where the Holy Ghost descended visibly upon the believers on the day of Pentecost. It is related by Epiphanius that this building, and a few others in its vicinity, escaped destruction on the desolation by Titus, and that this chamber was the church of the faithful after their return from Pella[4]. Epiphanius wrote towards the

[3] The Προσκυνητάριον, or Greek Pilgrim's Guide, mentions the following events as having taken place here: our Lord's last Passover, with the institution of the Holy Supper, and the washing of the Disciples' feet; His appearance after the Resurrection, and the conviction of doubting Thomas; the gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost; the residence and death of the Blessed Virgin; and finally, the Tombs of David, pp. 83, 4. The Latin accounts coincide; and further assign to this neighbourhood the burial of S. Stephen after the recovery of his relics in the 5th Century. See Felix Fabri, Vol. I. pp. 243—258. Adrichomius, Theatrum; in Jerusalem, Nos. 6, 22, and 23. Quaresmius, Tom. II. pp. 119—147.

[4] Hadrian coming to Jerusalem, εὗρε τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἠδαφισμένην...

close of the fourth century, and his testimony may at least be taken to prove that the Christian tradition at that date assigned to this church a far higher antiquity than to the Martyrium of the Resurrection[1]; and therefore we may well believe that, although the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem while Constantine's Basilica was in the course of erection, makes no express mention of this building, he intended it to be understood in his notice of the blood-stained column on Mount Sion[2], which Prudentius[3] and his contemporary S. Jerome[4] teach us to connect with a church; while the intermediate reference to it by S. Cyril[5] is a strong confirmation of the evidence for its

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παρεκτὸς ὀλίγων οἰκημάτων, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, μίκρας οὔσης, ἔνθα ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ μαθηταὶ ὅτε ὁ Σωτὴρ ἀνελήφθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ελαιῶνος, ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὠκοδόμητο, τουτέστιν τῷ μέρει Σιὼν, ἥ τις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρημώσεως παρηλήφθη, κ.λ. De Pond. et Mens. cap. XIV. Op. Tom. II. p. 170. Coloniæ, 1682. See Vol. I. p. 206.

[1] It is probably no chance coincidence that the wall surrounding the west part of the city is mentioned by Josephus as spared by Titus for a camp to the Roman garrison: when possibly the buildings near that wall, and this among them, were converted into barracks for the soldiers. Bell. Jud. VII. i. 1.

[2] "In eodem ascenditur Sion, et paret ubi fuit domus Caiphæ sacerdotis, et columna adhuc ibi est, in qua Christum flagellis ceciderunt." Ap. Wesseling, p. 592.

[3] After notice of the Domus Caiphæ, of which below, the Christian poet thus notices

'*Columna ad quam flagellatus est Christus.*
Vinctus in his Dominus stetit ædibus, atque columnæ
Annexus tergum dedit, ut servile, flagellis.
Perstat adhuc, templumque gerit veneranda columna,
Nosque docet cunctis immunes vivere flagris.' *Enchoridion.*

[4] Speaking of St Paula's pilgrimage of Sion, he writes "Ostendebatur illi columna Ecclesiæ porticum sustinens, infecta cruore Domini, ad quam vinctus, dicitur flagellatus. Monstrabatur locus ubi super centum viginti credentium animas Spiritus Sanctus descendisset, &c." Epitaphium Paulæ. Op. Tom. IV. pars ii. col. 674. Ed Bened. The juxtaposition is remarkable.

[5] Catech. XVI. iv. p. 245. ἐν τῇ Πεντεκοστῇ κατελθὸν...ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ιερουσαλὴμ, ἐν τῇ ἀνωτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίᾳ, κ. λ. It was called the Upper Church, either in contradistinction to the Martyry of the Resurrection, which was situated on lower ground; or perhaps in reference to the ὑπερῷον—"Upper Chamber."

high antiquity. From this time it is duly noted by all Christian writers among the sacred localities of Jerusalem[6], but, as was observed, simply for its association with important incidents in the history of the Christian Church.

It is during the occupation of Jerusalem by the Crusaders that we find the notice of the Tomb of David, above alluded to; which may serve to connect it with this spot. The following remarkable story is told by Benjamin of Tudela[7]. "On Mount Sion are the Sepulchres of the house of David, and those of the kings who reigned after him. In consequence of the following circumstance, however, this place is hardly to be recognized at present. Fifteen years ago one of the walls of the place of worship on Mount Sion fell down, which the Patriarch ordered the Priest to repair. He commanded to take stones from the original wall of Sion, and to employ them for that purpose: which command was obeyed. Two labourers, who were engaged in digging stones from the very foundation of the walls of Sion, happened to meet with one which formed the mouth of a cavern. They agreed to enter the cave and to search for treasure; and in pursuit of this object they penetrated to a large hall, supported by pillars of marble, encrusted with gold and silver, before which stood a table with a golden sceptre and crown. This was the Sepulchre of David king of Israel, to the left of which

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[6] The references are given by Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. I. 357, n. 2, and p. 358, n. 3. Even this writer says, "It is apparently the same spot, and perhaps the same building referred to by Cyril in the 4th century, as the Church of the Apostles, where they were said to be assembled on the day of Pentecost."

[7] Asher's Ed. Vol. I. pp. 38—40. Translat. 72—75.

they saw that of Solomon, and of all the kings of Judah who were buried there. They further saw locked chests, and desired to enter the hall to examine them, but a blast of wind, like a storm, issued forth from the mouth of the cavern, and prostrated them almost lifeless on the ground. They lay in this state until evening, when they heard a voice commanding them to rise up and go forth from the place. They proceeded terror-stricken to the Patriarch, and informed him of what had occurred. He summoned Rabbi Abraham el Constantini, a pious ascetic, one of the mourners of the downfall of Jerusalem, and caused the two labourers to repeat the occurrence in his presence. Rabbi Abraham hereupon informed the Patriarch that they had discovered the sepulchres of the house of David and of the kings of Judah. The Patriarch ordered the place to be walled up, so as to hide it effectually from every one to the present day." The narrator closes his account with these words: "*The above-mentioned Rabbi Abraham told me all this.*" This is a staggering assertion from one so trustworthy as Benjamin of Tudela generally is[1], and the circumstantiality and consistency of the narrative is remarkable for a writer of that age. Without then attempting to determine the proportions of truth and fiction in this marvellous story, I would offer the following observations.

Benjamin of Tudela says that in his day, (soon after A. D. 1160,) "there was no building on Sion save one Christian church,"—doubtless the Cœnaculum[2]; so that this must have been the church which the Patriarch was

[1] See a candid estimate of this writer by Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. III. Appendix I. p. 7.

[2] Asher's Ed. p. 37. 2. Trans. 72. Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 359, n. 1.

about to repair. The stones for the work would of course be taken from that part of the ruined wall of Sion nearest to the building. The nature of the ground shews that the wall must have passed at no great distance from the Cœnaculum, on this part of Mount Sion[3]; and indeed traces of the wall have occasionally been noticed[4], and may even still be discovered. The language of Nehemiah, above adduced, further proves that the wall of Sion passed near the Sepulchres of David in this same quarter[5]. I may again repeat what has been said of other sites, that these coincidences are very extraordinary, if the traditions are nothing more than random guesses, and the agreement of the localities is, on this opposition, still more "singular" than the "juxtaposition of the two superstitions[6]."

The account here given of the concealment of the tombs, both before and after their accidental discovery in the 12th century, would explain their disappearance from the annals of history for so many centuries before[7], and for the silence of chroniclers and travellers after this period. The earliest intimation of their alleged

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[3] See Plan of Jerusalem for the probable course of this wall.

[4] So Felix Fabri, describing the garden of the Franciscans to the east of the Convent, "in cornu montis Sion positus," (i. e. the S. E. angle,) says that the garden-wall was placed on abrupt rocks, "et ibi videtur adhuc antiquissimus murus Syon et turrium fundamenta." Vol. II. p. 276.

[5] From the S.W. corner, along the Hamman Tabarieh, past the Mosk Nabi Daûd, and the place formerly occupied by the garden, foundations may still be traced. See Dr. Schultz, Jerusalem, pp. 27 and 40.

[6] Bib. Res. Vol. I. p. 357.

[7] See two very curious notices of the Sepulchres of David, in Epiphanius advers. Hæres. Lib. XI. p. 702, and in the Paschal Chronicle, p. 155, (quoted by Reland sub voce *Gabaoth*. Palest. p. 770), which imply that some few knew the entrance to them in those times.

recovery is in the 14th century[1], while the Minorites were still in occupation of the church and convent of Sion, from which they were expelled in the 16th century, under circumstances to be afterwards detailed. Some few travellers have succeeded in bribing the Moslem guardian of these Sepulchres, of whom Fürer and Radzivil have described them. The former (A. D. 1567) writes as follows: "On the left of the Cœnaculum, under the Choir of the Church, we descended into a certain cave, sufficiently large, and vaulted: thence by a narrow passage, confined by wooden rails, we came to an arch on the left, in which is a very long and lofty monument, cut entirely out of the rock, with carving in the stone, executed with admirable art, and of such magnitude as I had never before seen. Under it David, Solomon, and other kings of Judah, are buried, and it is held in highest honour by the Turks. The whole Chapel is strewn with Turkey carpets, and the monument itself is covered with green silk of Damascus, around which many lamps are suspended[2]." The later account of

[1] Dr. Robinson dates the first notice of the tombs, 1479. B. R. I. 358. But it is very unsafe to argue from the silence of earlier writers that the tradition was not current in their time. I first found distinct notice of the Tombs in William Wey's Travels, A.D. 1458. Afterwards, in S. Sigoli, (p. 75), and L. Frescobaldi, (p. 150), both in A. D. 1384. Sir J. Maundeville, 1322—56, speaks of David, Solomon, and his successors, being buried in Mount Sion, in a manner which may perhaps imply that their sepulchre was known by tradition in his day. p. 111, ed. 1727. Yet later writers, Moslem and Christian, do not notice them. Ishak Khelo, A. D. 1334, says that the Tombs of David are known neither to Jews nor Mohammedans, (ap. Carmoly, p. 238.) Uri b. Simeon, (A.D. 1564) acknowledges those on Mount Sion. The Moslems had possession of the Sepulchres in the time of Felix Fabri, and the Christians dared not enter. Vol. I. pp. 252, 3. This was A. D. 1484. Yet Mejr-ed-din, writing A. D. 1495, does not notice them.

[2] Christopheri Füreri Itinerarium, p. 72.

Radzivil (A. D. 1584) is consistent with this, as regards the situation of the cave; but he differs from Fürer in his description of the monument. That of David he describes as executed in white marble streaked with blue veins, with a red damask coverlid, fringed with yellow silk. At the side of this was another monument, said to be that of Solomon, without any covering[3]. So late as 1839, Sir Moses Montefiore with his party was admitted through "a spacious vaulted chamber, painted in the Turkish fashion," to "a trellised door," where they "beheld, through the lattice, the sacred and royal deposit of the best and noblest of kings[4]." When I was at Jerusalem, the aged Sheikh of Nebi Daûd offered to conduct me by night to the "Tomb below ground:" I have ever since regretted that I could not avail myself of his offer. The Latin monks still continue the practice of washing the pilgrims' feet in the Cœnaculum on Maundy Thursday, in commemoration of one of the passages in Scripture-history, which they, in common with all the Christians of Jerusalem, believe to have been transacted in this chamber.

There remains one other locality in this part on which it will be necessary to observe very briefly, and that is the town-house of Caiaphas the high-priest, where our Lord was judged. It stands between the Tomb of David and the city-wall, very near the Sion Gate. It is now in the hands of the Armenians, and is, as usual, adorned with legendary stories of such a description as have served more than any arguments to

[3] Hierosol. Perigrin. Principis Radzivil, p. 103. May not the white marble monument be that erected by Herod at the entrance to the Sepulchres, as recorded by Josephus? Sup. p. 506.

[4] Notes from a private (and unpublished) Journal of Lady Montefiore, p. 283.

bring the ancient traditions into contempt with those who have either no temper or no opportunity to qualify themselves, by a careful sifting of evidence, for the delicate task of separating truth from fiction; a course which, though not always easy or pleasant, yet seems due to those who have not only preserved to us these comparatively unimportant particulars, but have been the appointed instruments for handing down the precious deposit of Christian Faith committed to them for this end.

With regard to this particular tradition, it is more unsatisfactory than any which has been hitherto examined, because while it is certain that the memorial of the house of Caiaphas was delivered down from high antiquity, yet the tradition does not appear to have been permanently fixed by any building until the time of the Crusades. That the site of the house of Caiaphas was known in this quarter, is attested by the Bourdeaux Pilgrim[1], (A. D. 333), and its ruins are noticed by the poet Prudentius towards the end of the same century[2]; but that there was no Church here in the 12th century, is apparent from the language of Benjamin of Tudela already cited; and it is not until the 14th century that Marinus Sanuto and Sir John Maundeville witness to the existence of a chapel on the spot[3].

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[1] Itin. Hierosol. p. 152. "Paret locus ubi fuit domus Caiphæ," quoted by Dr. Robinson, Bib. Res. I. 359, n. 2. Does this necessarily imply that the house of Caiaphas was not still in existence?

[2] "*Domus Caiphæ.*

"Impia blasphemi cecidit domus, ecce, Caiphæ,
In qua pulsata est alapis facies sacra Christi.
Hic peccatores manet exitus, obruta quorum
Vita ruinosis tumulis sine fine jacebit."
Enchiridion.

[3] Marinus Sanuto, III. xiv. 8; Sir J. Maundeville, p. 111; both *circ.* 1320.

Before quitting Mount Sion, we will merely glance at the hill on the opposite side of the Sultan's Pool, to mark the position of the Gazelle's Castle[4] (*Kasr el-Ghazûl*), which must, I think, occupy the site of the lovely villas beautifully situated on the S. W. of the city, described by Mejr-ed-din, under the name of Al-kaat[5]: a little to the North of which we distinguish the ruins of the Arab Village *Abu Wa'ir;* and North of that again, the small Greek Church of S. George (*El-Khudr*), whose glimmering light looks strange and unearthly in the waste of darkness, when seen by night from the city-walls[6]. Here a worthy Effendi has lately built a country residence, and planted a pleasure-garden; so that the environs of the city, once enlivened everywhere with gardens and orchards, bid fair to recover their former beauty, at least in this quarter, so as again to merit the name that still cleaves to the olive-grove above the Pool of the Sultan, of a Jar of Grapes (*Jarret el-'Anub*).

Passing now through this grove, beneath the West wall of Sion, called the Towers of Gaza, enclosing the garden of the Armenian Convent, we leave on the left the large Tank of Mamilla,—which Dr Schultz identifies, I think erroneously, with the Upper Pool of Isaiah, and the Serpent Pool of Josephus[7],—and proceed to the North of the city in quest of other objects of interest.

And here, at the distance of 800 feet from the Da-

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[4] Called also the Bird's Castle, (*Kasr el-Asfûr*). Schultz's Jerusalem, which I here follow, p. 38.

[5] In Mines d'Orient, Tome II. p. 131; but the MS. has *Buk'a.*

[6] This is called by Mejr-ed-din, *Deir Ebi-Tor:* the Greek Saint he names *Mar Kaibûs,* l. c. p. 131.

[7] Jerusalem, pp. 67, 82, 84.

mascus Gate, on the left of the Nablouse road, we may notice a rocky court, oblong in form and probably not accidentally regular, which I could well believe to mark the site of S. Stephen's Church, erected by the Empress Eudocia, to receive the remains of the Proto-Martyr, recovered in obedience to the vision of Lucian—so runs the legend—from the village of Gamala[1], where he had been buried by Gamaliel. The relics being brought to Jerusalem, were deposited on Mount Sion, until their transference to the Church of Eudocia. This assignation is conjectural; but it is certain that the Church in question must have been very near to this spot.

But let us pass on to the Cave of Jeremiah, called by the Moslems "the Cave *Edhemiene*," situated beneath the mountain of Tombs, called *Ez-Zahera;* exhibiting the peculiarity noted by Mejr-ed-din[2], that the dead are above the living, being buried in the overhanging rock of enormous thickness. The cave is of large dimensions, supported by a huge unshapen column of the natural rock, left for that purpose, while the mountain was quarried away around it. It is occasionally used for a Lazaretto by the Quarantine Office. The tradition that connects this Cave with Jeremiah is modern, deserving of no consideration[3]. The theory of Herrn Krafft, who finds in it the Sepulchre of Herod, is

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[1] Kephr Gamala, probably *Beit-el-Gemal*, to the west of *Wadi-es-Sumt*. For this legend, see S. Augustini Op. Tom. VII. Appendix, col. 3, &c.; and Dr. Robinson in the Theolog. Rev. p. 640.

[2] Mines d'Orient, II. p. 133.

[3] Nicephorus asserts that S. Helena ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ Ιεριμίου καὶ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ ἣ τοῦ Σιλωὰμ εἴρηται, πολυτελῆ τὰ ἔργα ἐποίει. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VIII. cap. XXX. See Quaresmius, II. p. 731. Antoninus Placentinus (Ugolini Thes. Tom. VII. p. mccxvi.) seems to imply that the dungeon of Jeremiah was near the fountain of Siloam, close to a city-gate on the South.

equally fanciful[4]: but its identity with the monuments of Alexander (Jannæus), happily suggested by Dr Schultz, is extremely probable[5], though I cannot say that I am convinced by the argument derived from the Bath in the neighbourhood, popularly called the Dungeon of Jeremiah, which is well worthy of notice[6].

In the rocky wall facing the yawning cave, an uncouth passage conducts to a double cave, disposed one above the other, and excavated with considerable care. The elegant vault of the upper cave is supported by a centre pillar of Gothic character; near which an opening in the floor communicates with a flight of steps, cut in the rock, conducting to the lower cave. This is much more spacious than the upper, but its vault is similarly supported by a square colossal pillar, whose massive base stands in the water, which covers all the bottom of the cave[7]. The vaults and pillars are executed in the native rock[8], but are thickly plastered, as are also the walls of the chambers.

I do not think that the single parallel of the cistern near the Tombs of the Kings, is sufficient warrant for the theory of Dr Schultz, who regards this reservoir as the Bath of the neighbouring Tomb; and supposes that the Sepulchres were commonly furnished with a Bath. I would rather connect the cistern, which is said to communicate with the Cotton Grotto, with the waterworks of Hezekiah[9].

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[4] Topographie, &c. pp. 45, 48, 83, 219.

[5] Jerusalem, p. 69.

[6] I follow General Noroff's description, comparing it with Dr. Schultz's, p. 36, and Quaresmius, II. p. 732.

[7] Dr. Schultz, however, says that it is mostly without water.

[8] So General Noroff confidently affirms. Dr. Schultz says that the cement is so thick, and so well preserved on the pillar, that he cannot say whether it is masonry or rock.

[9] See above, p. 471.

The Tombs of the Kings lie further to the North, on the right of the Nablouse road, somewhat more than half a mile from the Damascus Gate. It is approached by an inclined plane, leading down into an open area sunk in the native rock, and entered by a small doorway with a semicircular head, likewise pierced in rock. On the West side of the court are the remains of a handsome portico, richly ornamented with grapes and garlands, well executed in the rock, which was made to assume the constructive features of Corinthian architecture in its pilasters, columns, and entablature. From the South side of this portico a low narrow passage leads into the vaulted ante-chamber of the Tombs, with two doors on its southern and one on its western side, giving entrance into the mansions of the dead. The two chambers on the South have each of them six loculi for corpses, sunk perpendicularly in their rocky walls. The western chamber is furnished with nine loculi of the same character; but some of these are larger, and appear to have been intended for two corpses laid on parallel couches[1]. Besides these, there are other two chambers on a lower plane with horizontal ledges. The descent to one of these is on the North of the western chamber on the South side of the ante-room; the other is reached by steps in the North wall of the chamber on the West of the ante-room. In these lower chambers are ruined

[1] The dimensions of the court, portico, chambers, &c. are as follows: The open Area 93 ft. by 87, the Portico 39 by 17, and 15 feet high, the Ante-room 18½ by 19, the S.E. chamber 11 ft. 2 in. by 12 ft., the adjacent S.W. chamber 13⅓ by 13 ft. The western chamber 13¼ feet square. Bib. Res. Vol. I. pp. 528—533, where Mr. Catherwood's Plan is given. I have also been favoured with Mr. Barry's Plan of these excavations, made in A.D. 1819. Mr. Bartlett has given some faithful sketches, Walks, pp. 141—143. The description should be compared with Sections 3 and 4 of Chapter III.

sarcophagi of white marble with their battered lids elaborately carved.

Dr. Robinson has attributed these excavations to Helena[2], whose monuments, so celebrated in antiquity, must certainly have stood at no great distance from this spot. It is very unfortunate for this hypothesis that the only two features by which we know that her sepulchre was distinguished, have entirely disappeared. These were three marble pyramids, and a door which opened by some mechanical contrivance: for, extravagant as the language of Pausanias undoubtedly is, thus much at least must be concluded from it, if his statement be worth anything; and I cannot think that his notice of this single door could be intended to describe those many-panelled doors of stone which separated between the chambers in the Tombs of the Kings, and which do not appear to have had any mechanism connected with them[3]. But this is not the strongest objection to the theory.

Helena was the widowed queen of Monobazus, otherwise called Bazeus, king of Adiabene. Having with her son Izates, who succeeded to the throne, become a proselyte to Judaism, she fixed her residence at Jerusalem for purposes of devotion, where, during the prevalence of the famine predicted by Agabus, in the days of Claudius Cæsar, she relieved the poor by her unbounded liberality[4]; and having resolved to end her

[2] Bib. Res. I. 536, 7. Comp. Theol. Rev. pp. 645, 6. This theory, however, is not quite new. It was started by Pococke, Description &c. Vol. II. p. 20, and adopted by Clarke, Travels, Pt. II. Vol. IV. p. 379, 8vo. ed.; who also cites Chateaubriand.

[3] One of these was still hanging in Maundrell's time. See Journey, under March 28, p. 77. Their fragments are now scattered over the ground of the chambers.

[4] Joseph. Ant. XX. ii. See Acts xi. 28, and Euseb. H. E. II. xii.

days there, she prepared her sepulchre during her life, as was the custom of the times. But it is surely difficult to imagine what could induce a widowed lady, self-exiled from her home and family, to prepare for her private sepulture, in a land of strangers, an extensive series of excavations, containing nearly forty receptacles for the dead; and although it is true that she shared her tomb, by accident, with her son Izates, yet the language of Pausanias, representing it as a single tomb[1], would hardly have been used to describe the numerous loculi above noticed; nor do I think that the single argument adducible in support of the hypothesis, can avail to set aside these weighty objections. The argument is this: S. Jerome, in his account of S. Paula's journey to Jerusalem, represents that as she approached the city, she had the mausoleum of Helena on her left; and that supposing she approached by the present Nablouse road, she must have had the Tombs of the Kings to the left; therefore these are identical. But admitting the assumption that "the great northern road at present is unquestionably the same that it ever was[2]," still it is far from clear that S. Paula reached the city by that route; for even if S. Jerome had designed to recall the exact order of her progress, after the lapse of so many years, which seems improbable, yet the

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[1] Josephus says, τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων, (J. W. v. ii. 2, iv. 2,) obviously with reference to the three pyramids described in Ant. xx. iv. 3. So Eusebius mentions them, εἰσέτι νῦν στῆλαι διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δείκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας. But Pausanias, who alone mentions the tomb properly so called, always uses the singular τάφος. See the passage in Bib. Res. Vol. i. n. xxvii. p. 569. Moses Chorenensis mentions the Monument as extant in his time, (i. e. A.D. 461.) See Hist. Armeniaca, Lib. ii. cap. xxxii. Whiston's Ed. p. 145.

[2] I do not think this demonstrable, but probable.

abrupt break in his narrative, immediately before her arrival at Jerusalem, allows room for the supposition that she had visited other localities after that last mentioned, and so leaves it uncertain from what point she last came[3].

Can, then, any more probable account be given of these remarkable excavations? They may still, I think, be allowed to retain their old name, and be identified with the "royal caves" of Josephus[4], which must clearly have been in this vicinity, and those "royal caves" were probably the same as the monuments of Herod. For these caves were East of the monuments of Helena, between them and the Fuller's Monument, which last occupied the North-east angle of Bezetha. But Herod's monuments must have been some distance West of the Fuller's Monument, for the camp of the Assyrians was interposed[5]: so that their situation may be supposed to correspond with that of the "Royal Caves," as it certainly does very remarkably, with that of the "Tombs of the

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[3] Having mentioned Gabaa, or "Gibeah of Benjamin," (whose site he does not determine,) in connexion with Judges xix. &c., he proceeds: "Ad lævam mausoleo Helenæ derelicto.....ingressa est Hierosolymam," &c. St Hieron. Epist. lxxxvi. *Epitaph. Paulæ, ad Eustoch.* Vol. IV. Pt. II. p. 673, Ed. Bened. Dr. Robinson, with strange inconsistency, places Gibeah where it certainly would not be approached by the road in question. If this town was where he places it, (Bib. Res. II. 114) and S. Paula came direct from thence to Jerusalem, as he seems to suppose, the Tombs of the Kings must have been *far on her right.* See his Plan of the Environs. In Theol. Rev. p. 645, he shifts the site of Gibeah to Tuleil el-Fûl, which is on the Nablouse Road.

[4] J. W. v. iv. 2. σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν.

[5] Vol. I. pp. 149, 181. See Josephus l. c. for the position of the Royal Caves; and for the monuments of Herod, J. W. v. iii. 2; and xii. 2. In the latter passage the historian uses the singular; but not to mention the plural in the former passage, a single μνεμεῖον is no more inconsistent with many τάφοι, than a single τάφος with many μνημεῖα.

Kings;" while it is further obvious how entirely suitable these sepulchres would be to the magnificent ideas of the great Herod, whose ambitious hope it was to be the founder of a dynasty of kings; and the style of the architecture would well agree with the period of his reign. If this view be correct, the monuments of queen Helena must have been West of the caves, between them and the tower of Psephinus, which occupied the North-west corner of the New City[1]. And there is an area of native rock immediately to the right of the road to Neby Samwîl, where sepulchral excavations may be seen, among which I am disposed to think that her resting-place is to be sought[2].

Before leaving the Tombs of the Kings, it may be well to mention another excavation immediately without the entrance to the court-yard of rock, through which they are approached. The cave in question, which is difficult of access, is seldom visited by travellers. It is of irregular form, much larger than any of the chambers in the neighbouring tombs. The roof of rock is supported by an unshapen mass of the same, which has been left for the purpose; and the ground, which is covered with loose stones, descends rapidly within, *i. e.* towards the East. It occurred to me whether this cave might not be in some way connected with the Serpents' Pool, which adjoined the monuments of Herod, and whether the upper outflow of the waters

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[1] Joseph. J. W. v. iv. 2, 3. Dr. Schultz makes these the royal caves of Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. iv. 2; and finds the grave of Helena near the Tombs of the Martyrs, and the Monuments of Herod at the west of the Pool of Mamilla, (i. e. at the Charnel-house of the Lion.) See his Plan, and Lecture, pp. 38, 62—65.

[2] The Tomb is marked by the Officers in their Plan.

of Gihon might not have been stopped in this place. Perhaps, further investigation of this unexplored cavern may lead to more satisfactory results.

The rugged face of the Valley of Jehoshaphat from this point exhibits numerous sepulchral excavations; and it is not improbable that the general name of Royal Caves may have been assigned to them all, while those of Herod were distinguished by a specific designation. Among the most remarkable of these mansions of the dead, is a picturesque ruin reverenced by the Jews as the grave of Simon the Just, the son of Onias[3]; and a well-preserved rock-grave, beautifully situated in a small ravine, overhung with olives and vines, which Dr. Schultz is disposed to identify with the Fuller's Monument, at the N. E. angle of the wall of Agrippa[4], traces of which he thinks he has discovered above, on the brink of the valley. Other ruined graves and cisterns, strewn over the whole hill, still bear witness to the occupation of a suburban cemetery by the overflowing population of the old city, which led in time to the incorporation of Bezetha, whose limits on the North can be traced with considerable certainty, partly by remains of its wall, and partly by the tanks of the houses which it enclosed[5].

I have now passed in review all the localities of importance, whose memory is cherished by Christians for their connexion with the Gospel history, and have, I trust, made it to appear that these traditions are, on the whole, entitled to more respect than it is the custom of

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[3] Dr. Schultz's Jerusalem, p. 38.

[4] See Josephus as cited in Vol. I. p. 148.

[5] The former are carefully noted by Dr. Schultz, pp. 62—65 (compare his Plan), and the latter are very accurately marked by Major Aldrich in the Ordnance Survey.

English and American travellers to attach to them[1], and that a distinction is to be drawn between those which are derived from a remote antiquity, and those which originated during the Frank domination. Full satisfaction on many of the points could only be obtained by very extensive excavations in and about the city. But although the Scripture interest of the questions involved would fully repay the trouble and expense of such undertakings, there is one great but perhaps not insurmountable obstacle: only a few months ago a learned friend, deeply interested in the archæology of the City of David, and every way qualified to carry on the investigation with success, thus writes: "The fanaticism of the Mohammedans, lately raised anew from its slumbers, prevents me from going freely about the interesting places of the city." But the same authority which opens the mosks of the Turkish capital to the curiosity of Franks, might remove the obstructions at Jerusalem; a firman from the Sultan might probably be procured, if applied for in a proper manner. His Majesty the King of Prussia has conferred an important benefit on one branch of history, by the expedition sent to Egypt under the direction of Dr. Lipsius, with full permission of the Pasha. Would not the antiquities of Jerusalem present a field equally worthy of royal munificence? or would the Ottoman Porte prove more im-

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[1] An American Wesleyan traveller, who "has bestowed especial attention upon the very able and learned argument of Dr. Robinson (on the subject of the Holy Sepulchre), without, however, being able to adopt his conclusions," speaks of "*English* travellers" as "certainly the most incredulous and anti-catholic in the world." Surely his American brother will be justly indignant at being robbed of the palm which he has done his best to merit. Travels in the Holy Land, by Dr. Olin, Vol. II. p. 277.

practicable than the Viceroy of Egypt? The area of the Mosk of Omar, of course, may not be violated; but much might be done without trenching on the sacred enclosure, as this and the preceding chapters will have proved. Meanwhile I trust that the reader will be able to rest in the conclusions which I have endeavoured to establish, and for which some ground of probability has been shewn; and because, on a subject so involved in obscurity, it must needs be that many errors will be committed before the whole truth is brought to light, I will add, not more or *less* for my own sake than for the sake of others who have gone before me, that such errors ought not to be visited severely, or to be deemed unpardonable, if they have arisen from no want of candour or of diligence, and if they are honestly acknowledged and corrected as soon as they are discovered.

CHAPTER VI.

MODERN JERUSALEM AND ITS INHABITANTS.

The Christian pilgrim approaching Jerusalem for the first time will probably be disappointed to find that his emotions on the first sight of a city, associated in his mind from his earliest infancy with all that is most sacred, are so much less intense than he anticipated, and that he can look on Mount Olivet and Mount Sion with feelings, certainly not of indifference, but of much less painful interest than he imagined possible, when he thought on them at a distance. The truth is, the events transacted here are so great in every view, that the mind cannot at once grasp them; but is, as it were, stupified by the effort. It takes time to realize the truth

that this is the home of Scripture History, the cradle of the Christian Church. But the feeling of attachment to the Holy City and its sacred localities will soon be formed, and will be deepened by time, to a calm *satisfaction*, a peaceful resting in it as the home of one's affections, which no other spot on earth can impart. For there is a halo about Jerusalem, an atmosphere which one drinks in, not only on the mountains around, but even amid its crumbling ruins, which has an untold charm; and he who shall have resided there for months or years, and has known what it is to suffer in body and in mind, amid the scenes of His sufferings, and has enjoyed the solace of hearty affection from true friends, and a higher consolation still; such an one alone can appreciate the privilege of a residence there, and will not readily forget the parting pang with which the last farewell was accompanied.

But I have to imagine the pilgrim approaching the city. If he is journeying from the West, as most pilgrims do, he will come in sight of the city about a mile from the gates, where it presents its least imposing aspect — merely a dull line of wall, with the Mount of Olives rising above. He will perhaps have read of the desolate appearance of the neighbourhood of the city: it is sometimes said to resemble a city of the dead. Travellers who have so written must have been singularly unfortunate in the time of their entrance; for on a bright evening, at any time of the year, nothing can well be imagined more lively than the scene without the Jaffa Gate. It is then that the inhabitants, of whatever nation and whatever faith, walk out "to drink the air," as they express it, and the various companies may be seen sauntering about, or

reclining on the ground. Here will be seen members of the two large families into which the Jews are now divided, the Ashkenazim and Sephardim[1], the latter easily distinguishable from the former by their brighter and more intelligent looks; and here the Greek monks of the Great Convent, and other native or foreign Christians, and groups of native women and children sitting by the way-side, or amusing themselves with the favourite exercise of swinging under the olive-trees at the head of the Valley of Hinnom. The appearance of the females indeed is somewhat spectral, for a white sheet thrown loosely over their handsome dresses, and their yellow boots, is all that is distinguishable; but the merry laugh may be heard among them, and, with the music of their "tinkling ornaments," would serve to convince the stranger that they were veritable daughters of Eve. He will see little of the desolations of Jerusalem here: but let him enter the gates, and the delusion which its compact and well-built walls, and the appearance of its inhabitants, may have produced, will be quickly dispelled. He no sooner enters the city than desolation stares him in the face. The citadel on his right hand, which shewed fair from a distance, is a ruin and patchwork—a Roman tower, with mediæval additions and Turkish debasements, erected on a massive foundation of Jewish architecture. On his left he will have an open space covered with ruins; and as he passes through the streets he will find scarcely a house that is not a ruin, and in some parts huge hulks of massive wrecks; as for example, the Hospital of the Knights

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[1] Ashkenazim; the Jews of Russia, Germany, &c. See Gen. x. 3. Sephardim; the Jews of Spain, Portugal, and the shores of the Mediterranean.

W.H. Wills del. T.H. Kenyon lith.

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the Queen.

PART OF THE TOWER OF DAVID.

Showing the Residence of Bishop Alexander.

of St John, and the so-called Palace of Helena. But indeed this may be said of almost any eastern city. It is the peculiar province of the Turks to lay waste what other ages have built up. But let him examine more closely: he will find traces of former greatness, and even grandeur, here and there. Handsome Saracenic fountains, now dry; some few traces of Gothic architecture, more of Roman, and here and there fragments of a Greek cornice or capital, lying neglected on the side of the street, or built into modern hovels, without any regard to their proper position, and shafts of columns of costly marbles jutting out from the walls in various parts, all attesting its ancient greatness. Or let him repair to any spot near the walls, where excavations may perchance be carrying on for the erection of a new building, and he will see, many feet below the present surface of the ground, massive stones tossed about in the wildest confusion, and rubble to the depth of forty feet on the summit of the hills, and of untold depth in the valleys beneath[4]; and he will easily believe that he

[4] This is surely a sufficient answer to Mr. Whiting's argument in support of Dr Robinson's Theory of the course of the Tyropœon, communicated in a letter to Dr Robinson, dated August 22, 1847, read at a Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, afterwards published in the New York Observer, December 18, 1847; a copy of which I received, through the civility, I believe, of Dr Robinson. The argument is this, that near the Church of the Forerunner, at the S.E. corner of the street of the Patriarch, in digging for foundations, beneath 15 or 20 feet of rubbish, the top of a vaulted room was found, the height of which was not known, "but supposing it to have been on the first or lower story, the original foundations must have been at least 30 or 40 feet below the present surface." An equal depth of rubbish was found in laying the foundations of a "large new house opposite the street leading North from the main street, towards the Latin Convent," i. e. near the Jaffa Gate. Now both these sites are "directly over the bed of Dr Robinson's Tyropœon, and the accumulation of rubbish is supposed to indicate the bed of a valley. But then *débris* on the Northern *brow* of Sion *to the*

is in the oldest city in the world, which has undergone more vicissitudes than any other in the annals of history.

But these are not the ruins of Jerusalem. Let him repair to the Jews' Quarter on Mount Sion, and there he will see the living "stones of the sanctuary poured out in the top of every street. The precious sons of Sion, comparable unto fine gold, how are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter!" For, if the dwellings and the synagogues of the Sephardim bear witness, as do their countenances, to a higher state of moral culture than he had been led to expect, and if they are living in comparative security, as subjects of the Turkish government, after having been hunted like dogs from kingdoms which called themselves Christian, yet are they but strangers in their own land, speaking a foreign language, and subject to the caprice of foreign lords. But the other section, the Ashkenazim, will exhibit all the symptoms of wretchedness which an acquaintance with their European brethren

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still greater depth of 42 feet were dug through by Mr. Johns, in laying the foundations of the Church, and he also found a vaulted chamber beneath. (See his Work, pp. 6 and 7, and Bartlett's Walks, pp. 87, 88.) These excavations I saw for myself. Again, Dr Robinson mentions the same phænomena in digging for the foundations of a new synagogue in the Jews' Quarter, i. e. in the middle of Sion, Bib. Res. I. p. 360; and the same (with the exception of the chambers) in laying the foundations of the new barracks on the western brow of Sion. Ibid. p. 459. Similarly Richardson speaks of 20 and 30 feet of ruins in the Jews' Quarter, (Vol. II. p. 267) cited by Raumer, Beiträge zur biblischen Geographie, p. 54, where he also adduces Niebuhr's observations to the same effect. Thus then the *débris* mentioned by Mr. Whiting are not so deep as in other parts of the city, and cannot be taken as indications of the filling up of a valley. Rather, had there been a valley here, the accumulation must have been much greater. His opinion of the date of the ruins indicated by me is, perhaps, not worth more than my own. I have nothing to do with "the square corner of the Palace of the Knights of S. John;" nor does Dr Schultz identify it with the second wall, but only Lord Nugent, (Vol. II. p. 36,) who has been "too kind" to Dr Schultz in this instance.

had taught him to expect. The same haggard and careworn expression of countenance, the same anxious eye, an index of that "astonishment of heart," which is the threatened curse of their unbelief. Their very presence here is a memorial of the condition of their outcast brethren, scattered abroad in every nation under heaven, whose representatives they are, and by whose alms they are supported in "the city of their father's sepulchres." Or if he can trust his feelings, and consider it no desecration to intrude on a scene of human sorrow with which he may not sympathize, and which he cannot relieve, he may follow the steps of many travellers to the Jews' Wailing-place, on the appointed day, and there he will probably witness, among many cases of carelessness and listless indifference, apparent instances of deep mental agony[1], for which he will know that nothing but the Gospel can afford adequate relief; and he will surely join in the petition of the third Collect for Good Friday with a deeper meaning than before, and desire more earnestly than ever that the attempts for their conversion, however and by whomsoever made, may be crowned with perfect success.

Still these are not the ruins of Jerusalem. Let him turn to the children of the "heavenly Sion,"—"the New Jerusalem,"—"the Mother of us all," and the First and Second Collects for the Great Fast will come home with equal force.

Let us suppose him present in Jerusalem during the Holy Week; he will feel a curiosity to witness the cere-

[1] I was never at the Jews' Wailing-place on Friday, for reasons hinted at in the text, but I remember to have been an unwilling spectator of one of these paroxysms in a young Jew, in one of the synagogues at Hebron.

monies in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Let him go by all means, at least if he can go to mourn, not to mock or to triumph over the scenes which will be there enacted. If he arrive at the great gates of the Church about sunset, he will find them closed for a few minutes while the Moslem guardian and his attendants perform their devotions. A small window in the door will allow him to watch their ceremony, and he may learn a lesson of outward propriety and decorum from the infidels, which he will look for in vain among the worshippers within. On his admission, the first object which will excite his astonishment and horror, will be the Turkish soldiers of the garrison standing with their bayonets fixed, in various parts of the sacred precincts, and about the Holy Cave itself. If he enquire the reason of this dreadful profanation, he will be informed that the Latins have requested it as a protection against molestation from the Greeks! The Latin ceremonies in commemoration of this day have been frequently described, and will not here be detailed[1]. Suffice it to say, that if it were their purpose to convince the infidels that the Christian Church is strictly idolatrous, they could scarcely have devised a service better calculated to impress them with the conviction, than that in which the most awful scene that the earth ever witnessed is annually acted on Mount Calvary in a representation of startling reality[2].

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[1] They are at this day exactly the same as they were in Maundrell's time, 1697. See under date Friday, March 26, p. 72, &c. Sandys' account is much shorter (p. 132), but the ceremonies were apparently the same. (1611.)

[2] I am bound to say that this passage now stands as it was originally written for the press; and that the substitution in the first edition was without my knowledge or consent.

Or again, let an unbeliever join the throng in the same church, on the Easter Eve of the Greeks, when the imposture of the holy fire has been practised for centuries by the highest dignitaries of all the Christian communions in Jerusalem, though it is now confined to the Greeks and Armenians[3]; and he will witness, not only the most deplorable and degrading superstition in this exhibition, but a scene of wild confusion and dis-

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[3] This ceremony is first noticed among the westerns, by Bernhard the monk, who visited Jerusalem *circ.* A. D. 870. (Recueil de Voyages, Tome IV. p. 790). Dositheus has preserved a Greek notice of it at the end of the same century. (Mouravieff's History of Jerusalem, I. p. 340.) It was continued from this time forward until it became, among other causes, the disastrous occasion of Hakem's destruction of the Church, (as related in Vol. I. p. 347). Notwithstanding this, it was revived with the restoration of the Church, and shortly before the Frank occupation of the city, the powers of this miraculous fire were tested by another Fatimite Khalif of Egypt, who prepared lamps with iron wicks which immediately ignited! (Historia Belli Sacri, ap. Mabillon's Mus. Ital. Tom. I. pars II. pp. 209, 10.) But the most curious and condemning fact is that recorded with innocent simplicity by Fulcher of Chartres, who was present in the first year of the Crusaders' Conquest. The light did not appear at the usual time. The expectant Latins, whose Patriarch was officiating, were dismayed, no less than the natives. Prayers and cries were redoubled in vain. Easter-day arrived, still no light appeared. King and princes, priests and people of the Latins, went in procession, chanting solemn litanies, to the Templum Domini, leaving the native Syrians of the Greek rite in the Church. On their return they were met at the door of the Church with the glad tidings that the light had appeared. (Ap. Bongar, pp. 409—411.) The truth being that the jealous Greeks had performed their trick during the absence of their suspected rivals. After this the Latin Patriarch was admitted into the secret, and practised it until their expulsion; when the Greeks resumed the profitable deception, in conjunction with Armenians and Abyssinians. The Latins do not believe in the continuance of the miracle since they have been debarred from a participation in it and its profits, and an Armenian Patriarch who once assisted at its enactment has declared it a lie. (See more in Asseman's Biblioth. Oriental, Tom. III. pars II. Dissert. de Syris Nest. XX. sect. pp. ccclxii—ccclxix. Quaresmius, Elucid. T. S. Tom. II. pp. 556—567, and Leo Allatius, de Græc. Opinat. XXX. pp. 179—182.) Yet it is still practised by the Patriarchs, still believed by the multitude!

order "very unfit for that sacred place, and better becoming bacchanals than Christians[1]." Not unfrequently on this and other occasions, in the tumultuous processions of the rival communions, severe conflicts take place about the very Sepulchre, and blood is shed on both sides. It is a heavy penalty which the ecclesiastics of the present generation are paying for the deceptions of former generations, that they cannot discontinue with safety, nor retain without offence, this scandalous abuse of an ancient and significant ceremony. In its original intention and use it appears to have been nothing more than a very instructive representation of a great truth, a parable in action relating to the Death and Resurrection of our Lord. On Good Friday all the lamps which had been kept burning at the sacred places throughout the year were extinguished; on the morning of Easter-day they were relighted by fire brought from the Holy Cave. But the figurative meaning has been lost sight of long ago in the pretended miracle, which has been unhappily claimed by the ecclesiastical authorities themselves: so that while all the respectable members of the Greek community now at Jerusalem make no scruple to acknowledge and deplore the imposture, and are absolutely ashamed to take part in it; yet they dare not disavow it before the uninstructed multitude, lest they should shake their trust in the verities of the Christian faith, which have been confirmed to them by the authority of the same teachers, on whose credit they receive this lying wonder for a veritable miracle. It requires a larger measure of faith than they can exercise to believe, that if the Church

[1] The words are Maundrell's, under date Saturday, April 3, p. 95.

take care for the truth, Christ will take care for the Church; but that if it seek to support itself by a lie, it must not reckon on the support of His Almighty arm; and they are content to look forward to a time, indefinitely distant, when the pilgrims shall be sufficiently advanced in intelligence to allow of the discontinuance of this mockery, without endangering those great truths which they do truly hold[2].

But among all the exhibitions of the Christians in the Holy City that which must most scandalize the infidels is their shameful divisions, accompanied with jealousies and heart-burnings, and not unfrequently attended with sanguinary quarrels and acts of violence, which call for the interference of the civil powers. A coloured Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a picture of the religious dissensions which afflict the Holy City, and present a perpetual stumblingblock to Jews and Mohammedans—one might almost say, a standing argument against the truth of the religion which we profess; for if the unity and harmony of the Church be a note of the heavenly origin of the doctrine which it holds, the absence of these must obscure the evidence and hinder the progress of the Gospel. The superstitious practices which have been mentioned are only obtruded on the notice of the Mohammedans occasionally, at stated seasons, but the dissensions of the various sects fill the Holy City with jarring discord throughout the year. These disputes are carried to Constantinople, and submitted to the decision of the

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[2] One part of this ceremony has been discontinued for many years. A dove used to be let fly from the Holy Cave at the time of the giving of the fire. The intention of this may be imagined, but not written.

Ottoman Porte, to be ruled, not according to the principles of justice and equity, but as bribery, or private influence, or political interests, may chance to prevail. One or two examples shall be given, which will serve better than words to manifest the feeling that exists between the rival Communions.

The Greeks and Latins both enjoy the countenance of powerful European monarchs, whence they derive an importance at Constantinople, which, independently of this, they would not possess: the Armenians make up by their wealth what they lack in this respect, and are thus able to sway the decisions of the Porte. The Syrians and Copts are too poor and too insignificant to contend with these powerful rivals; but being in communion with the Armenians, they are for the most part identified with their interests and enjoy their protection; in return for which they are expected to submit to such spoliation as their protectors think right to inflict. The facts which shall now be mentioned, as a specimen merely of what has been going on for centuries, have all occurred very recently.

The Armenians had possessed for some years a small monastery in the neighbourhood of the Church of the Ascension, on the Mount of Olives. The Greeks disputed their right to the locality, and obtained a verdict at Constantinople for the expulsion of the Armenians, not for their own establishment in their place. On the arrival of the firman, they assembled in a body by night, and tumultuously attacked the building, which they completely demolished, leaving the infidels in undisputed possession of the sacred locality! But the faults are not all on one side.

In the year 1842, the Greeks procured a firman for

the reparation of the magnificent Basilica at Bethlehem, which had fallen into a state of miserable decay. The restoration was effected at considerable expense, and with as much regard to the original design as circumstances allowed. Among other repairs they restored the North transept, which is allotted to the Armenians, and the steps which lead down from their altar to the Holy Cave of the Nativity. Can it be believed that the Armenians applied for, and procured a firman to undo what the Greeks had done?

The lead on the dome which covers the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem having become decayed through time, the Greeks obtained permission to repair it. They actually laid in a large quantity of lead for that purpose, and commenced stripping the dome, when a counter-order arrived from the Turkish capital, prohibiting, or at least suspending, the work. This obstruction had been interposed by the Latins, who have now the miserable satisfaction of seeing the sacred building fast falling to decay, with all the materials requisite for its repair close at hand.

These instances will suffice to shew the bitter hostility which prevails among the various denominations of Christians in the Holy City; and they have been cited not in triumph, but in sorrow, with the hope that the sad exhibition may indirectly tend to the removal of such unhallowed strife from around the sacred precincts consecrated by the birth and death of the Prince of Peace. The ground of this violent opposition, even to the necessary repairs of the sacred fabrics, is the apprehension that the privilege of repair may result in the recognition of an exclusive possessory right on the part of the restorers. Thus the three most sacred sites have

been for centuries the grand points of contention among the divided Churches, and the questions which these disgraceful disputes suggested to our countryman, Maundrell, a century and a half ago, force themselves upon the mind at this day. "Who can expect ever to see these holy places rescued from the hands of the infidels? Or if they should be recovered, what deplorable contests might be expected to follow about them? seeing even in the present state of captivity they are made the occasion of such unchristian rage and animosity." Nay, I would even go further, and avow a conviction, forced upon me by such facts as these, and only confirmed by time, that the Turks are, for the present, the best and safest guardians of the holy places; and that until the Christians have laid aside their animosities, the control of an infidel, and therefore indifferent arbiter, will be necessary to restrain within some bounds those vindictive feuds which, even though kept in check, break out occasionally into acts of open and even fatal violence. It were frightful to contemplate the consequences of power being given into the hands of any one of the Christian bodies which now divide the Sacred City.

Of these it will be well to furnish some particulars more in detail, commencing with the Eastern Churches, among whom the Greeks will claim the first notice.

I. ORIENTALS.

1. *The Greeks.*

The Holy Orthodox Church of the East still reckons four Patriarchs, who exercise spiritual jurisdiction over the scattered ruins of those ancient Churches in which

the light of the Gospel shone with unclouded brightness, while the western world was shrouded in heathen darkness. Of these Patriarchates, the last erected was that of Jerusalem. During the first ages of Christianity, the prelates of that city had enjoyed no peculiar privileges or prerogatives[1]. Cæsarea of Palestine was then the capital of the province, and the seat of the government; its bishop exercised metropolitan jurisdiction in the diocese of Jerusalem, a dignity expressly reserved to him by the first Nicene Council[2]. But the recovery of the sacred localities, and the erection of the Church of the Resurrection, which could not fail to attract the religious devotions of the Christians of that period, served by degrees to raise the importance of the see; and in the fourth General Council the assembled Fathers consented to erect "the mother of all churches" into a fifth Patriarchate[3].

In order to effect this, the Metropolitan Sees of Cæsarea and Scythopolis were detached from the jurisdiction of Antioch on the North, while Rabbath Moab and Petra of Arabia, were ceded by the Patriarchate of Alexandria on the South. Besides this, several suffragans were attached to the patriarchal chair as peculiars, from the several dioceses of the various metropolitans, and others newly erected; by which means the chief

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[1] "Hierosolymitana ecclesia usque ad tempora Justiniani sanctæ recordationis Augusti, episcopum habuit nulla vel modica dignitatis prærogativa gaudentem." Will. Tyr. Lib. XXIII. p. 1045. What argument Dr Keith can find in this against episcopal government, I am at a loss to imagine, (Land of Israel, p. 189). Surely, worldly state and dignity (mere accidents) are not necessary to *the order*: the *essence* is contained in the words "*episcopum habuit.*" Presbyterians will do well not to look to Jerusalem for precedents for their novelties.

[2] Cited in Vol. I. p. 252, note 2.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 273, and the references in the notes.

pastor of the church of Jerusalem was invested with so much dignity as was considered suitable to the high title which had been conferred upon him, and reckoned in his subjection four metropolitan sees subdivided into sixty-eight bishoprics, besides twenty-five suffragan bishops, independent of any authority, save only that of the Patriarch[1].

If we consider the various vicissitudes of this ancient Church, the depopulation of the country, and the long domination of the infidels, it will be rather matter of surprize that so much of the wreck has escaped complete annihilation, than that the frame-work of the vessel has not been transmitted entire. The present Patriarchate[2], extending North and South from the mountains of Lebanon to the Red Sea, and from the Mediterranean on the West to the great desert on the East, embraces all the country described by the ancient names of Phœnicia, Palestine, Galilee, Samaria, Judea, Idumæa, and Arabia Petræa. It is divided into fourteen sees, but the vacancies are not regularly filled up, as the present circumstances of several of the dioceses can, unhappily, too well dispense with the residence of a bishop. Even in the case of those appointments which do take place, it is in most cases little better than a titular dignity, the holders of which reside in the great monastery of Constantine, at Jerusalem, only visiting their sees occasionally, as the exigences of their flocks require. The bishops of Ptolemais (Acre) and Bethlehem are the only two permanently resident; the former of whom at

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[1] William of Tyre, l. c. gives the catalogue. See also Reland's Palestine, Lib. I. capp. xxxiv. and xxxv. pp. 207, &c.

[2] For the present condition of the Patriarchate, see Appendix.

present exercises spiritual functions in the neighbouring diocese of Nazareth, which has been vacant since the translation of the latter to the See which he now holds.

Until very lately the Patriarch himself had been non-resident for many years[3]. It was judged that he could better serve the interests of the Church at the seat of the supreme government, and on this account he remained at Constantinople. He was there assisted by an ecclesiastic of his own appointment—subject to the approval of the Synod—who eventually succeeded to the patriarchal dignity[4]: but should he die without having nominated his successor, the election was made by the Synod of "the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre." This religious college, whose chief seat was at Constantinople, consisted of bishops, priests, and lay monks, who were attached to the person of the Patriarch, and acted as his messengers in the affairs of the Church. Their whole number is about 150. All have a voice in the election of the Patriarch, and their decision is independent of any other authority, the Œcumenical Patriarch himself having no voice in it[5].

The Patriarch, as indeed all the bishops, are invariably Greeks, mostly from the islands; it is centuries since the natives were considered eligible to the higher

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[3] The Patriarch Theophanes, A. D. 1608—1641, first purchased a house with a church and gardens, which had formerly belonged to the princes Cantacuzene, situated in the part of Constantinople called the Phanar. It was burnt down in 1649, restored by the merchants of Constantinople, enlarged and adorned by later Patriarchs. It is still their usual residence, and they seldom visit Palestine. Mouravieff, cap. xl. ad fin.

[4] This practice was introduced by Germanus, the founder of the present Greek dynasty of bishops, to ensure the exclusion of native Syrians. Mouravieff, cap. xxxix.

[5] I learnt this in a conversation with the archimandrite Joel, at Jerusalem, August 19, 1842.

offices of the Church. But the apparent inconvenience of this arrangement is much obviated by the fact, that the pastors of the congregations are invariably natives. The charge of *injustice* which might be urged against their exclusion from the episcopal rank is not so easily answered, but the following may serve as an explanation. It is a rule of all the Oriental Churches to elect their bishops from the regular clergy; and it is reasonable to suppose that a practice so universally adopted was the result of experience of its advantages. The disorderly conduct of the native monks led to their exclusion from the principal monasteries about three centuries ago, and the natural result of this was their exclusion from the episcopal office, for which it is further alleged they had frequently proved themselves incompetent[1].

This general sketch of the former constitution of the Patriarchate may be illustrated by its condition during my residence at Jerusalem. "The Most Blessed" Athanasius, who then occupied the patriarchal throne, the hundred and thirty-first in succession from S. James, upwards of ninety years old, being incapacitated for the more active duties of his office by his advanced age, lived in literary retirement in one of the Prince's Islands in the Sea of Marmora, having delegated the cares of his office to his appointed successor. This was the very excellent and learned Hierotheus, Archbishop of Mount Tabor, for several years legate of the

[1] Germanus, a native of the Morea, but so great a proficient in the Arabic language as to pass for a Syrian, was elected to the patriarchal chair in 1554, by the synod of native bishops. He presided until 1579, and contrived, during his incumbency, so to fill up the vacant sees as to secure a majority of Greeks in the synod, whom he easily persuaded to pass enactments for the perpetual exclusion of the natives. Mouravieff, cap. xxxix.

Patriarch at the court of Russia, in which appointment his amiable qualities and superior endowments won for him the affection and respect of all who knew him. I may be allowed to add, that the favourable report which I had heard of him in the East was abundantly confirmed by an interview with which I was honoured at Constantinople. He is a great friend to education, and had appointed to the school in the Patriarchate at Jerusalem[2] a truly excellent *Didaskalos*, Christodulus Kokkinakes, with whom he afterwards associated another learned preceptor; besides filling up the office of preacher, which had become vacant by the death of its late occupant, with an able and eloquent priest.

The management of the internal affairs of the Patriarchate was then entrusted to two or three of the most discreet of the resident Ecclesiastics, under the title of Guardians (ἐπιτροποί). This office was filled by Misael, the venerable bishop of Petra, and Cyril, the shrewd and intelligent bishop of Lyd, who were assisted by a synod composed of the remaining bishops[3], together with certain archimandrites, and the secretary of the See. Such was the position of the Patriarchal Throne in A. D. 1843, but the death of its venerable incumbent in the following year, produced effects which, from the light they reflect on the Ecclesiastical position of the East, but particularly from their important bearing on the interests of the Orthodox Church of Jerusalem[4], de-

[2] It should be observed that this school is of a high order, and that the monks, even the priest-monks, compose the class of the Didaskalos.

[3] These were, in 1843, four, viz. Gaza, Neapolis, Sebastia, and Philadelphia. There were in the great Convent of S. Constantine about 7 archimandrites, 4 πρωτοσύνκελλοι, 15 priest-monks, 6 deacon-monks, and in all about 100 brethren.

[4] The Orthodox possess 12 monasteries and 5 nunneries within the walls, but some of them are very small.

serve to be detailed; and I am happy in being able to present a faithful narrative of the transactions from the pen of a native Greek of the Orthodox Communion, well versed in all the Ecclesiastical politics of the Eastern Church. The writer is my highly-valued friend Asimakes Balasides, whose intimacy I enjoyed at Jerusalem, and the letter which I translate is dated Constantinople, May 27, (O. S.) A. D. 1845.

"The occurrences relating to the Throne of Jerusalem after the death of the revered Athanasius, are so many and various that neither would time allow nor paper suffice me to attempt a detailed account. Besides which, their recital occasions me deep grief, as indicating the differences, the selfishness, the corruption, of many of our rulers, lay and clerical. But since you desire it, I will briefly relate so much as may satisfy your curiosity.

"On the death of the Patriarch Athanasius, Herman, Patriarch of Constantinople, with all the Bishops and Prelates of our nation, sought, as they had long meditated, to place certain restrictions on the new Patriarch of Jerusalem, for the benefit of the Great Church—*i. e.* the Church of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The canonical successor of Athanasius, Hierotheus Bishop of Mount Tabor, a man adorned with learning and virtue, was about to be appointed Patriarch. But since he, having much at heart the interests of the Throne to which he was to be advanced, refused the unjust requirements of the Œcumenical Patriarch, and would not consent to flatter the mighty and powerful of our own or other nations, or to gratify their insatiable cupidity by unrighteous gifts—for he remembered the words of God, "Not by great might, nor by

power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord Almighty'— on all these accounts, being falsely accused to the Sultan on political grounds, as a friend to Russia, he was expressly prohibited from his dignity, and forcibly deprived of his canonical succession; and the Brethren of the Holy Sepulchre here present were ordered to elect another successor.

"The covetous agitators in vain endeavoured to corrupt and divide the representatives of the Holy Synod at Jerusalem, in order that they might avail themselves of their disagreement, to bring in a stranger favourable to themselves, and so in the event dispose of the temporal possessions of the Throne according to their own will. For all the Fathers of the Holy Sepulchre who are here, having heard with deep and bitter sorrow the Imperial decree whereby the canonical successor was excluded from the Patriarchal Throne, perceiving the crafty policy of their adversaries, and despising their deceitful promises, free from all ambition, considered with one mind how duly to discharge their sacred duties, looking only to the advantage of the Throne. They requested, therefore, permission of the Government to acquaint the Synod at Jerusalem with what had occurred, representing that It had the right of election and deposition, and that they could of themselves do nothing. At length, by the instigation of a higher power, which defended the rights of the Church of Jerusalem throughout all this contest, the Government consented to the last request of the Fathers of the Holy Sepulchre: and the Jerusalem Synod being informed of all that had passed, came together in the name of our Lord, and, having invoked the Grace of the Holy Spirit in the customary prayer, elected with

one voice and one soul to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem our common friend Cyril, Lord Bishop of Lydda.

"This election being communicated to the Sublime Porte, was confirmed by the usual firman, which was not given, as had been the practice of old, to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but transmitted by an express envoy direct to Jerusalem, where the enthronement was performed with great pomp, and where the Patriarch remains performing the duties of his own See, and superintending in his own person the interests of his spiritual flock, as his predecessors did eighty years ago.

"Thus then, my brother, the Constantinopolitans were disgraced, and they of Jerusalem were exalted, and our friend Cyril,—'not having taken this honour upon himself, but called of God,' was raised to the Throne of the Brother of God. And truly may we say that this elevation came from the Almighty hand of God, 'of Whom is the whole family in heaven and earth.'

"The election of a successor during the life of the Patriarch is uniformly made by the Synod, as was that above-mentioned, when the throne was without a Patriarch. It differs only in this, that a living Patriarch, wishing to appoint a successor, first selects whom he will, and submits his choice to the approval of the Synod. Thus was the succession of the Bishop of Mount Tabor, which has been set aside; and therefore it is called, and is canonical. But they that live in slavery have the will of their tyrants for law, even in their ecclesiastical regimen!"

Alas! Churches enslaved to the Infidel powers are not the only Churches that have bitter experience of this truth in the appointment of their Bishops: and all honour to those faithful men who have done

their parts so well for the Church of Jerusalem! All honour to Hierotheus of Mount Tabor for his noble example in refusing to compromise the dignity and independence of his Church for his own aggrandisement! all honour to the Fathers of the Holy Sepulchre for their stedfast stand against the encroachments of a foreign See! and long may the object of their unanimous choice preside worthily over the faithful committed to his pastoral charge, and effectually resist all attempts, from whatever quarter, to pervert and scatter his flock.

A treasurer, sacrist, librarian, and other minor officers, are appointed for the regulation of the great monastery in its various departments; and the annual influx of pilgrims preparatory to the great feast gives full employment to all. The visitors are received on their first arrival in the great convent, where they are entertained one night. On the following morning they come before the Synod to present such offerings as their circumstances allow, for the support of the Church and monastery, and to enter their own names, and the names of such friends as they will, in a book, for special intercession in the prayers of the Church. They are then assigned, according to their nation or condition, to one of the many monasteries of the Orthodox in Jerusalem[1], where they reside during their stay, attending the daily services in their own Convent-chapel, and visiting at their will the various sacred localities in and around the city. By this systematic arrangement the confusion and inconvenience which would otherwise attend the annual arrival of the pilgrims is effectually

[1] The Orthodox possess twelve monasteries and five nunneries within the walls, but some of them are very small.

provided against, and order maintained at least among the members of the same Church.

The spiritual charge of the native Christians of the Orthodox communion in Jerusalem is entrusted to six secular priests, who minister in the Churches of the Ointment-bearers of S. James and S. John, immediately without the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These priests are all natives, and married men; the Orthodox Church of the East allowing none but such to hear confession; a precaution against those serious evils to which the forced celibacy of the Latin clergy has given occasion, to the great scandal of Christendom. The services are conducted both here and throughout the East in the vernacular language, and sermons are preached every Lord's day and on Festivals, by the best qualified of the clergy[1]. But it is deeply to be deplored that no adequate provision is made for the instruction of the parochial ministers, nor is their standing such as would secure them the respect of their flocks, except for the dignity of their sacred office.

The number of Christians of the Orthodox communion permanently resident in the city is only 600, according to an authority which cannot be suspected of under-stating the amount, or I should have concluded that it was much larger[2]. The whole Patriarchate reckons about 17,280 souls of the Greek rite, many of whom are residing in villages almost exclusively Mohammedan, many miles from church or priest, yet

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[1] When I was at Jerusalem it was the practice of the preacher to go every week to a learned archimandrite, priest Joel, to be instructed in a sermon for the following Sunday.

[2] My authority is the statement mentioned above, furnished by the Patriarchate itself. See Appendix for various conflicting statements of the population of Jerusalem.

holding fast the profession of their faith, so far as they have been taught it; touching at least the hem of their Saviour's garment, with simple faith in His saving virtue, and so receiving from His fulness healing and grace.

2. *The Georgians*[3].

The Georgians, though at present very inadequately represented in Jerusalem, will claim the second place, not only by reason of their orthodoxy and consequent inter-communion with the Greek Church, but on account of their early establishment in the neighbourhood of the sacred places, and the great importance which formerly belonged to them.

Their connexion with this See, which dates from a very early period, was commenced under circumstances which promised a long continuance of friendly relations, and was afterwards cemented by an additional tie. According to the ancient annals of the Georgian church, the Cross was first planted in Iberia by the Apostle S. Andrew and Simon the Canaanite. S. Clement of Rome, being banished to Pontus by the emperor Trajan, watered in his exile the seed which had thus been sown, and fire-worship and idolatry, attended with human sacrifices and cannibalism, vanished before the blessed influence of the Gospel of Christ. At the close of the third century, however, the ancient superstition was beginning again to advance its claims, when Georgia was visited by S. Nina, or Nonna, whose labours resulted in the conversion of all Iberia, from the shores

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[3] I am here indebted to the Rev. Mr Blackmore for the use of his MS. translation of an interesting history of the Georgian Church, compiled from native annals, by a native, M. Jossilian.

of the Black Sea almost to the mountains of Albania, and from the Caucasus to the confines of Persia. This apostle had for her maternal uncle the then Bishop of Jerusalem, with whose blessing she had set forth to that work of which she was permitted to see the happy consummation about the time when the Holy City was becoming a more prominent object of attraction to all Christians, through the pious munificence of S. Helena and her son. The first Christian king of Iberia, whose name was Miriam, emulated the devotion of the octogenarian empress, and at a like advanced age undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his journey he had an interview with Constantine, from whom he obtained a grant of land for the purpose of erecting a church on one of the sacred localities about the Holy City. The pious interest thus manifested by Miriam was afterwards imitated by many of his successors. Fifteen centuries of intestine division, during which this warlike people have been exposed to the repeated attacks of Magian and Mohammedan invaders; torrents of blood shed in the defence of the Christian faith; the repeated devastation of their country and the spoiling of their goods, in the fruitless attempt to shake their religious constancy; their intestine troubles occasioned by heretics, and latterly by the emissaries of the Papal See: not all these combined have been able to divert their thoughts from the holy places, or to quench the zeal which the example of Miriam had kindled. In every century of their annals we read of pilgrimages undertaken, of monasteries and churches founded and enlarged, and of costly offerings to the Holy Sepulchre from the religious princes of Georgia; until their community became the most important and wealthiest in the city.

This interest may be further accounted for by the fact, that the princely family of Bagration, the last of four dynasties which have governed the country from the days of Alexander the Great, deduced its origin from the royal house of David. The date of their migration from Jerusalem is fixed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus[1] to the fifth century, and towards the close of the seventh they succeeded to the throne of Georgia[2]. The memorial of their illustrious descent was handed down from generation to generation in the coat of arms which they still bear, exhibiting, among other devices[3], the sling and harp of David; and this idea, however it originated, could not fail to produce a more than ordinary interest in Jerusalem, which displayed itself in their munificent support of those religious establishments which their predecessors had founded in that city[4]. The number of these amounted at one period to eleven, some of which must have been founded very early, since we find among other works of the Emperor Justinian, in the middle of the sixth century, that he repaired the monastery of the Iberians in Jerusalem, and another of the Lazi, a tribe of the same family, in the desert of Jerusalem[5]; and all these convents were

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[1] De Administ. Imp. II. xlv. p. 99. He gives the name of those who migrated, as David and Spandiates.

[2] This was brought about through the adoption of Gouram-Bagratides by Stephen, the last king of the dynasty of the Sassanides. This first king of the new dynasty was confirmed on the throne by Justinian II. 685—711, with the title of Curopalata, a distinction afterwards conferred on his grandson Adranasi by the Emperor Leo the Isaurian, 718—741. Const. Porph. l. c.

[3] A pair of scales, emblematical of the justice of Solomon, also appears on the shield, which is supported by lions, the supporters of his throne. Their motto is: "The Lord hath sworn in truth unto David, He will not turn from it: Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy throne." Ps. cxxxii. 11.

[4] See Constantine Porph. l. c.

[5] Procopius de Ædif. Just. v. ix. This author gives the Iberians a de-

endowed with houses and lands, and furnished with serfs for their support.

But that long and bloody struggle, maintained for centuries, in the noblest cause, against the enemies of the Christian faith, which so weakened them at home that it forced them at last to throw themselves for protection into the arms of Russia[1], could not but tell on their establishments at Jerusalem, which passed, one after another, into the hands of the Armenians or of their brethren of the Greek rite. Yet even so late as the beginning of the last century, Vachtang VI. sent a present of 2000 toomans as an offering to the Holy Sepulchre; nor does the decline of their importance date so far back as the circumstances of their country might have led us to expect. At the commencement of the sixteenth century they enjoyed immunities which were conceded to no other Christians at Jerusalem[2]. Their pilgrims were free from those vexatious imposts which others had to pay, and their men and women entered the city in full armour, with their banners displayed, in martial array, nor did the infidels dare to molest them. They ranked fourth in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and owned the Chapel of the Discovery of the Holy Cross.

The only convent now remaining to them is that which was first erected, by their king Tatian, in the

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servedly high character in another work. De Bell. Pers. I. xii.

[1] This they did by the advice of their last king, George XIII. The negotiations were brought to a close at the beginning of the present century. The manifesto of the Emperor Alexander bears date Sept. 12, 1801.

[2] Baumgarten, who visited Jerusalem in 1507, thus describes them: "...semper aperto marte signisque erectis sine tributo ullo aut molestia, liberi intrant. Eorum fœminæ nobiliores, more Amazonum, arma tractant." Travels, Lib. II. cap. ix.

fifth century, apparently on the land granted by Constantine to Miriam, situated in a valley on the left of the Jaffa road, about twenty minutes' walk from the city-gate. It derives its name from the Holy Cross, the wood of which is supposed to have grown near this spot[3]. Its massive walls and low portal, guarded by an iron door, bear witness to the unsettled state of the country; for the building has been frequently exposed to the attacks of the lawless Arabs, who, a few years ago, effected an entrance by night, and murdered the superior in his bed. At various periods from the time of its foundation it has been greatly enlarged, and at the close of the seventeenth century it contained 220 cells. During my residence at Jerusalem it numbered no more than three or four monks, under the superintendence of a Georgian archimandrite, whose friendship I had the good fortune to enjoy. Its principal church, which is very large, though now in a state of miserable decay, still bears traces of its former magnificence, in the fragments of tesselated pavement composed of variegated marbles, and its walls richly ornamented with mosaic[4]. The memory of its pious benefactors is scarcely preserved in the decayed pictures of certain kings of Georgia and patriarchs of Jerusalem.

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[3] The statement furnished by the Patriarchate to M. Mouravieff gives another reason for this name: viz. that it was here that Heraclius elevated the Cross after he had recovered it from the Persians. But this account is not adopted in the Προσκυνητάριον. Some curious traditions concerning the wood of the Cross may be seen, in the *Synmikta* of Leo Allatius, Lib. I. p. 224, &c. Others are contained in a note to Jossilian's Georgian History. But they are most fully detailed in Gretser, de S. Cruce. Opera, Tom. I.

[4] Nasir Mohammed Ibn Kelaûn seized this Church, and converted it into a Mosk; but in A. H. 705. A. D. 1305, 6, an Ambassador from the King of Georgia and the Emperor of Constantinople demanded the restitution of the Church, which was granted. Mejr-ed-din l. c. II. p. 125.

The excellent Superior[1] mourned over the ruins, and was most anxious to restore it to its former glory; but the building fund is so very insignificant as barely to suffice for the necessary repairs of the convent. It amounts only to 12,000 piastres—not much more than £100 a-year, derived from estates attached to it in Georgia; while 500,000 piastres would be necessary to put the church itself into decent repair. Much more would be required to restore it thoroughly. It were surely an object worthy of the great Autocrat, who now represents the Georgian kings, to extend to this convent that princely liberality which has adorned so many churches in this country; and there can be little doubt that a proper representation of the facts of the case would engage his hearty interest in it, and induce him to undertake its restoration with his accustomed munificence.

3. *The Armenians*[2].

This important community own a common descent with the Georgians[3], but do not, unhappily, belong to the same household of faith. Their separation from the

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[1] He found the Church in a wretched state, and expended all his private means in furnishing it with service-books and other things necessary for the decent performance of public worship. I regret to hear that he has since been superseded by a Greek, appointed by the reigning orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem, in whom the appointment is vested.

[2] Through Mr Blackmore's kindness I here avail myself of his MS. translation of the History of the Gregoro-Armenian Church, extracted from the journal of the Russian Minister of the Interior, 1843. To him I am likewise indebted for his translation of the interesting works referred to below.

[3] Gaick and Carthlos, from whom the Armenians and Georgians respectively derive their native names, were brothers, great grandchildren of Japheth, apparently through Javan and Tarshish. See Genesis x. 2, 4. They were contemporaries of Ninus or Nimrod.

Catholic Church dates from the Council of Chalcedon, whose decrees they persist in rejecting to this day[4]. They form by far the most important branch of the Monophysite heresy, and their restoration to the orthodox communion is a consummation so devoutly to be desired, that the slightest approaches to it, or the very inclination for it, cannot but be hailed with extreme satisfaction. It is gratifying therefore to know that their chief Patriarch has been received with distinguished honour in the Russian capital, and that negotiations for a reconciliation have been set on foot; and although for the present the result has not been favourable, yet it may be hoped that a better understanding has been mutually established, which may in due time bring about the desired union. The tried orthodoxy of the Eastern Church is a sufficient guarantee that subscription to the decisions of the Fourth General Council will be required as an indispensable condition of intercommunion, and the language now held both by Orthodox and Armenian writers encourages the hope that this necessary condition may present no insurmountable obstacle. It is represented on both sides[5] that intestine commotions alone prevented them from sending deputies to take part in the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, and that the subsequent condemnation of its decisions was the consequence of misrepresentation, and

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[4] This Council was formally rejected by the Armenian church, in a synod A. D. 491. This must of course be undone. Intercommunion with the Orthodox Church of the East has been twice restored for a time; first under Heraclius, A. D. 629, when it continued for eighty-four years, and again under Manuel Comnenus (A. D. 1143—1180).

[5] Mr Blackmore has translated a very valuable Exposition of the Confession of Faith of the Armenian Church, written in Russ by the archbishop of the Russian Armenians, 1799.

proceeded on the idea that they were opposed to the doctrine established at Ephesus. It is further attempted to put an orthodox interpretation on the doubtful language of their more learned doctors; the later expositions of the faith are remarkably free from any mixture of the Eutychian leaven[1], distinctly recognising the perfection of the two Natures in the one Person of our Lord; and they repudiate with horror the imputation of Monophysite heresy, which they anathematize and abhor.

All this is very hopeful, and there can be little question that the adjustment of this unhappy difference between these two important communities would be productive of the most blessed results, not only in the removal of the scandal which their divisions have so long occasioned, but in that it would enable them more successfully to resist the encroachments of the Church of Rome; and not so only, but might lead to the further extension of the Gospel in the world: for no nation on earth could be better qualified than the Armenians to act as missionaries to the infidels of the East, if they could be brought to devote themselves to the propagation of the Faith with the same ardent zeal which they have shewn in the pursuit of earthly riches.

From the fifth century downwards, "the troubles of Armenia have served to scatter her children abroad over the face of the earth; and the unsettled wandering life, consequent on the absence of a national bond, has

[1] This is the more important, as, if Gibbon can be trusted, up to the last century they alone remained "the pure disciples of Eutyches, an unfortunate parent, who has been renounced by the greater part of his spiritual progeny." Decline and Fall, cap. xlvii.

served to turn their native spirit of calculation, enterprize, and activity, almost exclusively towards commerce, of which they became the principal channels between Europe and Asia. In this view they have established themselves in those places where these two continents come in contact with each other. Under the protection of the Mongols, they were scattered throughout the whole of the extensive limits of their settlements in Eastern Europe, in the Khanats of Astracan and Kazan, in the Crimea, in the Russian Ykraine, and more especially in Volhynia and Galicia. They followed the footsteps of the Osmanli Turks to Constantinople, and inundated all the Eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. The establishment of a government in the centre of Asia, under the Sophis of Persia, attracted them to the interior of Iran, from whence they penetrated into India, to Madras, and Calcutta. In Europe itself, they have advanced on one side from the borders of the Austrian kingdom to Venice and Vienna, and on the other, from the frontiers of the great empire of Russia to Moscow and St Petersburg. Thus is this nation dispersed over an immense extent of the globe, from the Indian Ocean to the Baltic, from the steppes of Tartary to the valley of the Nile, to the crests of the Carpathian Mountains and the Alps, while the land of their fathers is divided between Russia, Turkey, and Persia."

Yet, like the Jews, whom they resemble in so many points, they have retained, in all countries, their distinctive features and habits, while their general probity has secured for them universal respect. Their Church, founded by S. Gregory the Great, has been their sole

bond of union, and the Patriarch of Etchmiazine[1], the successor of that apostle of their nation, their one visible head: for the dignitaries, who are honoured with that title at Constantinople and Jerusalem, wear it rather as a political than as a religious distinction; nor does their office in any way interfere with the jurisdiction of the Catholicus of Etchmiazine, to whom they stand almost in the capacity of *vicars in partibus*. The title of Patriarch was assumed by the bishop at Jerusalem in 1310, and at Constantinople in 1461. The latter of these two dignitaries has authority over all the dioceses within the limits of the Ottoman empire[2], with the reservation of general subordination to the Catholicus, and with the exception of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who is independent of all but the supreme authority, within the limits of his own jurisdiction, which extends over Palestine and the Island of Cyprus.

This office was filled, during my residence at Jerusalem, by a dignitary named Pogos, of polished manners and affable address, and moreover of considerable literary attainments; he resigned however in the year 1843, and was succeeded by Nyerses, who stands so high in the estimation of the whole Church, that on the late free election of a Supreme Patriarch, his name obtained the greatest number of suffrages next to Narcissus, who was actually chosen. A synod of bishops adds dignity to the patriarchal court, but they do not, I believe, claim, and certainly do not exercise, any jurisdiction

[1] This Convent is situated at the distance of three leagues from Erivan, and is now comprehended within the Russian empire.

[2] The Armenians of India are under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Ispahan.

within the dioceses of Palestine, from which they derive their title. However this may be, the more ancient practice of consecrating these dignitaries to some of the extinct sees in Armenia was decidedly less open to objection than that now adopted, which looks like a schismatical attempt to interfere with the authority of the bishops of the orthodox communion.

The Armenians possess the large convent of S. James the son of Zebedee, on Mount Sion, within the walls, and a much smaller one which occupies the traditionary site of the house of Caiaphas, a little without the Sion Gate. Both of these, with other sacred localities, formerly belonged to the Georgians[3]; but on the decline of their fortunes, they were fain to dispose of them to this more wealthy fraternity, on the condition, however, that they shall be restored to their original owners, should the latter ever find themselves in a condition to pay the amount of tribute exacted by the Turks for the occupation of these buildings[4].

The patriarchal monastery of S. James is said to occupy the site of that Apostle's martyrdom; but, as it is evident that this part of Mount Sion must have been within the ancient city, it is difficult to reconcile the

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[3] George I. Curopalata, in the 11th century, first built a monastery at the reputed place of St James's martyrdom. Mouravieff, Hist. of Jerusalem, Vol. I. p. 375.

[4] Letters to this effect, it seems, are still preserved in the Patriarchal Court at Jerusalem: so says M. Jossilian, History of the Georgian Church, note 26 on cap. vii. The transfer took place as early as the 15th century; and the Armenians were to pay an annual sum of 80 ducats in acknowledgement of the Georgians' rights; which was, of course, soon withheld. Once in the 17th century the Orthodox, under their Patriarch Paisius (A.D. 1645—1660), succeeded in obtaining possession of it for a few years; and have not yet relinquished their pretensions, grounded on their relations with the Georgians, whose name *Iberes*, affords a pretext for a like claim to the *Latins*, in behalf of the Spanish Catholics.

tradition, which is not very ancient, with the established historical fact, that the executions of the ancients took place without the gates. The convent is of such extent that it can furnish accommodation for the two or three thousand pilgrims who annually resort to the celebration of Easter; and the church is larger and more handsome than any of the other churches in the city, not excepting that of the Greek Orthodox attached to the Holy Sepulchre. The decorations also of the Armenian Church of S. James are nowhere equalled in richness, and their sacred vestments are peculiarly splendid: the great wealth of the community, and the universal interest felt concerning Jerusalem[1], allowing them to provide for the public service of God more sumptuously than any other communion. Among their other treasures, they boast to have the chair of S. James, the first bishop of Jerusalem; and it is not improbable that their archives would enable them to make out a tolerable pedigree for this venerable relic, running up to the time of Eusebius, in whose days it was certainly supposed to be still in existence at Jerusalem[2].

4. *The Syrians, or Jacobites.*

The Syrians and Copts are connected with the Armenians by terms of intercommunion, owing to their general agreement in the Monophysite heresy, although shades of difference have been discovered between the various

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[1] Ricaut mentions that three collections are made in all Armenian churches during the hours of divine service on Sundays; the first for Jerusalem, the second for Etchmiazine, and the third for the church where they are. (Present State of the Armenian Church, 1678, p. 393.) Whether this practice is continued, I know not.

[2] Eusebii H. E. VII. 19.

churches[3]. They assist at each other's services, and the weaker communities look for support to their more powerful and influential co-religionists, in return for which they are expected to submit to such spoliation and degradation as their poverty admits, and the pride or caprice of the Armenians chooses to impose. They derive their name *Jacobites* from James Baradæus, an heretical monk, a disciple of Severus of Antioch, who, in the former half of the sixth century, restored the persecuted and sinking cause of the Monophysites in Syria[4], and through whom the present Jacobite patriarch of Antioch traces his succession to that Severus whose unfortunate ingenuity discovered a solution of the mystery of the Incarnation, opposed alike to Catholic verity, and to the conflicting but equally perverse definitions of Nestorius and Eutyches.

This dignitary resides in the monastery of Zapharan, near Mardin, in the province of Diarbekir, from whence he exercises spiritual jurisdiction over a poor and scattered flock, which he with difficulty keeps together, owing to the persevering exertions of the active missionaries of the Propaganda, backed as they are by the busy co-operation of the civil representatives of France[5]. The vicar of this Syrian prelate at Jerusalem, during my sojourn, was a truly amiable person, Abd-el-Nûr by name, bishop of Orfa, in Mesopotamia, of whose death

[3] See the learned treatise on the Monophysites prefixed to Assemann's Biblioth. Orient. Vol. II. and Neale's History of the Church of the East, Vol. II. pp. 7—10.

[4] Eutychii Annales, Vol. II. pp. 145, 146.

[5] They were lately deprived of six churches and convents, between Damascus and Aleppo, by the united exertions of the political and religious agents. The British ambassador at Constantinople procured a firman for their restoration, the execution of which was however defeated.

I have lately heard with regret. The community is very small, one priest and one deacon forming the staff of the bishop; as the number and condition of the pilgrims affords them but a limited establishment, and several houses which they formerly possessed in the city, the revenues of which maintained them in comfort, have been taken out of their hands by their Armenian protectors.

They occupy a very ancient Church and Monastery on Mount Sion, known as the house of S. Mark, the only one remaining to them of several which they formerly owned, the remainder having been confiscated by the Turks, by the law of might. To these, however, they trust hereafter to make good their claim, by the ancient deeds which they still preserve, in expectation of a day, not far distant as they hope, when the domination of a Christian power shall repair the injuries of centuries of oppression, and restore to them the inheritance of their ancestors, of which they have been unjustly deprived.

5. *The Copts.*

The important see of Alexandria, which had furnished the Church with her ablest and best champions of orthodoxy, against Arian and Nestorian heresy, became a scourge and a curse to the faith during the presidency of Dioscorus, the successor of S. Cyril. Nor did the sentence of deprivation pronounced against him by the Council of Chalcedon, arrest the progress of the error which he had propagated. The bands of monks of the Egyptian deserts had become hopelessly corrupted with heresy, and the disease was not to be eradicated by the

sword of the orthodox emperors[1]. The torrents of blood shed in the attempts to establish the faith of Chalcedon in the Churches of Egypt most signally failed; a succession of heretical patriarchs was perpetuated in the monasteries of Thebais, and the whole country, with the exception of an insignificant fraction, followed the persecuted cause, which found that protection from the Mohammedan invaders which it had looked for in vain to the Christian emperors of the East. At the present day, while the jurisdiction of the orthodox Patriarch, elected by the Synod of Constantinople, supported by not so much as one suffragan, scarcely extends beyond the limits of his own monastery at Alexandria, the Jacobite prelate, with a synod of bishops, presides in his convent at Cairo over an indigent but obedient people, scattered in the villages bordering on the Nile, and exercises metropolitan powers in the Church of Abyssinia, the appointment of whose Abuna, or chief ecclesiastical officer, is vested in him.

The friendly intercourse lately opened between this prelate and some dignitaries of our own Church promises the happiest results, if only it be conducted throughout in the same judicious and cautious manner in which it was commenced[2], and by which a feeling of the most unbounded confidence in the Anglican Church has been excited in the mind of the Coptic Patriarch. In all our dealings with the oppressed Christians of the East the utmost caution is required, not only lest we identify

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[1] See Gibbon, Decline and Fall, cap. xlvii.

[2] I allude to the exertions of my friend Archdeacon Tattam, to whose friendship with the Coptic patriarch the church is indebted for the recovery of some valuable works of the ancient Fathers hid for centuries in the monasteries of the Egyptian deserts, now deposited in the British Museum.

ourselves with their heretical perversions of doctrine, or practical corruptions of ritual, but lest we mistake their desire of protection and temporal assistance for a disposition to receive from us religious instruction, since the cruel exactions to which they are subject may appear to them to justify such dissimulation, and will perhaps excuse it to those among ourselves who consider the debasing and demoralizing influence of centuries of servitude under the yoke of Mohammedan oppressors.

The advantage taken of the friendless condition of the Copts may be seen by the following recital, which will further serve to illustrate the manner in which justice is administered in Jerusalem, and not there only, but in almost all the courts of law within the Turkish dominions. The events occurred in the year 1842. The small Coptic establishment at Jerusalem was mainly dependent for its support on the rent of six small houses, which yielded but a very scanty return. Even of these they were not allowed to retain undisputed possession. One of the many natives who call themselves Franks, and imagine that the designation entitles them to European protection in any iniquities which they think fit to practise—this worthless fellow laid claim to three of these houses, without the slightest shadow of right. The poor Copts requested the Cadi to allow them time to send to Cairo for the deeds and papers, which are in safe keeping at the Patriarchate. The request was complied with; but before the appointed time had expired, or the documents could arrive, the false claimant went with a bribe in his hand to the Pasha, and prevailed on him to serve a notice to the Cadi requiring him to act immediately. The Copts

seeing no other alternative in their extremity, resolved, with the advice and assistance of the more wealthy Armenians, to purchase justice by a bribe to the Cadi; and for this purpose borrowed a sum of £105, almost the value of the houses.

I add another illustration. About the same time they had a dispute with a Turk concerning a cistern of water[1] which was common property, having an opening both from their convent and his house, but which he claimed for himself exclusively. Judgment was given for the Copts, but only in consideration of a bribe of £45! It is not surprising that disputes so decided should be afterwards revived, especially when the arrival of a new Cadi may be supposed to cancel all the acts of his predecessor; for this judicial appointment is held for three years, during which period the functionary is to turn it to what advantage he can, by the administration or perversion of justice. Accordingly, the troubles of the Copts were renewed the year after their adjustment; but I am sorry not to be able to report the result.

By what singular good fortune this community was able to establish itself in the large monastery contiguous to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, is not very clear. The domination of the Mamluk dynasty appears to have been more favourable to them than to other Christians;

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[1] The very large cistern belonging to their Convent of the Sultan, requires further investigation. Owing to the water and the darkness I could not properly explore it. They call it the Treasury of S. Helena, and point out in a distant part two columns of white marble, where they say an altar stands. It appears to be a very lofty cave in the native rock, and the descent to it is by a handsome staircase in one of the angles. The visitor should go provided with many tapers. It probably served as a substruction and cistern to the Basilica of Constantine. See above, p. 255, and letter Z, fig. 3. Plate I. to Chap. III.

and they have an interesting but very vague tradition relative to the Convent, which I heard from the Superior. A Coptic secretary to one of these sultans was offered any reward he chose to ask for his long and faithful services; he refused to accept any remuneration for himself, but humbly prayed that his master would repair this ruined convent at Jerusalem, and grant it to his brethren. The sultan consented, and the memory of this event is still preserved not only in the name of the Convent, *Deir-es-Sultân* (the Convent of the Sultan), but in a heavy iron chain fastened in the wall by the door as a perpetual memorial of the sultan's bounty, and a witness to all that the convent was under his special protection; and the significant token has hitherto preserved to them the possession of this important building.

The date of this transaction may be pretty accurately determined by the following notes of time. The ancient Georgian annals relate that one of their kings had received, as a reward of his military services, from the reigning Greek emperor, the half of Golgotha, which he covered with monasteries[1]. This is sufficiently vague; but it further appears, that Bagration IV. repaired these buildings in the eleventh century[2], and that so late as A. D. 1507 the Georgians were established on Mount Calvary, having recovered it from the Armenians through the powerful influence of another Georgian king with the sultan of Egypt[3]. Now since the city passed from the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt to the

[1] Jossilian's Georgian History, cap. viii. n. 66.

[2] This Bagration was son and successor of George I. who, in the same century, founded the monastery of S. James. See above, p. 455, n. 3.

[3] Baumgarten's Travels, Lib. II. cap. ix. pp. 90, 91. This may, however, only refer to the Church of Calvary.

Ottoman rule under Selim I. in the year A. D. 1517[4], the story of the Coptic superior must belong to the ten years preceding the fall of the dynasty of the Mamluks.

The Convent of the Sultan is presided over by a married priest—a singular anomaly, and tenanted by a few poor Copts, and still more abject Abyssinians. The Copts also possess a smaller monastery dedicated to S. George, in another part of the town, at no great distance from which they had commenced a very large new Convent, or rather Caravansary, under the protection of Ibrahim Pasha, but on his expulsion from the country this extensive building was abandoned, and has lately been appropriated as a barrack by the Government.

Having thus reviewed the Oriental Churches, as they are represented around the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, I proceed to the Occidentals, among whom the Latins will challenge the first notice, both on account of their importance and the priority of their establishment.

II. OCCIDENTALS.

1. *Latins.*

The foundation of Monastic establishments of the Latins in Palestine is coeval with the introduction of the monastic rule into the country, and was much promoted by the zeal of S. Jerome, and the liberality of his pious friends and disciples, whose virtues he has immortalized. We have seen that prior to the period of the Crusades they occupied the monastery of the merchants of Amalfi, otherwise called "Sancta Maria de

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[4] See Vol. I. p. 445.

Latinâ," which was afterwards enlarged into the hospital of the Knights of S. John[1]. On the recovery of the city by Saladin, the strangers were expelled, and on their return, established themselves around the Cœnaculum on Mount Sion, where a Franciscan Convent was erected by Sancia, Queen of Robert of Sicily, in which the western pilgrims of the fourteenth and two following centuries were entertained during their visit to the city[2]. From this Convent they were expelled by the infidels in 1560; and a pilgrim who visited the Holy City, and was received by them in their new Convent, only twenty years later, gives a curious account of the circumstances which led to their removal[3]. A Constantinople Jew, who had great influence with the grand Vizir on account of his riches, requested the Latin pilgrims to allow him to perform his devotions at the tombs of David and Solomon, whose place of burial was reported by ancient tradition to exist under the arches of their Church. But his most earnest entreaties were ineffectual. The Jew, in anger, vowed revenge, and, on his return to Constantinople, rebuked the Vizir for his indifference to two great prophets celebrated in the Koran, whose holy relics were in the hands of the infidels. His representations, aided by bribes, had the desired effect, and the holy places were rendered as inaccessible to the Christians as they had before been to the Jews.

The Latin monks next migrated to the Convent of S. Salvador, which they still occupy, originally the property of the Georgians, and probably identical with their

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 390, 391, and Addison's Knights Templars, p. 61.

[2] See the authorities in Robinson's Biblical Researches, I. p. 358, note 3.

[3] Prince Radzivil, (*circ.* A.D. 1583,) as quoted by M. Mouravieff, cap. xxxviii.; but I do not find it in the Latin edition of 1614.

celebrated Iberian monastery, erected by king Vachtang in the fifth century (446—499), and afterwards repaired by Justinian[4]. The Church is dedicated to S. John the Divine, and is frequented by such of the native inhabitants as conform to the Latin ritual. Their number is stated by the Greeks at 200, or a third of their own; and although I should imagine the numbers of both to be understated, yet the proportion appears pretty correct. They are under the spiritual care of the Latin fathers, chiefly Spaniards, in number from twelve to fifteen, presided over by a guardian, who formerly exercised episcopal jurisdiction during his triennial appointment, until their titular Patriarch took up his residence in the city in A.D. 1847.

Notwithstanding the dispute between S. Jerome and the bishop John, and the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction claimed for the alien monks by Epiphanius, the good understanding between the Greeks and Latins in the Holy City does not seem to have been permanently interrupted previously to the Crusades; but it was impossible that harmony could survive the schismatical invasion of the Patriarchate and all its subject sees by the Latins, immediately after their occupation of the city. And when to this grievance were added the irritating claim of papal supremacy, and the no less exciting questions relating to the procession of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, the doctrine of Purgatory, and the use of unleavened bread in the Holy Eucharist, it was every way to be expected that a controversy conducted, as such controversies too often are, with more zeal than charity, should finally terminate in mutual

[4] See above, p. 551, and Procop. De Ædif. Just. v. 9. Vol. II. p. 467.

denunciations and open hostilities, such as have, for the last three centuries, kept Jerusalem in a perpetual ferment.

But the evil was much fomented by the active endeavours of Pope Urban VIII. to make up for the defections from the Roman See in the West by extensive proselytism in the East. Not one of the ancient Churches but was visited by missionaries of the Propaganda, or the enterprizing members of the Society of Jesus; who, not satisfied with the conversion of heretics to the Catholic faith, sought with equal ardour the reconciliation of the schismatics—so they called the members of the Orthodox Churches of the East—to what they intended by "*The* Apostolic See[1]." When we consider, on the one hand, the deplorably low state in which the Oriental Churches were sunk through the prevailing ignorance and corruption of morals, and on the other, the zeal, ability, and persevering practice of the best-instructed and most devoted missionaries that the world had seen since primitive times, it is no matter of surprize that their self-denying labours were crowned with abundant success. And when to all this it is added, that their strenuous exertions were backed by the hearty co-operation of the French government, whose influence was directed by the kings' Ambassadors in the Supreme Porte and by their consuls in the East, it is astonishing that the ruins thus assailed did not crumble

[1] A most interesting series of letters of these missionaries was published at Paris, 1780, under the title of "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*," reprinted in 1829, and at other times. In the first volume will be found a letter of the Superior of the Jesuits in Syria to the General of the Society, containing an account of the first establishment and operations of these missionaries in the East, under Pope Urban VIII. A.D. 1625.

to dust. But to trace the progress of these operations, interesting as it would be, would take me away from the subject in hand; thus much has been said in order to explain that, from the seventeenth century to the present time, the ancient Orthodox Church of Jerusalem has been exposed, in common with the other Patriarchates, to these incessant encroachments; and although on the whole it has suffered much less than the northern parts of Syria, where whole dioceses have been won over to the Roman obedience, yet has it been robbed of many of its children, and those who still continue in its communion have been encouraged in a spirit of insubordination which defies the correction of ecclesiastical discipline. One instance of this may be given. There is a Christian village named Beit-Jala, lying off the road to the right, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, containing about 200 families, with a church and four priests, from ancient times subject to the Orthodox Patriarch, in whose diocese it is situated. A few years ago the whole village passed over to the Latins, and since this wonderful conversion was certainly not the result of conviction, as the sequel will prove, some countenance is afforded to the suspicion of the Greeks that bribery was practised. On this theory they say, that when the money was spent the faithless village returned to its allegiance to the Patriarch. It will further illustrate the *animus* with which the controversy is carried on, to state, that all who had been baptized during the continuance of the schism, were rebaptized by the Orthodox; who, on being expostulated with on the impropriety of such a course, acknowledged it at once, but said it was necessary in order to inspire the ignorant natives with detestation of their rivals! One

other fact relative to this village should by no means be passed over in silence. Soon after the arrival of the Anglican bishop at Jerusalem, they offered themselves, through their sheikh, as Protestant converts; but as no negotiation was entered upon, the sum required for this transaction—or transition—must remain unknown[1].

2. *American Congregationalists.*

The fact last stated may well introduce this Society, which claims precedence among Protestant missions, by the rule of priority in their establishment at Jerusalem: for although it be true that a missionary who subsequently joined the Anglican Church, connected with a society which was also afterwards brought into closer relations with the same Church, has resided at Jerusalem from the period of their establishment, yet it will be presently seen that the operations of both were so completely identified, in their own view, and in the eyes of the natives, that the Anglican Church cannot properly be said to have been represented in the Holy City until the arrival of Bishop Alexander, in 1842.

Previous to this the Americans had been established in Jerusalem for ten or twelve years, and with their proceedings I am at present concerned. It is well to have from themselves a distinct and authoritative statement, to the effect that "the object of the American missions to Syria, and other parts of the Levant is not

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[1] I have since learnt that this was not their first proposal. "The people of Beit-Shallah offered to me to embrace the faith of the Inglees if I would pay 1500 piastres tribute to the Pasha of Damascus, Jos. Wolff." MS. note to my first edition. A whole village for less than £15!

to draw off members of the Oriental Churches to Protestantism[2]." Well would it have been had this not only been avowed, but consistently acted upon from the commencement! then might that which is their declared object have been much nearer its accomplishment than now it is, if not through their agency, perhaps through the agency of others not less qualified for the task "of awakening them to the knowledge and belief of the gospel-truth, in the purity and simplicity of its original scriptural form." Whether their practice has been conformable to their profession, will presently appear. It is not impossible that a simple narrative of facts would suggest the idea that the ill success of their first attempts have caused them to alter their tactics, and adopt a new method of proceeding.

On the first arrival of the Americans at Jerusalem, they were received and entertained for some months in the monastery of the Archangel, belonging to the Orthodox, then under the superintendence of the very worthy archimandrite Joel, whose name I feel pleasure in repeating. They were welcomed, with courtesy and kindness at least, by the members of the Greek Church, and permission was even granted to bury their dead in the ground of the Orthodox. Whence came it then that in a few years the hearts of these Eastern Christians were estranged from them, that jealousies and suspicions were awakened, and the faithful almost forbidden to hold intercourse with them? Whence came it that in no long time regard was exchanged for something like aversion, so that on one occasion, when permission was asked to inter in their ground, it was

[2] Biblical Researches, Vol. I. p. 332.

granted only under a written promise that the request should never be repeated?

Coldness and indifference might be explained on the supposition that expectations of temporal advantage had been entertained by the covetous monks which were not realized, and, with a reservation in favour of the venerable superior and some others, I could not undertake to deny the charge; but the explanation is insufficient to account for the feelings which at present exist, the true grounds of which I will endeavour to investigate.

What if the grey-bearded bishops of these venerable Churches came in time to discover that the missionaries, who had come from the far West to teach them scriptural religion, denounced, as corrupt and dangerous, doctrines which their Church had derived from Scripture; and that these *apostles*—so is still their name in Greek—were separate from the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, as they, in common with all Oriental Christians, understand it? Was it strange that they should hesitate to accept as teachers of scriptural truth those whom they must necessarily consider unskilled in the first elements of the Christian faith? If, further, they found that these same missionaries were actively engaged in disseminating among their flocks books and tracts containing novelties which their Churches do not recognize, that children were brought together to schools, and adults to preachings, without the knowledge or sanction of their spiritual guides, was it not to be expected that a feeling of suspicion and distrust should be soon engendered?

They asked their Occidental instructors for creeds and liturgies—they were answered by the well-known Protestant aphorism. But the Orientals, admitting its

truth, would have sense enough to observe, that the necessity of an interpreter of "the Bible" was yet acknowledged by the missionaries themselves, and would perhaps be curious to examine these more pure expositions of scripture truth, which were to be substituted for the ancient creeds and canons of the Orthodox Church. And what would they find? One of the most popular books distributed by the missionaries in the East bears on its cover the title, "Luther and his Times[1]." This is no place to discuss the character of that great man; I have already recorded the fact, that he, in common with Calvin, was branded as a heretic by the Church of Jerusalem in the 17th century[2]. I do not wish to justify the act; but supposing Luther had been the most perfect pattern of Christian graces that the world ever saw, was it consistent with the precepts of the Gospel to commence "the regeneration of the East" by such a method as this? Was this to feed children with milk, reserving strong meat for those of riper age? or was it not rather to pour new wine into old bottles, to sew new cloth on to an old garment? Was it not, in fact, to cast to the winds the profession of no intention to proselytize, supposing such a profession had then been made, and to unfurl a banner of revolt to the disaffected!

And the disaffected were received. At least, they were withdrawn from obedience to their own ecclesiastical superiors, though not judged sufficiently advanced

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[1] I adduce this as one of many like mischievous books, issued from the Malta Press, now happily abandoned, or in better hands than formerly.

[2] In the synod of Bethlehem, under the patriarch Dositheus, A.D. 1672. See Vol. I. p. 450.

to be admitted to the privileges of Church-membership in the Independent congregation; and anything more melancholy than the state of these unhappy men cannot be conceived. I knew one well, the most favourable specimen by far of all with whom I had any dealings; and his case may serve to convey an idea of the result of these endeavours. This disciple had been led, I hope and believe, to the honest conviction that certain practices in the Church of Rome—he was a Greek catholic[1]—were erroneous or unscriptural: he was further persuaded that it was his duty to depart from its communion, and he did so: his wife continuing stedfast in her old profession. The man became a Protestant. He gave up the practices of fasting, crossing, confession, communion, frequenting Church; and for these he substituted attendance on one Arabic service conducted by the missionaries on the Sunday. But he was not comfortable: he began to have misgivings: he felt a thirst which the missionaries could not satisfy: he began to detect defects in their system which he had not before observed. He enquired for their bishops, and was not satisfied with the reply, "*We* are bishops." He questioned his teachers, and argued with them on other points, and his doubts were only confirmed. An English Prayer-book fell into his hands, and he found that a Church, whose doctrines had been represented to him as identical with those of the Congregationalists, differed on many essential points: that it had bishops, priests, and deacons, creeds, and a liturgy; festivals and fasting-

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[1] *i. e.* Convert from the Greek to Latin Church in his own person or in his parents. All the native Protestants at Jerusalem were, I believe, converts from the Latin Church.

days; articles and canons: that it acknowledged the efficacy of the Sacraments and the reality of sacramental Grace: it was free from the errors that had drawn him from his old communion, and from the defects that he had observed in the new. He was delighted with the discovery; but his joy was of short duration. He was told it was a dangerous book, containing many errors, and it was taken away. But his perplexities were increased, and he was very miserable. To retrace his steps was impossible, even had he desired it. Yet with all his anxiety, he was in a happier condition than others who had taken the same decided step, and had fallen into a state of listless indifference and unconcern which it was most grievous to witness.

But this is not the worst. Let it be remembered that the Oriental Churches do not force celibacy on their clergy, or any others; they simply allow monastic vows. Every monk is a free agent. But the rule of the Armenian, as of the Greek Church, is to elect their bishops from the regular clergy. They are bishops because they were monks, not monks because bishops[2]. Could it be right to tempt from the Armenian Convent at Jerusalem those who had bound themselves by voluntary vows of celibacy, and had in consequence been admitted to the highest dignities in their Church? Could it be right to encourage them to marry? Could any glory result to God, any good to the unhappy men themselves, by the violation of such obligations? or was it to be expected that, after having broken such vows,

[2] I insist on this in order to disconnect the case of the secular clergy who felt justified in marrying at the era of the Reformation, whose example has, I believe, been lately imitated in Germany. I do not wish to pronounce an opinion on their case.

they should be holden by the cords of sand with which it was attempted to bind them? The missionaries know whether they are satisfactory Protestants[1].

But I have done with this most distressing subject; and if I have spoken plainly of the system pursued by the American Congregational missionaries, it is because I am convinced that, with the very best intentions, they are doing incalculable injury to those whom they are seeking to benefit. But this conviction is in no way inconsistent with the greatest personal regard for the truly estimable gentlemen of that body with whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted; the example of whose private and domestic virtues, amid the corruption and laxity of Oriental morality, has conferred an inestimable blessing on the natives, which will counterbalance, if anything can, the evil which the schismatical tendency of their not very successful proceedings is calculated to produce. It was impossible to have any intercourse with them without feeling an earnest desire, that, if the English Church and nation cannot be represented to foreign Christians by countrymen of our own, we could prevail with those of our own blood, who own a common language, to join with us in a common cause, to be conducted on sounder principles. Even with their present views they would represent the English Church

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[1] There were three of these men; I believe not more. The missionaries have taken charge of their families, as they were bound to do. The following will shew the influence of these examples. A monk from Mount Lebanon had come by stealth to Jerusalem. He was brought to me by the native Protestant, of whom I have spoken above; he told me "he wished to become a Protestant." "Why?" "I want to marry." "No other reason?" "None." Was it wrong to tell such an one to remain where he was, until he knew some better reason for changing; to refer him to Judges xi. 35; Eccles. v. 4, &c.; and to bid him pray God to enable him to perform his vow?

quite as faithfully, and much more creditably, than some others, from the consequences of whose inadequate ideas of its constitution and character it has long suffered, and is still suffering, more than can be told, in the estimation of the more intelligent Christians of the East. Not that it is to be wished that the Americans should join us on any misapprehension of our real character; but may it not be hoped that the universal consent of all the ancient Churches, with which they are there brought in contact, to certain points of doctrine and discipline, while most bitterly opposed on various other points, will at length convince them that what they once considered as peculiarities or blemishes in the Reformed Church of England, but which she is found to hold in common with all churches, are not Romish corruptions, but Catholic traditions, not of man's invention, but of Divine sanction?

3. *The English Mission.*

It was an unfortunate circumstance for our Church that it was first introduced to the Christians of Jerusalem, in later times, by a Danish Lutheran minister. Whatever other qualifications such a missionary might possess, it was not to be expected, as of course it was not proposed, that he should faithfully represent the distinctive character of the Anglican doctrine and polity. It was, moreover, very natural that the few isolated Protestants at Jerusalem should agree to merge their differences, which were not considerable, and that the Lutheran minister and Congregational missionaries should meet together on an equal footing; nor could it be expected that the admission of the former to Priest's Orders in the English Church, on grounds of convenience

rather than of conviction, would interrupt the harmony, or interfere with the mutual understanding of equality which had been before established.

The exhibition of an Anglican priest dividing the service with the Congregational ministers, or even sitting on their divan to receive the emblems of the Holy Communion at their hands, was no doubt truly gratifying to those who witnessed it[1], and would be taken as an edifying proof of the catholicism of both bodies. But it was hardly a fair representation of the English Church, and to the Christians of the East would appear much more latitudinarian than catholic. It was to be expected, under these circumstances, that the English Church, in its only representative, would be identified with all the irregularities of which the Americans were guilty, and would be held alike responsible for any schismatical interference with the orthodox or sectarian bodies; and such was the case[2].

The munificent proposal of the King of Prussia to establish an Anglican bishop in the Holy City, seemed to open a brighter prospect, and to promise an adequate representation of the English Church to the Christians of the East. That proposal, communicated to the heads of our Church and of the Government, in the autumn of 1841, by the Chevalier Bunsen, a worthy ambassador in a religious cause, resulted in the consecration, at Lambeth, of Bishop Alexander, as representative of the

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[1] See Dr Robinson's Biblical Researches, Vol. I. p. 335. "In the 'large upper room' of Mr. Whiting's house, where 'prayer was wont to be made,' eleven sojourners in the Holy City, all protestant ministers of the gospel, and ten of them from the new world, sat down...to celebrate," &c.

[2] Indeed, this seems to have been granted on all hands; so much so that the English considered themselves bound by the promise given to the Greeks by the Americans, not to ask permission to use their burial-ground.

Anglican Church in Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Abyssinia. The great object of his Prussian Majesty, as set forth in his instructions, and in the authoritative statements of his government, was to effect an union between the Church of England and the evangelical confessions of Germany over the Tomb of their common Lord at Jerusalem. Whether either country was prepared for an union on such a basis as could alone secure its stability and permanency with mutual advantage, has since appeared; but in the view of the miserably distracted state of Christendom, an attempt to forestall the wished-for consummation is a venial error. The desire to promote unity is itself laudable; but an effort made in the right direction, and in the spirit of self-sacrifice, as this was made, is beyond all praise: And if the measure, instead of promoting unity, should unhappily create a fresh schism—as appears too probable—however such a result might demonstrate the sandy foundation of the structure which he designed to rear, yet would not the failure prove the absence of upright intention on the part of the architect.

His Prussian Majesty has a right to complain that the object with which he established the bishopric has been virtually superseded by one which it does not appear that he ever contemplated[3]. But he has too much Christian feeling not to take a lively interest in the cause which he has thus inadvertently served. And although Jerusalem was not perhaps the city which he

[3] Considering the turn which things have since taken, it is curious to remark the entire absence of all mention of the Jews in the German state papers, and in documents of a still earlier date, and of even higher authority.

would have chosen for the head seat of a mission to the Jews[1], had that been his design, yet it is probable that if any sensible impression could be made upon them there, the happy event would exercise great influence over their brethren in other parts of the world. Whether the likelihood of this is so great, or the advantage would be so clear as to justify the concentration of all the missionary operations on the comparatively few Jews of Palestine, while the many thousands in Asiatic and European Turkey are neglected, I am perhaps not competent to judge; but some such hypothesis seems necessary to explain the fact, that Constantinople, with considerably more than ten times as many Jews as there are in all Palestine[2]; Salonica, where the principal and most influential part of the population are Jews,—not to mention many other Turkish cities of scarce inferior importance—are left without a single missionary, while other places of much less consequence are supplied.

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[1] Owing both to the paucity of their numbers, of which more below, and to their peculiar character, of which Dr. Robinson says, that "they are of all others the most bigoted, and the least accessible to the labours of Christian missionaries." Bib. Res. II. 87. I am not sure, however, that what he calls "bigotry," meaning, as he explains it, "strong attachment to their ancient faith," is any bar to their reception of the Gospel. I very much question whether the Jews of the Burton Street synagogue, London, and the reformed Jews of Liverpool, are one step nearer to Christianity than the "bigots." They are perhaps nearer to rationalism and infidelity. The Apostles made more converts from the Pharisees than from the Sadducees. (Acts vi. 7; xv. 5; xxi. 20.)

[2] The number of Jews at Jerusalem has been set at 3000. In 1842 the number of Jews at Hebron was stated by themselves as 100 families, or about 380 souls in all; 42 families, about 150 souls, of Spanish, the remainder Russians, Poles, Germans, &c. In the same year there were 150 Jewish families at Tiberias, according to the chief rabbi there. The number at Safed, since the frightful earthquake in 1837, scarcely exceeds that at Tiberias. At Constantinople alone there are 80,000.

There was however, if not a large, yet a sufficient field of exertion, before unoccupied, among 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' in the City of their fathers; which, however unpromising, would no doubt have yielded fruit, if cultivated with earnest, serious diligence, in a spirit of holiness and self-denial; not in dependence on an arm of flesh, but in simple reliance on an Almighty power. And it may be that missionary labours, so conducted, might have exercised a beneficial influence on other Christian bodies, sufficient to compensate for the lack of direct intercourse, which neither party was forward to invite, and which could not, at least for many years, have led to any decided results. But even without this, much might have been done to disabuse the minds of the Christians of Jerusalem of those unfavourable impressions which had been produced against us by popish and protestant misrepresentation, that so prejudices might have been gradually weakened, and the way paved for mutual advances when the time shall come. This, it is plain, could only be effected by the utmost circumspection and forbearance; for Jerusalem is not so large, and its inhabitants not so fully occupied, as to allow the proceedings of a society, which cannot but be regarded with suspicion and distrust, to escape unobserved; so that an inconsiderate expression may create a breach which it would take years to heal; an injudicious act produce an impression which nothing could remove. Further; if the superstitions of the Jews are to be not merely tolerated, but countenanced[3], may not some

[3] Must we not regard in this light the substitution of אדני for יהוה, after the manner of the synagogue, in the Hebrew service?

consideration be likewise shewn to the weaknesses of other Christians, so far as can be without compromising truth? If the symbol of our salvation is to be kept out of sight, for fear of offending the prejudices of the former—though the Cross, however presented to them, must always be a stumbling-block, and it is obviously dangerous for Christians even to seem to be ashamed of it—yet if this be done, should not the same principle be carried out in our dealings with our brethren of other communions? Their infirmities deserve at least as much tenderness, and the apostolic rule applies equally to all[1]. For example; if we have not ourselves any deep veneration for the decisions of the Fourth General Council, though its language is adopted in our Church's authorized formularies, and its decrees are prescribed by the State as part of the rule whereby to judge heresy[2], yet regard for the Orthodox Church of the East should induce us to be very guarded in our intercourse with those who reject and anathematize them. Not that these last bodies need be unnecessarily scandalized[3], or treated otherwise than with courtesy and

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[1] 1 Cor. x. 32. Might not *e.g.* such concessions as the following be made? The Greeks make a point of baptizing by *trine immersion*, and consider it of such consequence, that the want of it affects the efficacy of the sacrament, except in cases of necessity. It is impossible to deny that immersion is the *rule* of *our* church; ought not then the practice to be restored in the East, where no danger could result from it, and an objection of other Christians be removed? There especially should "all things be done according to the order" prescribed by the Church. 1 Cor. xiv. 40, as commented on in the Preface to the Prayer Book, "Of Ceremonies," &c.

[2] See Article 2 of the 39 Articles, and act 1 Elizabethæ, cap. i. sect. 36. Gibson's Codex, Vol. II. p. 54.

[3] *e. g.* I cannot but regard it as an unfortunate circumstance, that the land selected for the English church was the property of the Jacobites, unjustly confiscated by the Turks, and especially that their venerable church of S. James the son of Alphæus should have been used as a depository for lime and other building materials.

kindness, in the hope that the exhibition of such sympathy and consideration as is not inconsistent with the strict maintenance of catholic truth, may dispose them to listen to our invitations to return to the unity and purity of the faith. So again, even though we place no faith in their local traditions, and regard the sacred places with indifference ourselves, it were surely well to bear with their weakness in this respect, and avoid the appearance of a contemptuous or irreverent violation of scenes associated in their minds with the most awful events of the Sacred History.

The fact is, that circumspection on these and kindred points is absolutely indispensable, if we wish to exercise any influence for good in any part of the East, in the way of imparting to the Christians of those countries, or deriving from them, any spiritual gift. For this again must be remarked: If we think we have everything to teach and nothing to learn, we are wanting in the first qualification for the task which we have set ourselves—the spirit of humility; and we shall soon find that we are grievously mistaken in supposing that the Orientals are prepared to acknowledge the pre-eminent excellency of our institutions. They are quite as jealous of our remedies, as we of their contagion; as indisposed to submit to us, as we are forward to proclaim our own superiority; as apt to charge us with innovations in doctrine[4], as we to object to them cor-

[4] I had thrice the honour of seeing his holiness the Patriarch of Antioch. In every interview he put me on the defensive, by objecting to the addition in the Nicene Creed; and quoted *memoriter* long passages from S. Johannes Damascenus, against the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. He convinced me that either his holiness or myself entirely misinterpreted the Article in question.

ruptions of practice. Neither are the chief pastors of those churches sunk in such a depth of ignorance as we are wont to imagine; and he should be a skilful controversialist, well exercised in Scripture and no tyro in patristic theology, who has to defend the Anglican formularies against the objections of a bishop of the Orthodox Church of the East. The long years passed in the convents, from which the higher clergy are always taken, are not wasted in idleness; at least, the drones are not raised to the higher dignities in the church; and it is marvellous how much not merely of book-learning, but of the knowledge of mankind, is acquired by many in seclusion, so that they come forth to take an active part in the affairs of the church and of the world, much better furnished with sound practical knowledge than many who have passed their lives on its busy stage.

One great difficulty with which we have to contend is the ignorance of the true character of our Church which prevails throughout the East, resulting, as is natural, from the long suspension of friendly intercourse. Indeed, it ought not to be expected that the Orientals should be better instructed in the doctrine and discipline of the Anglican Church than English Christians in the past history and present position of the Eastern Churches; and the measure of our ignorance on these subjects may be taken as a fair criterion of their knowledge of us; with this additional excuse for them, that of late years an inadequate representation of professed friends, and calumnious misrepresentation of avowed enemies, have served still further to mislead them, and to strengthen them in the belief that we are destitute of what they have been taught to consider the necessary

notes of an orthodox church; to wit, an apostolic ministry[1], a prescribed liturgy and ritual, and a dogmatic theology conformable to the decrees of the Œcumenical Councils and the consent of Catholic Fathers. Nor ought we to expect that they will understand and appreciate the distinctive character of our Church, to which they have been so long strangers, until they have fairly tested it. It is not by our profession, but by our conduct, that they will judge. It is therefore a source of deep regret, that the general laxity and unfaithfulness to her godly directions that prevailed at home, during the last century, has ruled the practice of our congregations abroad, and produced an unfavourable impression, which will not easily be removed.

What has been hitherto said refers to the position of our Church in the East generally; but there are peculiarities in our establishment at Jerusalem which serve to increase the difficulties, and to render caution doubly necessary. In other parts of the Levant the presence of an English chaplain has been the consequence of a previous establishment of British residents, mostly for mercantile purposes. The object was understood; there was no room for suspicion. At Jerusalem the case was widely different. A church capable of accommodating four or five hundred persons was commenced, while as yet there were but eight or ten individuals for whom it would be available, and even they were there simply with a view to its construction[2]: and

[1] The Greek Church admits the orders of the Latins and Armenians, but does not recognize those of the Anglican Church; supposing them without the apostolic succession.

[2] Previous to the bishop's arrival, on January 1842, the mission consisted of the clergyman, the architect and his clerk, the foreman of the works, the carpenter, an apothecary, and one

a bishop was sent out, not to superintend a flock—for there was not one that could justify the measure, but to gather one where he could. These were the facts presented to the eyes of the Greek and Armenian bishops. Now when it is remembered how novel an idea missionary exertions, especially among the Jews, must be to them, how hopeless the prospect of success, (of which they might imagine that the missionary who had been established there for twelve or fifteen years was a competent judge[1],) it was not unnatural that they should suspect an ulterior, though unavowed, object in these proceedings; and if they were jealous for their flocks, as it was their duty to be, they could not but regard with distrust and hostility those who they feared had come to scatter them. True, it undoubtedly is, that nothing but friendly intentions were professed; that all desire of proselytism was distinctly disavowed, yet should it in justice be considered that the same language had been held by other Western Christians, until they had obtained sufficient influence in the country to secure the success of their aggressive operations. The Latins in the seventeenth century[2], and the Ame-

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other. The foreman had a wife and two children. Only two of all these were English. The Consul and Mrs. Young were absent.

Some natives, Protestant volunteers of the Latin rite, pointed to the church in proof that we contemplated proselytism. It was very natural.

[1] See Biblical Researches, Vol. II. 87. "The efforts of the English mission have as yet been attended with very slight success; and it remains to be seen, whether the proposed erection of a Jewish Christian church in Jerusalem will add to the influence and prosperity of the mission."

[2] The Latins went very far: conformed to the Greek practices, attended their services, made handsome presents of sacred vestments and vessels to their churches, aided their clergy, educated children in their faith, until they found a favourable opportunity of throwing off the mask, and declaring themselves openly.

ricans in the nineteenth, had promised quite as fair[3]; and the last case at least was too recent to have escaped their memory. Besides all which, the political superiority of England had been too lately felt in the East, and especially in Palestine itself, to allow a people whose suspicions have been sharpened by long oppression and servitude, to disconnect the movement from ambitious projects of worldly policy, to which they might remember that religion had been sometimes made subservient.

These considerations will excuse the reasonable apprehensions of the Armenian patriarch[4], who, contrary to his usual courtesy, took occasion, on the first ceremonial visit to the English prelate, to express a hope that if any disaffected member of his church should sue for admission to our communion, the applicant might not be received without previous reference to him. They might even palliate an offence of the same dignitary, which it was right to feel more keenly. He had one day entertained an English clergyman with a tirade against the ambition of the Roman pontiff, (a favourite subject with his holiness,) and had expatiated on the evils which the "schismatical proceedings of popish emissaries had produced in the East." Had he felt any doubt on the subject before, a very slight knowledge of facts would

[3] The early afternoon service in Arabic, on Sundays, established by the American missionaries at Jerusalem, and "regularly attended by some twenty or thirty Arab Christians, of the Greek rite," (Bib. Res. I. 332,) was a novel method of convincing the clergy and laity that they did not wish "to draw off members of the Oriental Churches to Protestantism." Ibid.

[4] I do not mean that the Greeks were not equally jealous, but they had the art or good taste to conceal it. Or perhaps they did not so much fear the defection of their people, who in the case mentioned in the last note, and in that of the villagers of Beit-Jala (sup. p. 571), seem not to be easy until they have returned to their own church after a temporary separation from it.

have sufficed to convince any one but a Roman Catholic of the justice of these observations, and the Englishman warmly assented. He was somewhat startled by a rejoinder for which he was not at all prepared: "Now this is exactly what the Archbishop of Canterbury is doing." A most positive and almost indignant disavowal of such intentions, with an appeal to his Grace's express declaration, was, of course, the ready reply; but it is only by a long and consistent course of action, with patient forbearance and forgiveness of *prejudices* however unwarranted, that the minds, whether of Greeks or Armenians, will be disabused of the suspicion of sinister intentions which our enemies have produced, and appearances seemed, in some measure, to justify: While on the contrary, any assumption of superiority to which the English are so prone, any uncanonical invasion of the patriarchal jurisdiction, or lastly, not merely the invitation, but the reception of proselytes, must defeat its own object, and widen still more the breach which separates us from the Eastern Churches.

Whether the proceedings of the Mission have been hitherto conducted in this spirit of wise forbearance, is known to those who have watched them from the commencement. For myself, I must avow my conviction that as, on the one hand, the Missionary operations of the Society's Agents have not been such as to exhibit to the Natives an example of earnest zeal for the Conversion of the Jews, nor the treatment of the Converts such as to impress them with a favorable idea of their discretion; so, on the other hand, the aggressive policy that has been adopted towards the Christian Communities has served to justify the worst suspicions of their Ecclesiastics, and to bring on the Anglican Church an imputation

of dishonesty. I must briefly state the grounds of my conviction, when I have explained that the reserve which I formerly maintained on the subject of the Jewish Mission arose from no want of interest in the cause which it professes to serve. I could not reside so long at Jerusalem without forming a decided opinion of the proceedings of the Missionaries with whom I was associated; although, in obedience to the Bishop's directions, I considered intercourse with the native Christians my more immediate province. But since I saw no reason to believe that the exposition of my sentiments on the subject would be favourably received by those who had it in their power to correct what was amiss, it seemed better to keep silence; the rather as private considerations somewhat embarrassed my freedom of speech. But those considerations no longer operate, and I have been invited[1] to state the results of my personal observations and reflections on this momentous subject.

Having elsewhere entered my protest against that modified form of the Nazarine heresy, advocated by some active supporters of the Jews' Society[2], I will only add, that, among much that is painful in the retrospect of my connexion with the Jerusalem Mission, it has ever been a subject of thankfulness that I was permitted to raise my voice against that renascent error in the place of its attempted revival.

But I now design rather to speak of teachers and disciples than of their doctrine.

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[1] In no friendly spirit, in a notice of my book in the Jewish Intelligence, August, 1845, Vol. XI. pp. 274, 5, which is unworthy of serious remark; and again, in a not less severe, but much more charitable and religious article, in the Churchman's Monthly Review for May, 1845, pp. 365, 6.

[2] See the Preface to my Jerusalem Sermons. London, 1846.

It is due to Mr. Pieritz, now a Missionary of the Propagation Society in India, to say that I believe him to be the only Missionary who has laboured for the Conversion of the Jews at Jerusalem, with an earnestness at all adequate to the importance of the undertaking. Although he had been removed from the scene of his active labours some time before our arrival, yet all the enquirers of whom I heard at Jerusalem had been first awakened by him, and his memory was still affectionately cherished even by the unconverted Jews, whose esteem he had won by his manifest solicitude for their temporal and eternal welfare.

I was grievously disappointed to find that the sole Missionary before our arrival, who had been established many years at Jerusalem, had never been active among the Jews, and that the pastoral supervision of the few Converts, which he held to belong peculiarly to him, by virtue of his licence, had been sadly neglected. This had led to serious errors and defects in the faith, and to scandalous irregularities and excesses in the practice, of the ill-instructed members of his small congregation.

Our arrival added one Missionary to the staff, whose occasional or periodical visits to the Jews' Quarter served to revive the spirit of enquiry awakened by Mr. Pieritz. I was not singular in the opinion that the perfunctory, business-like manner in which these visits were conducted, was more in keeping with mercantile transactions than with a work of such awful moment; and that the apparent indifference and easy self-complacency with which Rabbinism and Christianity—the Talmud, the Law, and the Gospel—were discussed was calculated to produce the impression that they were matters of curious speculation rather than of vital im-

portance. I should be sorry to do injustice to a worthy and estimable man; but I deeply felt that more of reverence and gravity in manner and address would better become the missionary office, and be more persuasive to the unbelievers. Neither could I participate in the view, generally entertained and freely expressed by members of the Mission, that the profession of Christianity need necessarily involve the transfer of civil allegiance, or in any way affect the political relations of the Converts: nor had I any sympathy with the remark, which I remember to have heard from more than one quarter, that unless we could secure to them consular protection and the rights of British subjects, we could not expect them "to come out," and "might as well abandon the Mission."

I thought it would be more in accordance with Apostolic precedent to teach that the profession of Christ's Religion was a matter of such paramount importance, that it must be embraced at all hazards; that all earthly sacrifices are nothing in comparison with that gain; and that there is a power more mighty than any earthly arm engaged for the protection of those who leave all to follow Him. But, it must be said, entire self-sacrifice, and simple trust, were not taught either by precept or example by the Missionaries at Jerusalem.

The establishment of a College for Students and of an Operative Institution for Mechanics was happily devised; and had their inmates been subject to constant supervision, and regular, systematic teaching, might have been productive of very beneficial results. But the religious and moral discipline was not such as to encourage any sanguine hopes for the future usefulness

of these Converts, some of whom were sent out as Missionaries to their brethren, before they were themselves sufficiently exercised in the first principles of the Christian Faith.

As it is clear that the consequences resulting from a Mission so conducted must be sufficiently prejudicial to the highest interests of Christianity, no less than to the character of the Anglican Church, it is a gratification to contradict the heaviest accusation that has yet been brought against the proceedings of the Society's Agents. I am fully persuaded that Dr. Tischendorff was misinformed when he wrote that conversions in Jerusalem are "framed to an accommodation with the most modern Judaism," and that, "six thousand piastres (about fifty pounds) with other advantages are offered to the convert as a premium[1]." This is, to the best of my belief, a slander of the Jews, which ought not to have been repeated by a Christian writer.

The Hospital under the skilful direction of Dr. Macgowan was not in operation during my residence at Jerusalem; but if more reliance can be placed in the Reports of that Institution than in the Journals of the Missionaries, I should conclude that it afterwards became the most important and flourishing branch of the Society's Establishment. And although the Medical department did not bear directly upon the spiritual interests of the Jews, it was gratifying to know that their bodily ailments and temporal miseries found some alleviation within the walls of the Hospital; and I am sincerely sorry to hear that it is to be abandoned.

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[1] Travels in the East by Constantine Tischendorff, translated by W. E. Shuckard. Lond. 1846, p. 159.

Designed as it was for Unbelieving Jews, it should have been so conducted as to avoid the anathema of the Synagogues; for it was not right to array the patients against their constituted authorities. I cannot help thinking that the countenance of the Rabbies might have been secured by discreet management, without the compromise of principle on either side; and the example of a Medical Staff of Christians devoting themselves to the service of the Jews, without any private ends, might perhaps have imperceptibly exercised a salutary influence upon the unbelievers. It would have been to them like a moral miracle.

Thus much for the various departments of the Mission. It remains to add a few words concerning the aggressions that are being made on the Orthodox Church. It appears that a convert of the Americans, one of the very unsatisfactory native Protestants to whom I have above alluded, Michael by name, has been for some time employed as a tract-distributor in the towns and villages about Jerusalem. His native habit and speech gained him admittance where Europeans could not enter, and attracted less notice. Thus he succeeded in undermining the faith of the Greek Christians in Nablouse, and the neighbourhood; and they resolved to form themselves into an *Evangelical Church*, and to place themselves under the direction of Bishop Gobat. Yielding to their wishes, the Bishop has purchased a school-house at Nablouse, in order to establish a solid footing; and the school already numbers twenty-five boys[1]. In what light this direct violation of the

[1] Bishop Gobat in a letter (dated Jerusalem, October 11th), writes, "I have also opened a Scriptural School in Nablous, numbering about twenty-

solemn pledge given to the Oriental Bishops by the Archbishop of Canterbury will appear to the world, does not seem to have suggested itself to the conscience of any parties concerned. Those Bishops were distinctly told, only seven years ago, that the Anglican Bishop was charged "*not to intermeddle in any way with the Jurisdiction of the Prelates or other Ecclesiastical Dignitaries bearing rule in the Churches of the East.*" Must they be forced to the conviction that the English Church has no more respect for its plighted promise, than it has for the Fundamental Laws of Ecclesiastical Discipline?—that in these respects, at least, there is nothing to choose between Canterbury and Rome?

But it will not prosper. Private pique or ecclesiastical censure[1], carnal lust or the hope of worldly gain, may induce individuals or communities to profess a creed which they neither believe nor understand; but such proselytes will reflect little credit on the Community which receives them, and will only hold to their new allegiance so long as it suits their purpose. Meanwhile, serious mischief may be done, and all prospect

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five boys. There is a remarkable movement among the Christians at Nablous and the neighbourhood. There is a great demand for Scriptures, and many seem resolved to constitute themselves into a Scriptural, or, as they say, an Evangelical Church, and desire to place themselves under my direction. In order to get a solid footing, I have purchased a school-house at Nablous." Liverpool Standard, November 14th, 1848.

[1] Only a short time ago, a monk from the Greek Convent offered himself to Bishop Gobat as a Protestant convert. It was ascertained that the Patriarch had imposed upon him some discipline to which he did not choose to submit. He had no conscientious scruples about the doctrine or practice of his Church, but was ready blindly to embrace the belief of the Protestants. He was asked, "But suppose the Protestants do not believe the New Testament?" "Then," said he, "I will not believe it."

of a peaceful composure of the unhappy differences between East and West, or their rival Communities, be lost for ever.

There is surely an ample field in the East for the European and American Missionaries, without encroaching on other churches. Besides the Jews scattered in the towns of Syria, there are the Druses of Mount Lebanon, and the Mohammedans who compose the great bulk of its population, and the whole of the numerous Bedawin Tribes of the Desert. Among the latter at least a martyr's crown is yet to be won. They are merely playing at Missions, while they limit themselves to a task involving no risk, and requiring no sacrifices. If they are Apostles indeed, rightly commissioned to this most honourable office, let them imitate the great Apostle of the Gentiles,—"Yea, so have I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation: but as it it is written, To whom He was not spoken of, they shall see: and they that have not heard shall understand[2]." Let them, in the simple strength of their Divine commission, assail that system of error by which they are surrounded: let them preach the Gospel to the Moslems wisely and faithfully, and patiently abide the consequences; not looking to their civil representatives to avenge the persecutions to which they will be exposed; for this were to recognize the connexion of Church and State, which they repudiate, in a manner most detrimental to the former. "The blood of the Martyrs" is proverbially "the seed of the Church." Let them not grudge to sow it freely. The Moslem law, that threat-

[2] Rom. xv. 20, 21. comp. 2 Cor. x. 13—16.

ens death both to preacher and convert, is not one that would have restrained the burning zeal of S. Paul. He would not have waited until diplomatic negotiations had removed the barrier, and then achieved a bloodless triumph over prostrate superstition.

In no one department of their duty have the Eastern Churches been so much wanting as in the attempts to evangelize the heathen. In no one particular do they more require an example that shall speak to their eyes and their hearts. If history does not belie them, they basely purchased their own security of their conquerors on a condition utterly unchristian, pledging themselves not to make converts from the infidels[1].—This scandalous promise has been only too faithfully performed: and the Roman Catholics, save in one solitary recorded instance[2], have taken equal care not to incur the penalties of preaching to the Moslems. Let the Protestants prove the superior sanctity and pre-eminent power of their principles by a higher Christian standard of Missionary enterprise; and every one who loves the truth will wish them heartily God speed. If the Christians of the Eastern Churches are within the pale of salvation, then it is clear that the Moslems should be the more immediate objects of their solicitude. If not, at least one soul is not more precious than another.

To such as believe that the truth which, through

[1] See Vol. I. p. 314, and Jalal-addin, p. 172;—"and not publicly exhibit the Christian religion, and not beg any one to embrace it, and not hinder any one of our relations from entering the Musalmân religion, if he will." Could the Patriarch Sophronius, the champion of the Church against the Monothelites, put his name to such infamous terms?

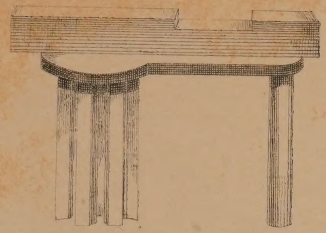
[2] See Vol. I. p. 441. No such instance has occurred among the Jesuit Missionaries in modern times.

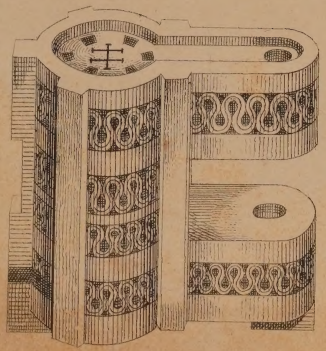
mercy, the Christians still profess, however obscured and overlaid by ignorance and superstitions, is not yet quite vitiated and nullified by multifarious error, the former is the only intelligent view; and though it is, unhappily, too true, that the doctrinal errors of some, and the corrupt practices of all the Oriental Churches and Sects, which they are not at all prepared either to acknowledge or repudiate, forbid the hope of any speedy approach to reconciliation; yet no good will accrue, either to the communities or to individuals, by creating fresh divisions among them. All experience has shewn, that reformation, to be productive of extensive and permanent advantage, must commence with the head, and be conducted in an orderly manner, with all the consideration and deliberation that so solemn a work demands. We may be permitted to hope that the demonstration of a better way, in a spirit of simplicity, meekness, and love, by a Church which, we believe to have been remodelled after the pattern of the primitive and purest ages of Christianity — and so equally free from those later innovations and additions which grieve us in them, and from those modern corruptions and defects which scandalize them in others— may, in process of time, dispose them to review their sacred books by the light of God's Word, and ultimately lead to the removal of those blemishes in their solemn services for which they can find no warrant in catholic antiquity, and which, however excused in individuals, cannot but be displeasing in His sight who has said, "My glory will I not give to another." But however these practical abuses which we deplore must present an insurmountable barrier to an union; yet so long as those who have been baptized and educated in

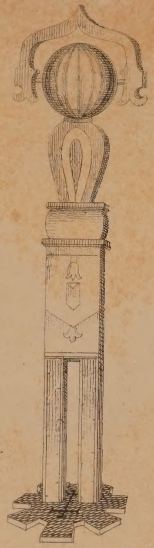
the obedience of those churches can live as Christians within their pale, without committing themselves to what is positively sinful, so long must they continue where God's providence has placed them, seeking the good of their church in such ways as they can; so long would it be a sin to tempt them to a schismatical separation from those who are "over them in the Lord." The mere preservation of these venerable branches of his Church throughout the East, furnishes both a proof that God has not left Himself without a witness among the disciples of the false prophet, and a strong presumption that He has still a work of mercy in store for them, when He shall "look down from heaven, and behold and visit this vine," so long wasted and devoured; that, being watered with the dew of His blessing, it may "take deep root and fill the land,...that the hills may be covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof be like the goodly cedars,...and that she may send out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river."—May God hasten the time!

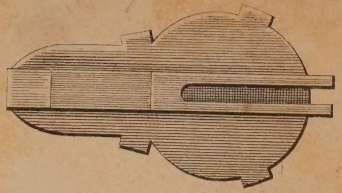
BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF JERUSALEM, FROM THE SOUTH.

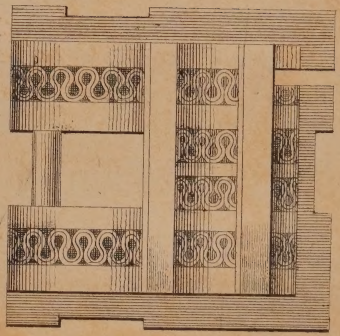
(Supposed to be taken at Sunrise.)











Day & Haghe lith.rs to the Queen

LOCK & KEY.

Dug up from the moat of the Castle of David at Jerusalem

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE 1.

THE CAUSEWAY. (p. 42, n. 3, and p. 396, n. 1.)

I HAVE followed our Authorized Version in interpreting 1 Kings x. 5, and 2 Chron. ix. 4, 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, of "*a causeway.*" This interpretation is further supported, not only by Lightfoot, but by various other commentators, Jewish and Christian; and is remarkably confirmed by Josephus, where he speaks of the γέφυρα which united the palace in the Upper City with the Outer Temple, and particularly by that passage in which he explains that this transit was formed by the interruption of the valley. (See pp. 392—397, and notes.)

In the Theological Review of November, 1846, p. 612, n. 2, Dr. Robinson opposes this interpretation, (for which he somewhat unfairly represents Lightfoot as the sole authority,) and in his usual dictatorial style fixes on the words a meaning of his own; telling us that "the Hebrew עֲלָה and עֲלִיָּה signify strictly *a step, stair,* and collectively, *a staircase,* as in Ezek. xl. 26; and the true rendering of the Hebrew would therefore be 'the stairs, (or staircase,) which went up to the house of the Lord.' Again, the word rendered 'causeway,' in 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, 18, is מְסִלָּה strictly *a raised way,* highway; but it is also put to denote a *staircase, stairs;*" for which he cites 2 Chron. ix. 11, which Lightfoot will presently teach him to understand in a sense more consistent with what Dr. Robinson himself grants to be the *strict* meaning of the word.

As, under these circumstances, the best end to controversy appears to be, to carry the appeal to a court which is neither partial nor prejudiced—viz. to the scholars who wrote before controversy, and had no theory to support,—a learned friend has kindly drawn up for me the following critical analysis of the passages in question.

"The principal passages which appear to allude to the great causeway, by which Solomon joined the royal palace to the temple are,

1 Kings x. 5.
2 Kings xii. 20.
1 Chron. xxvi. 16.
2 Chron. ix. 4.
Nehem. iii. 31.

1 Kings x. 5 and 2 Chron. ix. 4, are to be considered as identical; for the two passages are in all points but one so exactly parallel, that we must either with Houbigant suppose that וְעֲלִיָּתוֹ in Chronicles

is an error for וְעֹלָתוֹ as in Kings; or that the two words are synonymous. We there read that "when the Queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom, and the house that he had built, &c., and his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the LORD; וְעֹלָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה בֵּית יְהוָה [Chron. וַעֲלִיָּתוֹ] there was no more spirit in her."

The word עֹלָה is simple enough; it sometimes means an *ascent*, sometimes a *burnt-offering*. Dr. Robinson, however, insists not only that it means *an ascent*, but a particular kind of ascent, viz. *a staircase*. Now if he would condescend to consult proper authorities, he would find that עֹלֶה strictly means an ascent, or he that ascends, is qui ascendit, (Rosenmüller); that it is as applicable to an *ascent by a causeway*, as to a *staircase*; and equally so to the *burnt-offering* which ascends in flame and smoke from the altar, as to a causeway or staircase. Indeed, in some of the best authorities (Lee's Lexicon, Parkhurst's Lexicon), *burnt-offering* is given as the first meaning of the noun, and an ascent as the second.

It is not surprising that commentators, more conversant with Hebrew roots than with the topography of the Holy City, should here find a difficulty. "It appears strange," they say, "that the steps to the temple should be a separate matter of astonishment[1]." And accordingly they translate the words וְעֹלָתוֹ וגו׳ *And the holocausts which he offered up in the house of the* LORD. This version is adopted by *Houb. Dathe, Horsley, Clarke,* and *Boothroyd,* among the moderns, and is countenanced by the Vulgate, LXX., Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic versions. To it, however, there appears one strong objection; viz. that it would require the word וְעֹלָתוֹ to be in the plural number; for I can by no means agree with those commentators who suppose that the sacred writers used singular for plural, and *vice versâ*, without method or reason. Their translation however of the word עֹלָתוֹ shews us how objectionable they thought Dr. Robinson's *staircase*. All difficulties vanish, if by *ascent*, which is the strict meaning of the word עֹלֶה, we understand the 'great causeway,' which connected the royal palace and the temple. Of Dr. Robinson's stupendous staircase we find no proof, but we do find that a deep valley was cut off in order to join the palace to the temple. (Josephus Ant. xv. xi. 5). Such a pathway would naturally be called an ascent with reference to the temple, to which the term of going up to was always applied.

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[1] Dr. A. Clarke.

In 2 Kings xii. 20, we read, "And his servants arose and made a conspiracy, and slew Joash in the house of Millo, [*or* Beth-millo], which goeth down to Silla" [בֵּית מִלֹּא הַיֹּרֵד סִלָּא]. These last words have been variously rendered, "And slew Joash in the house of Millo as he was going down to Silla," or, "And slew Joash in the house of Millo which goeth down to Silla." This latter version is by far the most natural way of taking the Hebrew words. Munster, Vatablus, Clarius, Gesenius, and some others, suppose that Silla was the name of a town. Abarbinel, and Patrick, &c., maintain that there were two Beth-millos, and that this is called "The house of Millo that goeth down to Silla," in order to distinguish it from the Beth-millo in Jerusalem. To me it appears unlikely that there were two Beth-millos, especially with the coincidence of the one being coupled with מִסְלָה and the other with סִלָּא. Dr. A. Clarke says, "The house of Millo was a royal palace built by David, and Silla is supposed to be the name of the road or causeway that led to it."

Among the different explanations of these words given by Pool in his Synopsis, are the following:—

In descensu Sella, [הַיּוֹרֵד סִלָּא] *Quæ descendit in Sillah,* P. Ang. Ma. *quæ defert ad Sillam,* Ca. Quâ descenditur ex domo in viam publicam, quæ cum adjectitia litera alibi dicitur מִסְלָה [G.] *In loco munitionis qui vergit Sillam versùs,* J. T. i. e. aggestum iter. Appellativè accipio ex collat, 1 Chron xxvi. 16. and 2 Chron. ix. 11; ubi Salomon legitur aggestâ terrâ ascensum fecisse ad domum Dei. [Jun. Pi. Ma.] Cùm vorago *Mello,* supra quam erat transitus Regis in Templum, geminum haberet clivum, alterum ad Templum, alterum ad regiam, videtur *descensum Sella* peculiariter vocatam esse declivitatem illam quæ erat ex parte regiæ, ubi erat quædam domus Regis, quam domum *Mello* vocat Scriptura, in quâ hic ægrotabat et occisus est.

The above extract is strongly corroborative of Lightfoot's view; but no interpretation of the passage in question will afford the slightest countenance to Dr. Robinson's theory, for even he will scarcely venture to assert that סִלָּא "strictly means *a staircase.*"

We now come to 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, thus rendered in our Authorized Version: "To Shuppim and Hosah *the lot came forth* westward, with the gate Shallecheth, by the causeway of the going up [עִם שַׁעַר שַׁלֶּכֶת בַּמְסִלַּה הָעוֹלֶה], ward against ward."

The word Shallecheth, (of which Dr. Robinson offers no explanation) has by some been interpreted as *The gate of projections,* i. e.

through which the offal from the temple was carried out. If the reader will refer to the plan of Jerusalem, he will see that this gate led into the heart of the city: this circumstance alone would prevent us from accepting the above interpretation of the words, even if we had not the authority of the Chaldee Paraphrase, Kimchi, and Lightfoot, who render the words, *The gate of casting up.* Some have taken the term שַׁלֶּכֶת as equivalent to שׁ לֶכֶת *which leadeth.* This interpretation seems untenable. Lightfoot's note upon this word is as follows:—

"*The gate of Shallecheth or Coponius.*—The word Shallecheth, by which this gate was first called in the time of Solomon, doth signify *a casting up,* and so saith Kimchi; it is rendered by the Chaldee paraphrast in the sense of השלכה. Now this gate is said in 1 Chron. xxvi. 16 to have been by *the cawsey going up;* which *going up* is that renowned *ascent* that Solomon made for his own passage up to the temple, 1 Kings x. 5; 2 Chron. ix. 4. And the cawsey is that that Josephus meaneth, when he saith, *a gate led to the king's house from the temple, the valley betwixt being filled up for the passage,* which was a very great work, for the valley was large and deep. Therefore, it may very well be concluded that it was called Shallecheth, or the *casting up,* from the cawsey that was cast up to lead to it from the king's palace, this being his ordinary way to the temple.

"This cawsey is held by some to have been set on either side with oaks and teyle trees, which grew up there, and served for a double benefit, the one to keep up the cawsey on either side, that it should not fall down; and the other was to make the king a pleasant walk and shade, with trees on either side, as he came and went. And so they render that verse in Esai. vi. 13, where the word is only used besides in all the Bible: *In it shall be a tenth, and it shall return and be eaten as a teyle tree, or as an oak by Shallecheth;* that is, as the rows of trees on the sides of the cawsey." (Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, Vol. IX. chap. v. sect i. p. 226.)

The next words have generally been rendered in a way which more or less corroborates Lightfoot's view, as may be seen by the following extract from Pool's Synopsis.

Juxta portam, quæ ducit ad viam ascensionis, עִם שַׁעַר שַׁלֶּכֶת בַּמְסִלָּה הָעוֹלָה.] *Cum porta projectionis,* Mo. (vel *Sallecheth,* P. vel *emissoria,* sive *emissionis,* Ca. V. h. e. per quam emittebantur sordes: Hujus meminit Esaias vi. 13 [V.]). *in strata ascensionis,* Mo. *in via strata ascendente,* P. V. i. e. acclivi, V. *in semita clivosa,* Ca. *In via ascensionis,* i. e. superiori, aut acclivi, scil. porta erat, [Mar.] *Cum porta quæ vergit ad semitam superiorem,* M. Ti. [ac si שׁ in שַׁלֶּכֶת esset præfixum, et לֶכֶת

significaret *ire*, à יָלַהּ] *Cum porta injectûs in aggesto ascensu*, J. T. Heb *in aggere ascendente*, Jun. i. e. Cum ea porta ad quam ex arce Sionis porrigebatur via aggesta, cui injecta erat terra, per quam viam ex Templo ascendebatur in arcem. Confer 1 Reg. x. 5. and 12; item 2 Chron. ix. 11. [Pi]. *Juxta portam quâ itur per viam holocaustorum*, Strig. quâ itur ad altare holocaustorum, [Belg].

Against all this Dr. Robinson tells us that מְסִלָּה strictly means a *causeway;* but in the passages under consideration *stairs:* that עֲלָה strictly means *stairs;* indeed, he does not appear inclined to allow it any other meaning: if therefore he construe[8] מְסִלָּה as *stairs*, and עֲלָה as *stairs*, he must render מְסִלָּה עֲלָה "the stairs of the stairs," &c., an idiom highly pleonastic, to say the least.

The only passage to which Dr. Robinson appeals in support of his theory that מְסִלּוֹת mean stairs, is 2 Chron ix. 11, which according to our Authorized Version runs thus:

"And the king made *of* the algum-trees terraces [*or*, stays; Heb., highways מְסִלּוֹת] to the house of the LORD, and to the king's palace, and harps and psalteries for singers," &c.

Here Dr. Robinson, with peculiar modesty, settles the doubts of commentators, and tells us that מְסִלּוֹת "certainly mean *stairs.*" When he speaks with such certainty we think he can hardly be aware how scholars have differed upon this point, nor have seen the following extracts from Pool, Lightfoot, and the Lexicon of Professor Lee.

Pool's Synopsis.—[*Gradus in domo Domini,* "מְסִלּוֹת וגו] *Elevationes in domo Dei,* Mo. *ascensiones, ó. gradus* M. Ti. Strig. Sign. *additamenta illa quæ apponuntur laquearibus aut columnis ornamenti causâ.* Nam vox Hebræa ab *exaltando* dicitur, [V]. *Columnas,* Ar. *cancellos,* Sy. *aggestam viam,* J. T. Heb. *aggerem,* Jun. Viam repagulis et fulcris utrinque munitam à regia ad Templum, [Ma. ex Jun.] *Tigna* P. [Vox huic parallela in 1 Reg. x. 12. est מְסִעָד]. Una vox alteram explicat: מְסִלָּה sign. *viam aggestam,* sive *ascensum;* מְסִעָד *loricus,* seu *peribolas,* i. e. fulcra quibus se sustentarent et tenerent ascendentes. Ità Buxt. ex Abarb. Vind. II. ii. 382.]

Lightfoot.—The word מסער, 1 Kings x. 12, doth properly signify a *prop,* or *support:* yet is expressed, in 2 Chron. ix. 11, "The king made of the almug-trees מסלות highways to the house of the LORD." "And I think, (saith the Rabbin) (Ralbag in 1 Kings x.) that in the ascent that he made to go up to the house of the LORD from the king's house, he made, as it were, battlements;" (that is, rails on either side)

"of the almug-trees, that a man might stay himself by them, as he went along by the highway of that ascent. And so in other ascents of the house of the Lord, or of the king's house, where there were not steps,—as the rise of the altar, &c."

See also Bp. Patrick on 1 Kings x. 12.

Professor Lee.—מְסִלָּה (a) *A raised*, or *high way*, as a breastwork in fortification. (d) *Elevations; terraces* perhaps. Gesen.—*scala:* but without authority or probability.

The fact is, Dr. Robinson simply follows Gesenius, but speaks with much greater confidence than that great scholar. Gesenius in a matter which must to him have appeared uncertain, took what he conceived to be the interpretation of the LXX. and Vulgate. Dr. Robinson in appealing to this passage ought also to have explained how the meaning he attaches to מְסִלָּה is to be reconciled with the parallel passage in 1 Kings x. 12, where the word מִסְעָד is used, and apparently in the same sense as מְסִלּוֹת here. Out of the twenty-seven places in which the word מְסִלָּה occurs in the Old Testament, there is, with the exception of this in 2 Chron. x. 11, scarcely one where it can possibly be rendered by the word stairs. How absurd such a version would frequently be, may be seen by comparing Judg. v. 20: "The stars in their *staircases* fought against Sisera." 2 Kings xviii. 17: "In the *staircase* of the fuller's field."

Dr. Robinson omits all mention of Nehem. iii. 31. The passage has appeared difficult to others besides himself; although they had no preconceived theory to support. Our Authorized Version here renders, "After him repaired Malchiah the goldsmith's son unto the place of the Nethinims, and of the merchants, over against the gate Miphkad, and to the going up of the corner [*or*, corner chamber.] וְעַד עֲלִיַּת הַפִּנָּה׃

The word עֲלִיַּת here is the same as that which occurs in 2 Chron. ix. 4. It has been rendered *ascent, causeway, upper-chamber, stairs;* and the Hebrew words above quoted, *usque ad adscensum anguli,* Schmid.; *i. e ubi ad angulum illum ascenditur,* Rambach. *usque ad cœnaculum anguli. usque ad gradum anguli.* Dr. Robinson tells us the word in question strictly means *stairs.* To what stairs does he suppose that reference is now made? In Nehemiah's time the temple of Solomon was destroyed, and with it must have been destroyed the magnificent staircase which awed the Queen of Sheba; if indeed it ever existed. How then do we again read of it here? To those who adopt Lightfoot's view the case is easy. Solomon's great causeway would not share in the destruction of the temple; and compelled as we are to take עֲלָה and

עֵלִיָּה as a causeway in other passages there is no reason to depart from that meaning here. *The causeway of the corner* affords at least as good a translation as any.

It is moreover remarkable that the causeway, which remains to the present day, stands exactly where it would connect the south-west corner of the Mount upon which the temple is built; and we must further observe, that the question at issue is not simply a question of verbal criticism, which can be settled by a reference to lexicons and commentaries; but one in which, when those persons differ whose business it is to interpret the sacred text, we should be guided by the testimony of the Jewish historian, and the topography of the Holy City."

To this I would only add, that the existing causeway is actually found in a place where it would connect the south-west corner of the Outer Temple with the north-east corner of the Upper City, so that it might well be designated the *causeway of the corner*. And it is perhaps no chance coincidence that this is said to have been "over against *the gate Miphkad*." For this name (meaning *arrangement, appointment*, &c. see Lee, sub voce) seems to denote a public office, or the like, where business of the state was transacted; and this causeway, we know from Josephus, was near the council-chamber, or town-house, and the present Mehkmeh, or town-hall, occupies its eastern termination.

NOTE 2.

ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH OF S. MARY, FROM PROCOPIUS. (p. 360.)

Ἐν δὲ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν τῇ Θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν ᾧπερ ἄλλο εἰκασθῆναι οὐδὲν οἷόν τέ ἐστιν· νέαν ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσι τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· ὅπερ δὴ ὁποῖόν ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπὼν, ὡς ἡ πόλις λοφώδης μέν ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιπλεῖστον. οὐ γεώδεις δὲ οἱ λόφοι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τραχεῖ καὶ ἀποκρήμνῳ ἐπανεστήκασι, τὰς ἀμφόδους ἐν κλίμακος τρόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρθίου ἐς τὸ πρανὲς κατατείνοντες. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομήματα ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑνὸς χωρίου συμβαίνει εἶναι, ἢ ἐπὶ λόφου πεποιημένα, ἢ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ κατὰ τὸ ἀναπεπταμένον τῆς γῆς· τοῦτο δὲ μόνον τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. ἐπέστελλε γὰρ αὐτὸ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ προὔχοντι γενέσθαι τῶν λόφων, δηλώσας ὁποῖον τά τε ἄλλα δεήσει καὶ τὸ εὖρος αὐτῷ καὶ μῆκος εἶναι· οὐκ ἀπέχρησέ τε κατὰ τὴν βασιλέως ἐπίταξιν πρὸς τοῦ ἔργου τὴν χρείαν ὁ λόφος· ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἀπελέλειπτο πρός τε ἄνεμον νότον καὶ ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἵνα δὴ ὀργιάζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι θέμις. διὸ δὴ ἐπενόουν τάδε, οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο· ἀποῤῥιψάμενοι τα θεμέλια εἰς γῆς τῆς ὑπτιάς τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκοδόμημα πεποίηνται συνεπα-

νεστηκὸς τῷ σκοπέλῳ. ἐπειδή τε ἄνω κατὰ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν ἐγένοντο, τῶν τοίχων καθύπερθε θόλους ἐνθέμενοι, συνάπτουσι τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῷ ἄλλῳ τοῦ τεμένους ἐδάφει. ταύτῃ τε ὁ νεὼς πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἰσχυρὰς ἵδρυται, πῇ δὲ ᾐώρηται, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως μέγεθος ἄλλο ἐπιτεχνησαμένης τῷ λόφῳ. ταύτης δὲ δὴ τῆς οἰκοδομίας οἱ λίθοι οὐ τοιοῖδέ εἰσι μέγεθος, ὁποίους ἴσμεν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οἱ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦδε διαμαχόμενοι, ὕψος τε ἀντιτεταγμένον τῷ σκοπέλῳ διαπονούμενοι, τῶν ξυνειθισμένων ὠλιγωρηκότες ἁπάντων ἐπὶ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ ὅλως ἀγνῶτα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐχώρουν· πέτρας οὖν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ὑποτεμνόμενοι, ἅπερ οὐρανομήκη ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις ἀνέχει, ξύσαντές τε αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένως, ἐνταῦθα ἦγον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἁμάξας μὲν ταῖς πέτραις ἐτεκταίνοντο μεγέθει ἴσας, ἕνα δὲ λίθον ἐνετίθεντο ἁμάξῃ ἑκάστῃ, βόες τε ἀριστίνδην πρὸς βασιλέως ἐξειλεγμένοι κατὰ τεσσεράκοντα σὺν τῇ ἁμάξῃ τὸν λίθον ἐφεῖλκον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν φερούσας ὁδοὺς ταύτας δὴ φέρειν τὰς ἁμάξας ἀμήχανα ἦν, ἐκτέμνοντες ἐπιπλεῖστον τὰ ὄρη, ἐσιτητὰ ταῖς ἐπιγενομέναις ἁμάξαις ἐποίουν. οὕτως τε περιμήκη ἀπειργάσαντο τὸν νεὼν, ᾗπερ βουλομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἦν. εὐρύς τε αὐτῷ κατὰ λόγον πεποιημένοι, τέγος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ ἱερῷ ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχον. δρυμούς τε οὖν καὶ δάση πάντα περιιόντες, καὶ εἴ πού τι χωρίον ἠκούετο οὐρανομήκεσι κατάφυτον δένδροις, ὕλην τινὰ εὗρον ἀμφιλαφῆ, κέδρους φέρουσαν ἐς ὕψος ἐξικνουμένας ἀπέραντον ὅσον. αἷς δὴ τὴν ὀροφὴν τῷ νεῷ ἔθεντο, ὕψος αὐτῷ κατὰ μέτρον πεποιημένοι, ἐς ὅσον τε εὐρύνεται καὶ ἐς τὸ μῆκος ἐξάγεται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δυνάμει τε ἀνθρωπείᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐξειργάσατο. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐλπὶς ἀμειβομένη αὐτὸν τῇ τιμῇ, καὶ ξυνεπιλαμβάνουσα τὸ σπούδασμα τοῦτο. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἱερῷ πανταχόσε κιόνων ἔδει, τὸ τε εἶδος οὐκ ἀποδεόντων τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμενος κάλλους, καὶ τοιούτων τὸ μέγεθος, οἷοι δὴ ὄντες ἀντέχειν ἐς τὸ ἄχθος τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσιν ἔμελλον. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ κειμένη τῆς θαλάσσης πολλῷ ἄποθεν, ὄρεσί τε πανταχόθεν ἀποπεφραγμένη ἀποτόμοις τισὶν, ᾗπέρ μοι εἴρηται, ἄπορον τοῖς τεκταινομένοις τὸ ἔδαφος ἐποίει κίονας ἑτέρωθεν εἰσκομίζεσθαι. ἀλλὰ βασιλέως δυσφορουμένου τῇ τοῦ ἔργου ἀμηχανίᾳ, λίθου φύσιν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τοῦτο ἔχουσαν ἐν τοῖς ἄγχιστα ὄρεσιν ἔδειξεν, ἣ οὖσάν τε καὶ κρυπτομένην τὰ πρότερα, ἣ νῦν γενομένην. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα δὲ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπείᾳ δυνάμει πάντα σταθμώμενοι, πολλὰ ἐς τὸ ἀδύνατον ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμεθα· τῷ δὲ Θεῷ τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἂν ἄπορον, οὔτ' ἀμήχανον γένοιτο. Κιόνων τοίνυν ἐνθένδε μέγα τι χρῆμα ὑπερμεγεθῶν τε καὶ ἀπομιμουμένων τῷ χρώματι πυρός τινα φλόγα, πανταχόθεν ὑποστηρίζουσι τὸν νεὼν, οἱ μὲν ἔνερθεν, οἱ δὲ ὕπερθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς στοὰς αἳ περιβάλλουσι τὸ ἱερὸν ὅλον, πλὴν τῆς πρὸς ἕω τετραμμένης πλευρᾶς· ὧνπερ δύο ἑστᾶσι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ νεὼ θύρας ὑπερφυεῖς ἄγαν, καὶ τῶν ἐν γῇ τῇ πάσῃ κιόνων ἴσως οὐδενὸς δεύτεροι· στοά τις ἐκδέχεται ἐντεῦθεν ἑτέρα ἀπὸ τοῦ νάρθηκος ὠνομασμένη, οἶμαι, τῷ μὴ εὐρύνεσθαι. αὐλὴ μετὰ ταύτην κίοσιν ὁμοίοις ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ ἀνεχομένη· θύραι μέταυλοι ἱερο-

περεῖς οὕτως, ὥστε μηνύουσι τοῖς ἔξω ἰοῦσιν ὁποίῳ ποτὲ θεάματι ἐντυχεῖν μέλλουσι. προπύλαια δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε θαυμάσια οἷα, καί τις ἐπὶ κιόνων δυεῖν ἐπαιρομένη ἀψὶς ἐς ἄφατον ὕψος· προϊόντι δὲ πρόσω ἡμίκυκλα δύο, ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπρόσωπα ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁδοῦ ἑστᾶσι. ξενῶνες δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δύο, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἔργον· ἄτερος μὲν ξένοις ἐνδημοῦσι καταλυτήριον· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἀναπαυστήριον νοσοῦσι πτωχοῖς. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τῆς Θεοτόκου νεὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ προσόδῳ ἐτίμησε χρημάτων μεγάλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πεπραγμένα ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν.—Procopius de Ædificiis Justiniani, Lib. v. Cap. vi. Vol. II. pp. 464, 5.

NOTE 3.

THE PLACE OF THE ASCENSION.

(Addition to Note 2, p. 444.)

Dr. Robinson in the Bibliotheca Sacra of 1843, (Part I. p. 178, note 3,) had maintained "that Lightfoot by no means extends the limits of Bethany so far, [as the summit of Mount Olivet]; but only to where he supposes the eastern line of Bethphage may have been, which he regards as the eastern limit of the Mount of Olives, and the place of the Ascension. And as Lightfoot here makes the Sabbath-day's journey seven and a half furlongs, and Josephus gives the distance of the summit of the mountain at five furlongs [for the correction of this see p. 443, n. 6], it follows that Lightfoot's point for the ascension of our Lord was two and a half furlongs below the summit, towards Bethany."

His reference to Lightfoot is Horæ Hebraicæ, in Luke xxiv. 50, which I shall quote presently.

This statement I have charged with misrepresentation in the note above referred to, p. 444, n. 2; (p. 371, n. 4, 1st edition;) and in order not to incur the risk of colouring the statements of Lightfoot for my own purposes, I quoted the Chorographical Index to his works, compiled with much labour by John Williams, a learned friend of Strype's, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester. (See Lightfoot's Works, edited by Pitman, Vol. I. p. 91, and pp. 275, 293, 4.)

In the Theological Review for 1846, (p. 414, n. 2,) Dr. Robinson writes that if the reader will "examine the original language, (not *another man's* index to Lightfoot), he will find that the charge of misrepresentation falls only on the head of him who made it." (See the whole citation in Vol. I. p. 489.)

I am compelled, therefore, to adduce the original language: which I quote from Pitman's 8vo Edition, London, 1825. From the passages, cited in chronological order, it will appear, that Lightfoot, having in the first instance rejected the theory which Beza had proposed, and which I have adopted, afterwards altered his opinion, (as the language cited in n. 2,

p. 444, implies,) held that the Ascension took place from the summit of Mount Olivet, and remained in this persuasion until his death.

His Commentary on the Acts was published in A. D. 1645, (Pref. to Vol. I. p. 76); and this is the only one of all his works in which he dissents from the theory of a *district* attached to the *Village* of Bethany, and called by its name.

Commenting on Acts i. 12, "Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath-day's Journey," he takes occasion to discuss the length of a Sabbath-day's journey (Vol. VIII. p. 27). Having quoted the Syriac version which reads in this passage "seven furlongs"—and stated that "some hold the Sabbath-day's journey to be two thousand paces, or two miles; others but two thousand cubits, or but one mile; which last measure he adopts, and proves by reference to the Talmud, he proceeds to consider the question, "whether the Evangelist intend to measure the distance from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem,—or from the place, where our Saviour ascended on Mount Olivet, to Jerusalem." His words are:

"The text of Luke exactly measures the distance from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem; and it is very questionable whether he intend the space from that place upon the mount, where our Saviour ascended, or no. He saith, in the last Chapter (ver. 50), of his Gospel, that Jesus led the disciples out ἕως εἰς Βηθανίαν, not 'towards' Bethany, but '*as far as unto it*;' as our English, and the Syriac, the Vulgar, Beza, and others, do truly render it. Now, Bethany was about fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, (John xi. 18); and let us take the two thousand cubits how we will, either common or holy cubit, either half-yard or yard; or Ezekiel's cubit, of a cubit and hand-breadth;—yet will none of these measures reach to so many furlongs.

"Now, howsoever Beza hath sought to heal this difference by a supposal, that Bethany was not only the name of a town, but also a tract or a space of ground, that lay about the town, as a lordship or parish lieth about the village; and that though the town itself lay fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, yet that the grounds and demesnes that carried the same name, reached within half that space to Jerusalem,—the grounds of such a supposal are yet to seek; nay, there is good ground to the contrary."

These grounds are, 1st, the *usus loquendi* of Scripture; 2ndly, that in other passages Bethany certainly means the village; 3rdly, that it is probable that Bethphage intervened between Jerusalem and Bethany: whence he concludes:

"It is, therefore, of the most probability, that Christ, when he ascended, led out his disciples to Bethany-town, fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, or thereabout; and that very way that he had ridden triumphantly into the city seven-and-forty days ago, he goeth now again to ride more triumphantly into heaven. The text, then, that we have in hand doth not measure the space from the city to Bethany, where Christ ascended,—but from the city *to the foot of Mount Olivet*, on which mount Bethany stood; and the

measure he maketh of it is two thousand common cubits, *or about five furlongs.*" Vol. VIII. pp. 28—30.

In A. D. 1658 was first published the Chorographical Century, (Vol. I. p. 82,) where in Chapter xxxvii., after a discourse concerning Bethphage, not to the purpose, he thus proceeds:—

"And from these things, well regarded, one may more rightly and plainly understand the story of Christ coming this way. He had lodged in Bethany, the town of Lazarus, John xii. 1. From thence, in the morning, going onward, He is said to come to Bethphage and Bethany, Mark xi. 1; that is, to that place where those tracts of the mountain, known by those names, did touch upon one another. And when He was about to ascend into heaven, he is said to lead out His disciples Ἕως εἰς Βηθανίαν, "as far as Bethany," Luke xxiv. 50; but not farther than a Sabbath-day's journey, Acts i. 12; whereas the town, where Lazarus dwelt, was almost twice as far, John xi. 18; He went, therefore, out of Jerusalem through Bethphage within the walls, and Bethphage without the walls, and measuring a Sabbath-day's journey, or thereabouts, *arrived to that place and tract of Olivet, where the name of Bethphage ceased, and the name of Bethany began; and there he ascended.*" (Vol. x. pp. 78, 79.) In Chap. xl. of the same work, on "Mount Olivet," is another passage to the same purport, which will further correct Dr. Robinson's mis-statement from Josephus, which I have also noticed in p. 443, note 6: "Ὄρος τὸ προσαγορευόμενον Ἐλαῶν, τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρὺς κείμενον, ἀπέχει στάδια πέντε. (Josephus, Ant. Lib. xx. cap. vi.) 'The Mount called the Mount of Olives, lying over against the city, is distant five furlongs.' But Luke saith, Acts i. 12, 'Then they returned from the Mount called Olivet, ὅ ἐστιν ἐγγὺς Ἰερουσαλὴμ σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν· 'which is near Jerusalem, a Sabbath-day's journey.' But now a Sabbath-day's journey contained eight furlongs, or a whole mile. Neither yet, for all this, doth Luke fight against Josephus. *For this last measures the space to the first foundation of Olivet; the other, to that place of Olivet where our Saviour ascended. The first foot of the Mount was distant five furlongs from the city, but Christ, being about to ascend, went up the mountain three furlongs farther.*" Vol. x. p. 82.

I come now to the passage referred to by Dr. Robinson from the "Hebrew and Talmudic Exercitations upon St. Luke," first published in the same year, viz. A. D. 1658, (Preface to Vol. I. p. lxxxiii.) He cites Chapter xxiv. v. 50: "Ἕως εἰς Βηθανίαν. 'As far as Bethany.' How many difficulties arise here!

"I. This very Evangelist, (Acts i. 12,) tells us, that when the disciples came back from the place where our Lord ascended, 'They returned from Mount Olivet, distant from Jerusalem a Sabbath-day's journey.' But now the town of Bethany was about fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, John xi. 18; that is, double a Sabbath-day's journey.

"II. Josephus tells us, that the Mount of Olives was but five furlongs from the city, [referring to the passage just cited from Ant. xx. vi.], and

a Sabbath-day's journey was seven furlongs and a half .....These things are all true: 1. That the Mount of Olives lay but five furlongs' distance from Jerusalem. 2. That the town of Bethany was fifteen furlongs. 3. That the disciples were brought by Christ as far as Bethany. 4. That, when they returned from the Mount of Olives, they travelled more than five furlongs; and 5. Returning from Bethany, they travelled but a Sabbath-day's journey. All which may be easily reconciled, if we would observe,—that the first space from the city towards this mount was called 'Bethphage,'—which I have cleared elsewhere from Talmudic authors, the Evangelists themselves also confirming it. That part of that Mount was known by that name to the length of about a Sabbath-day's journey, till it come to that part which was called Bethany. For there was Bethany, a tract of the Mount, and the town of Bethany The town was distant from the city about fifteen furlongs, i. e. two miles, or a double Sabbath-day's journey: but the first border of this tract (which also bore the name of Bethany) was distant but one mile, or a single Sabbath-day's journey only.

"*Our Saviour led out his disciples, when he was about to ascend, to the very first brink of that region or tract of Mount Olivet, which was called 'Bethany,' and was distant from the city a Sabbath-day's journey.* And so far from the city itself did that tract extend itself, which was called 'Bethphage;' *and when he was come to that place, where the bounds of Bethphage and Bethany met and touched one another, he there ascended,*—in that very place where he got upon the ass when he rode into Jerusalem, Mark xi. 1. Whereas, therefore, Josephus saith, that Mount Olivet was but *five furlongs* from the city, *he means the first brink and border of it:* but our Evangelist *must be understood of the place where Christ ascended,* where the name of Olivet began, as it was distinguished from Bethphage." Vol. XII. pp. 218, 219.

And again, to the same effect presently afterwards, p. 221. Having again fixed the Sabbath-day's journey at 2000 cubits, or a mile, he adds:—"*So far from the city was that place of Mount Olivet where Christ ascended;* viz. that part of the mount, where Bethphage ended, and Bethany began. Perhaps the very same place mentioned, 2 Sam. xv. 32; or certainly not far off, where David, in his flight, taking leave of the ark and sanctuary, looked back, and worshipped God." With this should be compared the Chorographical Decad. Chap. iv. Sect. i. "'As they came near to Jerusalem, to Bethphage and Bethany.' So also Luke: when, according to the order of the story, one would think it should rather be said, 'to Bethany and Bethphage.' For Christ in his travelling came to Bethany, and there lodged, John xii.; and from that city went forward by the space almost of a mile, before he came as far as Bethphage. And yet it is named by them in this order, 'To Bethphage and Bethany;' that it might be shewn, that the story is to be understood of the place where Bethany and Bethphage touch upon one

another: Matthew therefore names Bethphage alone;" and then referring to the passages already cited, he says, "We observed, also, that that place in Mount Olivet, where these two tracts Bethany and Bethphage touched on one another, was a Sabbath-day's journey from the city, or thereabouts." Vol. x. pp. 218, 219.

Now that the learned author never altered his opinion again, is proved by a posthumous Work, edited by Bishop Kidder, entitled, "Horæ Heb. et Talmud. impensæ in Acta Apostolorum," &c. (Pref. to Vol. I. p. lxxxiv.) designed, no doubt, to correct the errors of his earlier Commentary on the same book. He is commenting on Acts i. 12. Σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν.

"As to these words, therefore, of the Evangelist, now before us, we must suppose they do not define the exact distance of the mount of Olives from Jerusalem, which, indeed, was but five furlongs; nor do they take in the town of Bethany within the bounds of the Sabbath, which was distant fifteen furlongs, John xi. 18: *but they point out that place of the Mount where our Saviour ascended into heaven,*—viz. that place where that tract of the Mount of Olives ceased to be called 'Bethphage,' and began to be called 'Bethany.' Concerning which, we have discoursed more largely in another place." Vol. VIII. p. 362.

The impartial reader will now be in a condition to judge on whom rests the double imputation of misrepresentation and false-witness.

NOTE 4.

POPULATION OF MODERN JERUSALEM.

It is impossible to reconcile the conflicting statements of the population of Modern Jerusalem, of which there is no regular census taken by Government. The following Tables will illustrate the difficulty of obtaining information on the simplest facts at Jerusalem. I take only those of the highest authority.

I. Anthimus, Secretary of the Patriarchate, (A. D. 1838):

i.	Mohammedans	5,000
ii.	Jews about	5,000
iii.	Orthodox Greek Christians	600
	Roman Catholics	200
	Other Christians about	120
		10,920

II. Dr. Robinson, in the same year, states the numbers enrolled in the Government books as follows:—

i.	Mohammedans	750	males
ii.	Jews	500	—
iii.	Christians, *a.* Greeks	400	—
	b. Latins	260	—
	c. Armenians	130	—

These he corrects as follows :—

i.	Mohammedans	1,100 males	= about	4,500 souls
ii.	Jews	500 males	= about	3,000 souls
iii.	Christians : *a.* Greeks 460			
	b. Latins 260	850 males	= about	3,500 souls
	c. Armenians 130			
				11,000

III. Dr. Schultz in 1845 :—

i.	Mohammedans		5,000
ii.	Jews : *a.* Sephardim	6,000	
	b. Ashkenazim	1,100	
	c. Karaite	20	
			7,120
iii.	Christians : *a.* Greek	2,000	
	b. R. Cath.	900	
	c. Armenian	350	
	d. Copts	100	
	e. Syrians	20	
	f. Abyssinians	20	
			3,390
			15,510

IV. The Jewish amount is the largest :—

i.	Moslems		15,000
ii.	Jews, *a.* Sephardim	4,000	
	b. Ashkenazim	1,000	
			5,000
iii.	Christians		10,000
			30,000

Dr. Robinson's computation appears to me the most correct.

NOTE 5. (See p. 596.)

OF PROSELYTISM IN THE EAST.

KEENLY sensitive as I am of the evils that must result from the aggressive system that has become the principle of action towards the ancient Churches of the East, I am yet most anxious not to misrepresent the very estimable Prelate that now presides over the Anglican Congregations in Syria and Egypt. I therefore append, in his own words, a fuller statement of the facts to which allusion is made in the passage above referred to. The following extracts are taken from the annual letter, which it has become the practice for the Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem to publish, in the January Number of the Jewish Intelligence,

from year to year. The letter for the current year gives the following account of the intercourse that exists between Bishop Gobat and the Prelates of the Eastern Communions:—

"With respect to the heads of the several Churches, matters stand very much as last year. The Greek Patriarch and his Clergy keep as far from us as they possibly can; with the Latin I am on a footing of polite reserve, and have no reason to complain of enmity, although he began, as I was told, by excommunicating those who came to us. With the Armenian, and even with the United Greek Patriarch and the Syrian Bishop, a friendly intercourse has been continued."

It is remarkable that the relations of the Anglican Bishop with the heads of the Heretical and Schismatical Bodies should be so much more intimate than with the Orthodox Greek or the Latin Patriarch, and suggests the idea that the like anomalous and unsatisfactory position of all is the common bond of union among them.

The proceedings at Nablûs are thus detailed by Bishop Gobat:—

"Besides the two Bible readers employed by the Jews' Society, who have the charge of the ever more important Bible depôt at Jerusalem and Jaffa, I have continued to employ three others; one among the Jews, one among the Christians of Jerusalem, and one among the Arabs of different places. I am expecting a fourth from Beyrout, chiefly to visit the towns of this country. This work has not been without fruits in Jerusalem, in removing prejudices both from the Jews and the Christians. But it is chiefly at Nablous and on the mountains of Samaria that the labours have been blessed. In those parts there is a great movement, hunger and thirst after the word of life, from which I cannot but expect happy results. When one of these Scripture readers was at Nablous, about a year ago, a few individuals began to read and to search the Scriptures; and in the spring, last Easter, several of them came to witness our Church services, but they were rather reserved. However, a few weeks later, I received a letter from Nablous, signed by many individuals, who stated that they had resolved to come out of the Greek Church, (or, as they said, the Church of the Patriarch); in which, if they remain, they and their children must perish for lack of knowledge, &c., and that they had agreed to constitute themselves into an Evangelical Church, taking the Word of God for their guide, and to place themselves under my superintendence. To this, I replied, that although I was most willing to help them on as far as practicable in their search after the truth of the Gospel, I could not approve of their leaving their Church at present; that the only advice I could give them was for them to continue reading the Word of God with prayer, taking it for the guide of their whole life; and thus to abide in their Church until they be driven out for the Gospel's sake, if it should come to that. After exchanging a few more letters, one of the missionaries went with an intelligent native Christian to investigate the matter; and

they found, as was to be expected, that the people had, as yet, but a scanty knowledge of Scriptural truth, of which, however, they seem to be deeply sensible; and that the heads of families, representing about 70 souls, (of the 400 Greek Christians of the place,) had signed a mutual promise to keep together in searching the Scriptures, and especially in endeavouring to have their children educated according to the pure Word of God; and that there were others similarly disposed, but who, from motives of prudence, had not yet been requested to sign the paper. A little later they addressed to me a petition, signed by above a dozen heads of families, breathing a modest and altogether Scriptural spirit, in which they intimated that they would remain in connexion with the Greek Church; but praying most earnestly that I would pity their children and provide them with the means of giving them a Scriptural education, the want of which they so deeply felt for themselves. Upon this, considering all the circumstances, I was led to, and did immediately purchase a house sufficiently large for a boys' and girls' school, and a dwelling for the master's family; and I appointed an intelligent, promising young man, originally from Nazareth, but living at Nablous, as schoolmaster, under the superintendence of the two most influential Christians of the place.

"On the 5th of September the school was opened, with twenty-one boys. But on the next following Lord's day a most fulminating excommunication was read in the Church, in the name of the Greek Patriarch, against all those who should continue to send their children to what was called the English school, with the threat that, although they should afterwards repent, they could never be readmitted into the (so-called) Orthodox Church. (I have some reason to suppose that the Patriarch was not aware of all the bitter contents of the excommunication, since he understands but little Arabic;—but why does he not learn the language of his flock?) The effect of the Anathema, which in fact was against the Bible alone, was different from what had been expected; for the next day several persons joined our friends, and asked leave to send their children to the school. At that time the cholera appeared at Nablous, and all correspondence has been all but interrupted. I learn, however, that the school has continued uninterrupted, although the father of the schoolmaster has died, with two other of our friends; I hear also that several isolated Christian inhabitants of the mountains of Samaria are about to remove to Nablous, in order to have their children educated in our school, which now numbers twenty-five boys."

On this I would remark, that it is a great mistake to suppose that the Greek Patriarch and other Prelates are opposed to education; and I have no doubt that if the Nablûsians had represented to His Holiness their great anxiety for Scriptural instruction, he would have done his best to supply it, as his worthy brother, Methodius of Antioch, is doing in his flourishing schools at Damascus. Why was he not applied to?

Next, the qualification in Bishop Gobat's reply, ("I could not approve of their leaving their Church, *at present*,") reminds me very unpleasantly of a passage in an "Important and special Appeal" of "the Malta Protestant College," the first of whose avowed objects is, "The *gratuitous* education of Natives from the different Regions of the East, as Missionaries, Schoolmasters, Scripture-readers, and Interpreters." (Prospectus, p. 6.) The recent events at Nablûs are thus alluded to in the Appeal, and there is no difficulty in assigning the Letter here cited to the Author of the Annual Letter above quoted, which contains a much fuller, but more cautious, statement of circumstances:—

"Never perhaps was there a period when such agents as the Malta Protestant College is preparing as teachers of the Gospel were so much needed. An irrepressible spirit of inquiry has been everywhere awakened along with the downfall of empires, and the revolutions of nations. We have lately received deeply interesting intelligence, which goes to show that numbers in the East, and belonging to the Western Churches, are in the sad condition of fully seeing the deadly errors of their own systems, without having any guides to instruct them in the knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A letter recently received from Palestine states, that a great movement has taken place amongst a community of Arabs belonging to the Greek Church. 'You will rejoice,' says the writer, 'to learn the great effect which has been produced by the circulation of the Scriptures, and conversations, among the Arabs about Nablous. The people became so interested, that *all the Christian inhabitants at Nablous have thrown off the yoke of their priesthood, and have separated from the Greek Church.* They now ask for a Protestant clergyman and a schoolmaster, but neither can be procured. They are resolved to form themselves into a Protestant community, that they may follow the religion of the Gospel.' This is a sad state of things. Here are men thirsting for the waters of life, and no one can be found to minister to their wants."

A sad state of things, indeed,—in a sense very different from the one here intended; for when it is remembered that this Malta College—though under Episcopal sanction—is composed of an union of all Protestant denominations and sects, including not only foreign Lutherans and Calvinists, but Presbyterian and Independent Separatists from the Anglican Church; and that one of its fundamental principles is a denial of the Scriptural doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, (Prospectus,) who that loves Apostolic doctrine, order, and discipline, can wish it God speed? As it has been my lot, in the course of Divine Providence, to declare to three of the Patriarchs, and other distinguished Prelates of the Orthodox Churches of the East, the good faith of our own Metropolitan, and the friendly disposition of the Anglican Church, it is my duty to enter my solemn protest, *valeat quantum*, against this aggressive policy, as a direct violation of the terms on which the *Anglican Bishoprick at Jerusalem was established.*

DESCRIPTION OF ANCIENT LOCK AND KEY.

The iron padlock, of which a sketch is annexed, was found in 1839 in the fosse of the ancient tower, commonly called the Tower of David, at Jerusalem. It was forwarded to His Imperial Majesty by the Russian Consul at Jaffa, as being a very curious and perhaps unique specimen of ancient mechanism.

The lock itself is of forged iron, of a square form, weighing about 38¾ Russian pounds, and in size 9¾ by 9¼ English inches. The mechanism is enclosed in a cylinder between three and four inches in diameter. The key, five pounds in weight, five inches in diameter, and thirteen in length, is introduced through an opening in one of the iron ends of the cylinder, and at a certain distance from the entrance the wards or projections of the key press six springs, simply and ingeniously constructed, and by keeping them compressed permit the removal of that end of the padlock to which the bolt adheres, leaving the interior visible. To lock it, the key has simply to be withdrawn; compression being removed, the springs instantly return to their grooves, and no way of opening can be used except that of breaking the lock or applying its own key.

The exterior of the lock is covered with a grooved pattern, into which, in all probability, ornaments were soldered. On its disinterment, the channels were filled with an earthy substance so much hardened by time, that it could with difficulty be extracted.

On the lower extremity of the lock, and at the end of the bolt are cavities in which it is evident that escutcheons have been fastened, as the end of the key still bears the traces of incrustation in copper and silver.

Its form, weight, and the manner in which it must be attached, prove that it can only have been made use of to fasten a large door or gate, such as that of a city or tower.

Does not the double cross on the key indicate that at the time of its manufacture the Christians were yet masters of Jerusalem? The arms of the city were a double cross d'or on a field argent. Its perfect preservation may be accounted for by the extraordinary thickness of the metal, the mechanism being so completely concealed in the depth of the cylinder that the rust could with difficulty reach it, especially if we bear in mind the dryness of the soil in southern latitudes.

THE END.

By the same Author.

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